

ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT AND ADJUSTMENT

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PREFACE

Modern psychology interprets adolescence as a phase of an individual's continuing growth and development. Although there is no sharp demarcation between childhood and adolescence, or between adolescence and adulthood, each age period represents a specific stage in the total developmental and adjustment pattern. Moreover, differing environmental conditions and widening personal experiences require that the maturing individual gain increasing power to adapt himself to meet new situations. Adolescent attitudes and behavior differences, therefore, have their roots in childhood growth patterns and experiences. *Adolescent Development and Adjustment* deals with the developmental trends and the basic areas of adjustment during the teen-age years.

In Part I the authors discuss the significance of the biological and cultural bases of adolescent behavior tendencies. In addition, the commonly used techniques for studying adolescents are described.

Part II is devoted to a consideration of adolescent development. In it are traced the sequential patterning of physical and physiological growth, maturing mental abilities, changing emotional patterns, and personal and social aspects of personality development.

The significance of the various inherent and environmental factors that serve as motivators of adolescent attitudes and behavior are discussed in Part III. Detailed consideration is given to the effect upon young people of adolescent interests and desires and to their problems associated with developing sex urges. Discussed also are adolescent deviations, conflicts, and behavior disorders.

A practical treatment of youthful delinquency includes the causes, extent, and possible prevention of delinquent behavior, as well as the rehabilitation of the delinquent. This part is concluded by a discussion of adolescents' personal, religious, and moral values, and their gradual attainment of a philosophy of life.

Of particular interest may be the points of view of present-day youth leaders concerning juvenile delinquency as compared with the authors' views cited ten years ago in an earlier book.

The purpose of Part IV is to treat functionally the everyday problems of adolescents and to suggest ways in which some problems can be resolved. Many young people experience few, if any, major crises, but may

encounter numerous minor thwartings, frustrations, or conflict situations in home, school, work, and social relationships. In this part the authors have drawn heavily from the content of an earlier book.

The authors wish to thank the many writers and publishers who have graciously permitted the use of their materials. To the local and national leaders who have furnished statements dealing with the problem of juvenile delinquency, the authors express special appreciation.

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PART ONE

ADOLESCENT EXPERIENCES

Chapter 1

SIGNIFICANCE OF ADOLESCENCE

It is estimated that at present there are in the United States more than 20 million young people between the ages of 12 and 20. Increasing birth rates since the 1940s indicate that this number will grow consistently during the latter half of the twentieth century. Every adolescent should be given an opportunity to develop wholesome, personally satisfying, and socially acceptable physical and mental status and emotional and social adjustment. Adolescent development and adjustment are and should be matters of serious concern not only to parents but also to school people and other adults who are interested in the present welfare of young people as well as in the future progress of our society. Youth represents the energy of the present and the hope of the future. It is imperative, therefore, that educators and parents gain as much understanding as is possible concerning the various characteristics, needs, interests, and growth potentialities of maturing adolescents.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ADOLESCENT PERIOD

The first six years of a child's life are considered by psychologists to constitute the period during which are formed the basic attitudes, habits, and controls of self that are likely to help or hinder the youngster's future development and adjustment. From the early years of childhood, growth and maturation can be expected to follow a relatively general and continuous pattern. At the same time, individual variations occur as a result of differences in inherited potential and environmental stimulation. Physiological and environmental changes that are experienced during the later years of childhood may represent a series of climactic conditions that would seem to interfere with growth continuity and bring about a kind of "rebirth," characterized by new impulses and urges, interests and attitudes, and ambitions and behavior patterns. The validity of this concept of adolescence can be tested by a study of adolescent characteristics in comparison with those of childhood and adulthood.

The adolescent age. The terms *adolescence*, *adolescent age*, *adolescent period*, or *teen-age phase of development* are used variously to designate the period of transition from dependence upon adult direction and protection to self-dependence and self-determination. The length of this

period varies with differing cultures. In modern America adolescence generally is considered to include the years between the onset of puberty and the assumption of adult responsibility, or approximately from age 13 through age 19 or older. The age at which sexual maturity is achieved varies with the individual, however. Among girls, pubertal changes may begin as early as age 10, or be delayed until age 15 or later. Boys tend to develop sexually later than girls; hence sexual maturity among males usually does not occur before age 11, and may be delayed until age 16.

Mental maturity is reached during adolescence. The age at which an individual becomes emotionally and socially mature varies. In some cases emotional control and social adaptability are evidenced during the early adolescent years; a relatively few individuals give little evidence of maturity in these developmental aspects during all or much of their adult life. Since reaching age 21 gives a citizen of the United States the legal right to vote, society then accepts him as an adult, even though he still may be emotionally and socially immature.

Differences among adolescents. We know that no two individuals are exactly alike in any phase of their total personality pattern. At no age period are these differences more apparent than during adolescent years. Personal, social, and economic factors are powerful molders of adolescent attitudes. Teen-agers are sensitive to any actual or imagined characteristics that would seem to set them apart from their age peers. They are especially responsive to apparent lack or inferiority in any area of personal or social status that is governed by adolescent standards of acceptability.

What, then, are some of the ways in which young people differ from one another? Let us imagine that a cross-sectional procession of American youth is passing before us as we watch them march along. What are they like? Some are tall and some are short. Some are stout and some are slender. Some are graceful and some are awkward. Some are well dressed and well groomed, and some are slovenly and unattractive in appearance. Some are strong and healthy, and some are weak and puny. Some seem to be mature beyond their age and others are still children.

There are those among them who swing along in the full glory of adolescent strength and beauty, with chins up and dreams of conquest in their eyes. Others, with timid feet and bowed heads, appear to have difficulty in keeping up with the procession. A few others lag behind, as if hesitant to join the procession, as if bewildered and fearful of what is ahead.

These young people represent differing degrees of economic security or insecurity. They are the products of many national, cultural, and religious backgrounds. As they move along we realize that they already have experienced varying degrees of success or failure. They possess

great potentialities for good or evil. Unless their ardor has been dampened by unfortunate childhood experiences, they are equipped with boundless energy and enthusiasm, are looking to us for help in achieving the ideals and ambitions toward which they are striving.

Some observable differences among adolescents may be extremely important to young people during their "growing-up" years, but lose their significance by the time adult status is achieved. Other adolescent characteristics exercise a potent influence upon the total life pattern of those who possess them. Consequently, whether adolescents will be fitted to meet adult responsibilities successfully and to experience good personal and social adjustments depends in part upon the kind of guidance they receive during the preadult period and the kinds of adult behavior examples to which they are exposed. The future is theirs. What they will make of that future is society's responsibility as well as theirs.

ADOLESCENT "PROBLEM" AREAS

Since the "teen" years represent a period in an individual's life of finding himself as a person, there is likely to be more or less struggle within the maturing adolescent as he attempts to determine his rights and responsibilities in his relationships with adults and with his peer groups. Adolescence is not necessarily, as was believed at one time, a period of constant stress and strain. Some young people are helped to experience a gradual, relatively peaceful and successful continuum of development from early childhood to adulthood. There are conditions and situations in the lives of most teen-agers, however, when the apparent thwarting of strong urges, impulses, or ambitions may stimulate the arousal of severe emotional disturbance.

Comparison of age periods. We have stressed the fact that adolescent growth and maturation is a generally continuing process. Yet for the purpose of study we can assume that within the total "growing-up" process there are stages, each of which represents a cumulative amount and kind of change that differentiates it from the stages that have preceded it and that can be expected to follow it. For example, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to determine the exact amount of maturation that has taken place in any young person during a week, a month, or even a year, except for such phases of development as weight, height, and body proportions; it usually is possible, however, to recognize changes in attitudes, skill performance, and behavior patterns if we make a comparative study of a relatively average young person (there is no "normal" child or adolescent) at the ages of 8, 11, 14, and 17 respectively. For convenience we can term these ages as representative, in order, of childhood, pre-adolescence, early adolescence, and later adolescence.

Recognizing the fact that these developmental stages apply to large unselected groups rather than to particular individuals, we discover that general as well as specific problems of adjustment are peculiarly characteristic of each stage of the developmental process. Some adjustment trends, however, may be pervasive from preadolescence through later adolescence. Whether certain tendencies persist depends in part upon the kind and extent of preparation the young adolescent has received during childhood for the physical, emotional, and social changes which he soon will begin to experience.

Problems associated with sexual maturing. The physical and psychological accompaniments of achieving sexual maturity provide the background for many of the problem situations encountered by preadolescents and young adolescents who have not been prepared by intelligent and tactful adults for the onset of pubescence. This adolescent problem area is discussed in detail in Chapter 4. It is sufficient to say here that it is normal for the child to be interested in his body functions, the meaning of marriage, the process of birth, and other matters dealing with sex. His curiosity is intensified to the extent that he comes to recognize the fact that he is not supposed to think or talk about such things. The information or misinformation that he acquires from other young people may result in the development of attitudes of fear or disgust, or may stimulate the urge to experiment, alone or with other children, in fumbling and unsatisfying sexual behavior. Moreover, the unprepared adolescent may suffer extreme embarrassment or anxiety that is caused by changes in body contour, unaccustomed aches and pains that are passed over lightly by his parents as "growing pains," and newly experienced urges and impulses, especially in relation to members of the opposite sex. The boy's first erection and discharge of semen, or the girl's first menstrual flow, may become emotionally charged incidents in the young person's life.

Problems associated with changing attitudes. Regardless of whether a young person is helped to accept and to adjust satisfactorily to his changing physical and physiological status, he is likely to encounter problem situations that are rooted in his increasing awareness of himself as a person in his own right rather than as merely the child of his parents. With self-awareness comes the struggle for self-realization. He begins to want to make his own decisions and to experience freedom of action. He no longer regards himself as a child; he demands independence, but often discovers that he is not yet ready to manage his own affairs. He needs adult help in solving his many emotional, social, and other adjustment problems; yet he may resent adult assistance when it is offered him. The many and different areas of adolescent problems are treated in detail throughout this book in terms of their specific application.

Cole¹ has grouped adolescent problems into eight interest and activity areas: emotional maturity, establishment of heterosexual interests, general social maturity, emancipation from home control, intellectual maturity, the beginning of economic independence, adult uses of leisure, and the establishment of an interest in general principles of conduct. Cole further has indicated in table form the various kinds of transitions that can be, are, or fail to be effected during the years between childhood and adolescence (see Table 1).

For an adolescent to realize successfully all the objectives included in Cole's list would involve the experiencing of many complex situations and conditions including numerous subtle elements of influence. Hence few, if any, adolescents can be expected to achieve complete maturity in every area of adjustment. Many young people manage to make good beginnings in all areas, however. Strong feelings of frustration and consequent adolescent conflict are likely to result when or if a young person is impelled to solve one or more problem situations associated with the gaining of adult status, but lacks the ability or opportunity to achieve his goal. The difference between the relatively happy and carefree life of the child and the adolescent's struggles against inner and environmental pressures is evidenced by the following statement by Lawrence Frank,²

In the age period ten to fourteen the first admissions to state hospitals for mental disorders is very low—in New York State only 4.3 per 100,000 children of that age. In the age period fifteen to nineteen the rate is 40.3 per 100,000, almost a ten-fold increase over the preceding five-year period. Moreover, during adolescence a number, not definitely known but significantly large, suffer what is known as "nervous breakdown," while others commit suicide or attempt to do so, become delinquents, vagrants, "bums," or homosexuals, or waste their lives in alcoholism, drug addiction, or in various neurotic patterns leading to self-defeat and tragedy for themselves and their families. Some of these unfortunate outcomes occur among the most promising youth, the highly intelligent and gifted, whose perplexities and personality difficulties are often too long ignored.

Vital statistics for the adolescent period also indicate that the death rate during the later half of the period is very much higher than for the earlier years. Among the more significant causes of adolescent deaths can be included accidents, heart diseases, tuberculosis, appendicitis, and pneumonia-influenza. The fast pace at which some adolescents live, carelessness concerning health status, and low physical resistance brought

¹L. Cole, *Psychology of Adolescence*, 4th ed., Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, 1954, p. 6.

²Lawrence K. Frank, "Introduction: Adolescence as a Period of Transition," in *Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, part I, *Adolescence*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944, pp. 5-6.

Table 1. Objectives of the Adolescent Period

1. General emotional maturity	
<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>
Destructive expressions of emotion	Harmless or constructive expressions
Subjective interpretation of situations	Objective interpretations of situations
Childish fears and motives	Adult stimuli to emotions
Habits of escaping from conflicts	Habits of facing and solving conflicts
2. Establishment of heterosexual interests	
<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>
Interest in members of same sex	Interest in members of opposite sex
Experience with many possible mates	Selection of one mate
Acute awareness of sexual development	Casual acceptance of sexual maturity
3. General social maturity	
<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>
Feelings of uncertainty of acceptance by peers	Feelings of acceptance by peers
Social awkwardness	Social poise
Social intolerance	Social tolerance
Slavish imitation of peers	Freedom from slavish imitation
4. Emancipation from home control	
<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>
Close parental control	Self control
Reliance upon parents for security	Reliance upon self for security
Identification with parents as models	Attitude toward parents as friends
5. Intellectual maturity	
<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>
Acceptance of truth from authority	Demand for evidence before acceptance
Desire for facts	Desire for explanations
Many temporary interests	Few stable interests
6. Selection of an occupation	
<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>
Interest in glamorous occupations	Interest in practical occupations
Interest in many occupations	Interest in few occupations
Over- or underestimation of ability	Accurate estimation of ability
Irrelevance of interests to ability	Reconciliation of ability and interests
7. Uses of leisure	
<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>
Interest in vigorous unorganized games	Interest in team games
Interest in individual prowess	Interest in success of team
Participation in games	Spectator interest in games
Interest in many hobbies	Interest in few hobbies
Membership in many clubs	Membership in few clubs
8. Philosophy of life	
<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>
Indifference toward general principles	Interest in general principles
Specific moral habits	Generalized moral principles
Behavior based upon achievement of pleasure and avoidance of pain	Behavior based upon conscience and duty

SOURCE: L. Cole, *Psychology of Adolescence*, 4th ed., Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, 1954, pp. 6-7.

about by too great or unwise activity and emotional involvement represent some of the factors of youthful mortality rates.

Effect of environmental conditions. As we consider adolescent problems of adjustment we should remember that we are living in a so-called problem age. Daily newspapers, news reports over radio and television, lectures, books, and general group conversation constantly are bringing to our attention the political, social, and personal problems that are being experienced by individuals, groups, nations, and groups of nations. Emphasis usually is placed upon those problem areas that seem to elude solution, that involve the problem sufferers in legal action of one kind or another, or that would appear to be a threat to the welfare and security of society. Destructive factors in the lives of our citizenry provide more thrilling tidbits for popular consumption than do the many fine, constructive ideals, attitudes, and activities that are characteristic of the great majority of the American people. There probably are few adults who do not engage in problem solving in one or more areas of their life activities. By the great majority, however, difficulties of adjustment are taken in their stride; they are met and resolved more or less satisfactorily without making newspaper headlines.

The adjustment difficulties of teen agers may differ little in seriousness from those suffered by adults, in spite of the fact that adolescent problems may seem to the adult to be of minor significance in comparison with those frustration situations to which he is exposed. Furthermore, many mature persons, as they review their adolescent days in retrospect, are amused by the conditions and situations that had seemed tragic to them during their growing-up years.

The feelings of frustration, thwarting, and conflict that are suffered by young people who are struggling for status are understandable, however. They still are dependent upon their parents but experience the natural urge to become independent. There is a wide gap between their desires and ambitions and their readiness to fulfill them. They are passing through a new phase of physical development and interpersonal relationships but find themselves making errors of judgment. Consequently, they experience embarrassing conditions that seem to thwart their struggle to develop emotional control, self-discipline, and independence of action. Moreover, adolescents tend to dramatize themselves and their relationships with others. Unless they are helped to acquire some degree of objectivity in self-understanding, their day-by-day attempts at self-assertion may be unrealistic. They are likely to experience abnormally intense elation or deep despair. These emotional states may follow one another so quickly, and be so divorced from any observable cause, that adults become bewildered and admit frankly that they are unable to keep pace with adolescent vagaries.

ADULT ATTITUDES TOWARD ADOLESCENT PROBLEMS

If the developmental progress is to be socially acceptable and effective, a young person's transition from childhood to adult status must proceed gradually under the guidance of self-disciplined adults. Too much and too suddenly gained liberty leads to adolescent confusion; the boy or girl may become the prey of destructive influences. Adult overprotection or domination may arouse in the teen-ager strong feelings of resentment, or result in retarded personal and social development.

Need of adult insight. Many American parents, with the assistance of other adults, can and do help young people to achieve a desirable balance of security and individual freedom. This is no accident. Perhaps never in history have adults evidenced a greater interest in adolescent psychology and mental hygiene than now is apparent. There is danger, however, in the fact that with this increased concern for the welfare of young people there may develop an undue emphasis upon failure rather than upon success in achieving adolescent adjustment.

"What is wrong with our boys and girls?" "Young people have no respect for authority." "I have no control over my child; he will not listen to anything I say." "Juvenile delinquency is increasing daily." These and similar criticisms of the young people of America have become the theme of newspaper and magazine articles and are a popular subject for general conversation. Many groups have been organized to help adolescents solve their problems of adjustment in our present culture. At first these groups limited their discussion to a survey of the known delinquencies. They admitted the existence of a youth problem but found it difficult to discover the causes and to agree upon the treatment of specific individuals. Gradually, however, they have been able to analyze some of the more potent factors of teen-age disturbance and are beginning to set up certain basic principles for the guidance of adolescent boys and girls toward desirable behavior controls.

Such preventive measures constitute the fundamental means of assuring for young people the opportunity to develop good mental and emotional health, especially if they are begun in early childhood. At the same time, however, curative measures must be undertaken to recondition those adolescents who are evincing symptoms of asocial attitudes and behavior or who are beginning to break under the strains of achieving satisfactory adjustment.

Before any adult assumes responsibility for the welfare of teen-agers, it is important for the former to discover to what directing influences they are most likely to respond. Does an adolescent respond to precept or to example? Can we require a young person to do as we say, or must we

expect that he will do as we do? Have we the right to set up one code of ethics for our children, because this code will be of value to them and to society in the future, and at the same time direct our own behavior in terms of individual satisfactions and interests rather than according to group ideals? In short, is there needed an intelligent analysis of all the factors that are inherent in youthful adjustment or maladjustment?

The mental hygiene approach. Emphasis upon adolescent achievement and maintenance of mental health is in accord with the mental hygiene point of view. Briefly, mental hygiene principles emphasize the value of preventing the development of unwholesome attitudes and behavior, and of preserving desirable habit patterns, as well as of curing observable evidence of inner conflict and maladjustment. Prevention of mental disorder and preservation of emotional stability are socially and economically satisfying both to the individual and to the group. Even though therapeutic procedures may be costly and difficult to apply, they are needed to rehabilitate those young people who, through society's indifference or neglect, have become maladjusted or nonconforming members of their groups.

The majority of young people are confronted by more or less serious problems connected with their home life, their school experiences, their work activities, and their social relationships. The factors most commonly cited as those which are likely to predispose toward adolescent maladjustment include the following: economic instability, parental discord, inadequacy of school offerings, lack of understanding of adolescent psychology on the part of parents and school faculties, unwholesome neighborhood or community conditions, inadequate recreational facilities, unpreparedness for vocational activities, or unintelligent job placement.

A study of many cases of individual maladjustment indicates that no one of these factors, in and of itself, is necessarily a cause of delinquency. Sometimes the difficulty must be sought in a subtle blending of causes or in the interrelation that exists between the inherent nature of the individual and external factors. To one young person an economically underprivileged home may offer a challenge which will encourage him to develop within himself the power to improve these conditions. Another adolescent in a similar situation may become so discouraged by the apparent lack of opportunity to improve himself or his conditions that he will allow himself to be influenced toward undesirable ways of satisfying his natural longing for those comforts of life which are enjoyed by other young people.

The remaining chapters of this book are devoted to a detailed consideration of the many facets of adolescent adjustment that have been indicated briefly in this chapter. Individual adolescents may differ from

what might be regarded as a more or less general pattern of development and adjustment. Some of these differences will be highlighted by means of examples of various deviations among young people.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. To what extent should all personal wants be fulfilled at any one time?
2. Discuss the importance of a sense of humor in individual adjustment.
3. List what you consider to be important life values during adolescence.
4. Discuss the influence of inner drives upon overt adolescent behavior.
5. Indicate in what ways stimuli and readiness are important to the arousal of adolescent urges.
6. List and explain reasons why adolescents are rebellious against authority.
7. What adjustment problems do you have in your student life or in your vocational activities? Indicate what you are doing to meet them satisfactorily.
8. List adjustment problems that you seem to have in your social life. What plans do you have for their solution?
9. Compare the motives of children with those of adolescents; with those of adults. What differences and likenesses do you find?
10. In what ways may the approval of another become a motivating force in an adolescent's life?
11. Who do you believe is to blame for the widespread maladjustment among adolescents? What can be done to help them toward better-adjusted patterns of living?
12. Name two urges which, in the past, you have satisfied in unwholesome ways. Report behavior changes that might have been made for better adjustment.
13. Explain some of the strains and stresses experienced by modern adolescents that were not experienced fifty years ago.
14. In what ways is adult insight important to an adolescent?

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Chapter 2

BIOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

From prehistoric times to the present, growth and maturation probably have followed relatively similar sequences. Physical, physiological, mental, and emotional potentialities have been and still are biologically inherited by way of family lines. The developmental and adjustive patterns of inherited potential, however, are rooted in the kind and amount of environmental stimulation that are experienced by a young person during his maturing years. The controversy among biologists, psychologists, and sociologists concerning the relative significance, in the life of a human being, of nature and nurture is significant in that it indicates the recognition given thereby to the fact that growing up is a complex process. Many factors, both within and outside an individual, are responsible for his ultimate adjustment in and to his group or groups.

FACTORS OF ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

It was suggested earlier that there probably is no such human being as a "normal" child, adolescent, or adult. Studies of adolescent developmental patterns present evidence of the fact that general physical, mental, and emotional differences are characteristic of different age levels. For any individual, processes of growth and maturation tend to be relatively continuous from conception onward during the formative years. Developing attitudes and behavior patterns, however, are the resultants of multitudinous interactions that take place between a person's biologically inherited potentials and those situations, conditions, and individuals or groups of individuals that comprise his social heritage.

Biological factors of influence. Regardless of the societal group into which a child is born and in which he develops, he possesses at birth certain so-called native characteristics that identify him as a member of his particular family. The newborn infant not only is the child of his parents but also may be the recipient of characteristics that are peculiar to the family line of either or both of his parents. Physically, mentally, and emotionally the growing boy or girl shows evidences of differences from, as well as likenesses to, his parents and his other immediate relatives. One need only to observe the physical appearance, the exhibited degree of mental alertness, and the temperamental reactions of siblings to

recognize the potency of various factors of inheritance. It is not unusual for young parents to become extremely distressed by the fact that their second baby is very different in appearance and behavior from their first child during his babyhood.

Relatives and friends attempt to discover which parent the child "favors." Too often parents expect their children to mirror parental characteristics, especially if the possession of these qualities has been basic to parental success and good adjustment. A parent may refuse to admit that his child is different in some ways from himself. Consequently, the adult tries to mold the child according to his own personality pattern. If the parent is not successful in achieving his goal, he is likely to explain his failure in terms of situational influences associated either with the attitudes and behavior of the other parent, the educational system, or with general social deterioration. A parent of this kind cannot or will not admit that his child is an individual as well as his son or daughter, and that the complex patterning of dominant and recessive trait formation represents a process that reflects possibilities of individual differences as well as family likenesses.

Genetically induced differences and likenesses in physical appearance usually can be recognized early in the life of a child. Height, body contours, hair, skin and eye coloring, and other physical characteristics may or may not be similar to those of either parent. Some family tendencies may begin to show themselves during childhood. Certain specific biologically inherited personality traits may not be evidenced in the attitudes and behavior of the individual until the later years of childhood or during adolescence, however. As these potentialities develop, parents sometimes come to believe that they do not know their own children. For example, Mary Cole began to teach at the age of 17. She had been bright as a child and a young adolescent, but extremely docile and submissive in her home and peer relations. One day Mary's mother visited her daughter at school while the girl's class was in session. The woman sat at the back of the room and watched her daughter's behavior in relation to her forty pupils. This parent, accustomed to regarding Mary as a dependent, retiring, and rather serious young person, received a tremendous shock. Surely this mature, completely poised, and humorous young woman could not be her "little child." Mary possessed the capacity for independent self-direction, but during her younger days she had not been stimulated to display it except in connection with her studies. The girl herself had not recognized her own powers until, as a teacher, she was challenged to use them.

Environmental factors of influence. The preceding discussion concerning biological inheritance might lead the reader to conclude that the authors are hereditarians in that they seem to have placed much emphasis upon

the significance of native endowment. This is not the case, however. Important as are the natural potentialities of an individual, they cannot be developed in a vacuum. We know that every newborn baby can be expected to grow and mature. Yet the kind of adult that he will eventually become is dependent upon the kind and amount of environmental stimulation to which he is exposed during his developing years. Hence both biological inheritance and social heritage are potent effecters of accelerated, average, or retarded development. From the beginning of life, the growing and maturing young person is stimulated to respond to physical conditions and social custom in one way rather than in another way. He constantly is motivated to meet his physical, mental, emotional, and social needs, wants, urges, and ambitions according to socially acceptable standards. A young person's inherited potentialities are basic to his achieved degree of ease and success of adaptation to the societal mores and customs by which he is surrounded. At the same time, his development or learning is limited in terms of the opportunities that are available to him during the crucial years of childhood and adolescence. The cultural pattern of the society in which a child is born therefore greatly influences his developing patterns of attitudes, habits, and general behavior tendencies. Hence both inherited potential of development and learned modes of realizing inherent abilities or powers are important factors in the molding of personality and character. Allison Davis describes the interrelationship that exists between biological inheritance and cultural heritage when he says:¹

It is clear, of course, that culture cannot be inherited genetically; none of it can be transmitted by the mere fact of birth into a certain family, social class or race. All cultural behavior is learned behavior; it must be learned by each new human organism through the laborious processes of imitation, identification, competition, co-operation, and the other methods of social learning. At birth, the organism is driven by simple biological tensions, such as hunger and pain, to learn the acts leading to a desired goal response of eating, or of removal of pain. From the time of weaning, however, and increasingly thereafter, he is taught to react to his biological tensions in socially defined ways. For example, a child in our society is trained to regard only certain meats and plants as edible, that is, as goals for his hunger. He must learn, furthermore, that he cannot eat whenever he wants to (that is, he cannot go to the goal directly by the shortest route), but must accept the alternative response of eating at regularly appointed hours. The intricate sequence of actions which the socialized human being has been taught to substitute for the direct biological responses appears to be simply a longer route to the same biological goals, with lanes and hurdles to teach him that the responses

¹ A. Davis, "Socialization and Adolescent Personality," in Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, part I, *Adolescence*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944, pp. 198-199

may be obtained only under certain conditions, if he is to win acceptance in a particular group.

We are prone to become extremely concerned about the effects upon the developing adolescent of the social demands, the physical conditions, and the technological changes that are characteristic of modern life in the United States. We tend to forget or to disregard the fact that adolescence always has been considered to be a significant period in the life of an individual. Since prehistoric days the role of an adolescent in his society has varied with the cultural concept of what constitutes change from childhood to adulthood, as well as how a young person should be prepared to assume adult responsibilities. The present interpretation of adolescence as a developmental period that may last from six to eight years is peculiar to our present cultural pattern.

ADOLESCENT STATUS IN PRIMITIVE CULTURES

Among primitive peoples an immediate transition from childhood to adulthood was considered to take place during puberty or the period of sexual maturation. Hence, although the so-called adolescent period was brief, it was regarded as a crucial point in the life experiences of the individual. The attaining of sexual maturity was the criterion according to which all forms of adolescent development were measured.

Pubertal rites. During the pubertal period the conducting by their elders of formal and rigid public rites or ceremonies was experienced by sexually maturing boys and girls. For several weeks or months a young person was subjected to various "tests" to determine fitness for the assumption of adult status.

Among many simple cultures children were allowed much freedom of action. Childhood was regarded as a period of growth, during which little, if any, restriction was placed upon play activities. The child was not expected to be concerned about the more serious aspects of life; usually he did not need to assume any family or group responsibilities. Although there was no formal schooling, alert little boys and girls might learn much about tribal customs and experiences through observing their elders in action and listening to adult conversation. Children associated freely with one another, regardless of their sex. Childish misdemeanors or displayed lack of respect for adult authority usually resulted in the child being punished severely by the head of the family. Yet among primitive cultures children generally received kind treatment and enjoyed considerable freedom of activity with peer associates.

The advent of sexual maturity meant that the relatively unrestrained activities of childhood were supposed to be supplanted by controlled

behavior and active participation in adult affairs. To discover whether the young person was fitted to assume adult responsibilities and privileges, the pubic ceremonies included a series of tests that varied in form with tribal custom but were uniformly severe.

The boy's preparation for adult status. The boy was tested for strength, physical endurance, courage, and ability to endure physical pain. He was tortured in many ways: he usually was isolated from other members of the tribe; he was forced to endure exposure, hunger, thirst, and extreme heat; he was circumcised; he was subjected to physical pain through body laceration, tattooing, knocking out of teeth, and other forms of body maltreatment; he also might be put through humiliating experiences in the presence of his age peers and his elders.

If the boy passed these preliminary tests, he received intensive instruction concerning tribal institutions and customs, and his responsibilities and privileges as a male adult of his particular society. Allegiance to, and membership in, a family unit now changed to group membership and allegiance. The young man now assumed the right to fight and to hunt with other male adults, and the privilege to marry, raise a family, and become the head of his family unit. The newly initiated male adult also was permitted to garb himself appropriately for adult status, to change his body appearance in accordance with tribal custom, and to carry hunting implements or war weapons.

Failure to pass any of the preliminary tests of endurance returned the boy to his family as still a child; he suffered the humiliation of being excluded from participation in the activities of the boys in his peer group who had earned adult status. Since he had been adjudged a "weakling," his parents shared in his disgrace. Consequently, most parents refrained from pampering their son during childhood years lest he fail to pass the acid tests associated with the pubic ceremonies. Although young boys were not expected to engage in adult activities, they were encouraged by their parents to develop strong healthy bodies and to achieve self-control and physical endurance in preparation for the ordeal of initiation into manhood.

The training of girls. In primitive society, initiation rites associated with the assumption of adult status were much less rigorous for the sexually maturing girl than for the boy. She was prepared by her mother and tested by the women of the group in the kinds of activities that represented the duties and responsibilities of a wife and mother. She also was encouraged to develop womanly "wiles" as a means of attracting the attention of eligible young tribesmen. Like the boy, she was expected to discard childish interests with the coming of puberty, and immediately display mature attitudes, emotional control, and adult behavior patterns.

In many of the simpler cultures a woman was regarded as "unclean"

during her menstrual period. This attitude applied especially to a girl's first menses. At this time she usually was isolated from the other members of the group. It was the custom in some tribes to remove the girl from her family and to place her, for several weeks or a month, in a hut which was completely closed except for a small opening through which water and food were passed to her. At the end of this period of relative or entire solitude, the girl's parents arranged dances, feasts, and special ceremonies to indicate that their daughter had reached adult status and was eligible for marriage.

With the beginning of the pubertal period girls were restricted in their behavior. Rigid taboos were placed upon their association with members of the opposite sex. Boys were allowed some freedom in sexual activities, but the chastity of the girl was rigidly protected by parents and group leaders. Among most of the early peoples, as well as in later cultural groups, premarital and extramarital sex-stimulated behavior among males was condoned, but strongly disapproved in the case of females, sometimes to the point of expulsion from the societal group.

Life values in simple cultures. The foregoing has presented a more or less general pattern of change from childhood to adult status that was characteristic of former primitive peoples and that still is extant among existing simple cultures. Research into the ways of the hinterlands that has been undertaken by anthropologists and students of cultural influences has resulted in a considerable body of information concerning the customary attitudes toward, and treatment of, the "in-between years" among cultural groups such as the Hopi Indians, the Samoans, the Melanesians, the Nanus, and other culturally similar groups.²

Characteristic of most of these societal groups is the shortness of the period of preparation for adult status, with an abrupt change from childhood dependence and freedom to adult self-direction and social responsibility. The primitive child's freedom, however, is restricted to a certain extent by his lack of opportunities within the family environment to engage in activities that go beyond accepted convention. Moreover, adult responsibilities also follow relatively simple routines. The boy and the man become well acquainted with their physical environment. From it the adult male must wrest food and other life necessities for himself and his family. Primitive warfare represents face-to-face combat. Recreational outlets are limited to participation in, or watching of, physical feats of skill, games, dancing, and similar activities. Girls are inducted early into an appreciation of the female role of childbearing and rearing, housekeeping and home management, and submissiveness. Their duties may entail much physical activity, but the work is relatively simple and follows a traditional pattern of performance.

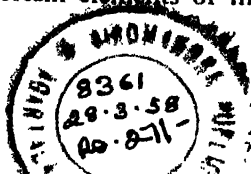
² See the Selected References at the end of the chapter.

Since primitive culture usually represents a handing down from generation to generation of customs and mores that are modified only gradually as they persist, the transition from childhood to adulthood may seem to be a simple matter for which little preparation is needed and which can be achieved with little of the stressful experience and conflict-arousal that are relatively common among modern adolescents. In a conventional society the individual can exercise only a minimum of freedom of choice in the conduct of his daily affairs. His activities are controlled by the accepted mores and taboos of his people. He may experience security in these restrictions. Since he knows no other way of ordering his affairs, he is willing to pattern his life activities according to the standards set for him by his elders.

The wants and needs of the average primitive young person are simple and usually satisfied easily. Hunting, engaging in warfare, and performing feats of physical skill and prowess afford him opportunities for utilizing youthful energy and for satisfying the urge for adventure. In spite of taboos concerning sex-stimulated behavior, there is found among most simple peoples a frank and accepting attitude toward the role of sex in the life of the individual or the group. Here there is not the shrouding in mystery of facts concerning the sexual organs and sexual functions that is characteristic of more "civilized" cultures.

Adjustment problems of primitive youth. Although in some simple cultures adolescence and young adulthood may seem to be relatively tranquil periods of transition, it cannot be concluded that all primitive young people are free from "growing-up" difficulties. The young male is free to choose a mate and start a home, but he must be able to present satisfactory evidence of his ability to provide a suitable home for the girl of his choice. The girl is ready for mating, but she and her family may experience difficulties in their attempts to mate her with an acceptable young man. Among some primitive groups class distinctions and taboo limitations, especially those that reflect cultural attitudes toward heterosexual relations, are the bases of youthful turbulence and conflict that are as serious as those experienced by modern young people in their attempts to adjust to existing societal standards.

At this point, we may note briefly the emotional effects upon young people of present-day simpler societies when, bound by their traditional beliefs and customs, they come into juxtaposition with youthful attitudes and behavior patterns that are habitual in so-termed higher forms of civilization. Improved and increasingly far-reaching means of world travel and communication, in conjunction with war-induced contacts of young people who possess different cultural backgrounds, are posing problems of assimilation and cultural leveling. Increased spread to every part of the world of certain elements of modern Western culture now



has stimulated new approaches toward self-realization and culture evaluation among more traditionally reared young people. Much of existing youthful unrest and confusion can be explained as the to-be-expected outgrowth of conflict between democratic ideals and rigid traditional convention.

We sometimes attempt to explain difficulties experienced by our adolescents as rooted in their misunderstanding and misuse of the democratic culture in which they have been reared. How much greater must be the stresses, the frustrations, and the conflicts experienced by those young people who have been reared in a culture that is very different from our own. These youths become aware of the differences without fully understanding what they are and how they can be applied to their own life patterns. Consequently, youthful struggles for freedom from traditional conventions, for greater and different educational opportunities, and for self-realization and self-direction are resulting in conflicts between young people and their tradition-indoctrinated elders. Increasing intercommunication over a period of years may be needed before the leveling process is completed to the point that difference in cultural background will constitute a negligible factor in adolescent development and adjustment.

THE ADOLESCENT AND ANCIENT HISTORIC CULTURES

In relatively modified form some primitive attitudes toward transition from childhood to adulthood continued to persist. The trend in early historical cultures, however, was toward extending the period of adolescence beyond the one-month limit of primitive peoples. Attention gradually came to be given to criteria other than sexual maturity by which to measure the attaining of adult status.

The Greeks and Romans recognized the significance in their respective cultures of producing young men and women who were adequately prepared to assume their appropriate adult functions. Differing cultural emphases tended to bring about differences in adolescent training programs. We now shall describe briefly adolescent experiences in Sparta, Athens, and Rome.

Growing up in Sparta. Like primitive youths, Spartan boys were expected to become physically strong and virile soldiers who would fight successful wars for their country. During their growing years they were subjected to rigorous training that would fit them to endure hardships, to develop a spirit of bravery and complete loyalty to their nation, and to accept suffering of any kind. Emphasis was placed upon the girls' physical strength and good health in order that they later might bear strong, healthy sons. Although Spartan women were not expected to participate in war combat, they were rigidly disciplined during girlhood so that

they would be worthy mates of their soldier-husbands. No child of a good Spartan family was coddled or pampered, even during early childhood days. In fact, newborn babies who appeared to lack promise of becoming stalwart men of war, or worthy mothers of soldiers, supposedly were allowed to die as the result of exposure to the elements of nature.

Physically fit boys and girls were reared by their mothers until they were 7 and 8 years old respectively. From that age to about the age of 20, boys lived in public barracks where they received professional training to become soldiers. Until the age of 30 they received practical army experience at frontier posts. They then were admitted to full citizenship and compelled to marry, although they continued to live in the barracks and participated in the military training of boys. Although girls and women stayed in the home, where they learned from their mothers about home management, they received gymnastic training as well, in order to help them become strong and robust mothers of healthy, virile sons. The academic education of adolescents was limited to the rote memorization of a few selections from Homer and the laws of Lycurgus, except for what the boys could learn from listening to the conversation of older, experienced men.

Growing up in Athens. Athens probably represents the first cultural group in which the child and the adolescent were recognized to be individuals and in which parents were given some freedom of decision concerning the education of their sons. As in Sparta, unpromising infants were "exposed." Accepted children of both sexes were reared together in the home by mothers and nurses. Self-control and good discipline were stressed, but the youngsters engaged in much free play. At the age of 7, girls and boys were separated from one another.

The girls were trained by the older women in household arts. They might be taught to read and write; they became proficient in weaving, sewing, spinning, and embroidering, as well as in music. Until about age 16, boys devoted much of their time to the study of literature, declamation, and music, in addition to some physical training. During this period parents were responsible for the boys' education, which was obtained at home or in fee-paying schools. If a boy's parents were financially unable to keep him at school until the age of 16, he might be compelled to leave school at age 13 or 14 and engage in some form of work.

To achieve full citizenship a boy was expected to continue his education to the age of 20. We find here the beginnings of a recognition of the need of an extended period of adolescent training aimed at preparation for the assumption of adult responsibilities, especially for participation in government activities. From the ages of 16 to 18 these boys continued to attend schools in which the emphasis was placed largely upon athletic

development. The next two years were devoted to military training. Throughout his childhood and adolescence the boy was trained to be moral and upright in terms of accepted cultural standards, to revere the gods, and to be a gentleman. Except in rare instances girls had no share in this educational program. It must be noted also that probably no more than a small fraction of the male youth benefited from this extended adolescent period of education. It is significant, however, that the Athenian cultural pattern considered adolescence as a period of development as a person.

Adolescence in a changing Roman culture. In general, early Roman ideals concerning the development of youth were almost completely practical. Emphasis was placed upon four civic virtues: courage, duty, justice, and virtuous behavior. The mother trained her daughter to become a good wife, mother, and housekeeper; the father prepared his son to perform the practical duties of a man and citizen. There was much learning through doing. Attention also was given to the development of good health and physical strength. Adolescence was regarded as a period of continued preparation for adult responsibility. The tremendous influence, after 300 B.C., of Greek culture upon Rome led to the inauguration of schooling through the university level for a small fraction of the population of Rome.

It is not the purpose to consider here the great contributions of Rome to successive world cultures. We can refer briefly, however, to the fact that the Hellenization of Rome, built as it was upon the practical attitudes of the Roman people, provided favored Roman youths excellent opportunities for preparing themselves to become leaders in many fields of endeavor. Their constructive achievements still constitute the bases of many modern practices. Eventually, however, those elements that were inherent in "the grandeur that was Rome" finally led to its downfall. An increasing involvement with intellectual pursuits and self-satisfying cultural interests was closely associated with Roman decline of emphasis upon religion and morality. No stress was placed upon the development and maintenance of physical vigor and virility.

Rome's changing attitude toward life values was reflected in the self-indulgent and morally lax attitudes exhibited by the Roman leaders and imitated by those youths whose responsibility it later would become to continue and advance the prestige of Roman culture. Consequently, Roman civilization was supplanted, temporarily at least, by the more primitive culture of the physically strong and virile Germanic tribes. During the later years of Roman supremacy, however, the influence of the ideals of Hebraic and Christian culture patterns began to exercise a potent effect upon the general citizenry.

ADOLESCENCE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES AND EARLY MODERN TIMES

By this time the concept of adolescence as a period of preparation for adult living had moved a long way in kind and age years from the pubic phase of development that was characteristic of primitive culture. As the organizational patterns of cultural groups increased in complexity, the adolescent period took on greater significance.

The medieval adolescent. During the Middle Ages schooling for all children and young people was the exception rather than accepted custom. In the days of "chivalry" boys of the upper class served as pages to women until about the age of 14, when they became squires and were inducted into the arts of knighthood by the men whom they now served. Adult status was achieved when, or if, a young man gave evidence of having developed those behavior characteristics that were considered to be knightly. Courage, chastity, and loyalty to God, country, and his "fair lady" supposedly were knightly qualities. The adolescent girl was prepared to be an attractive, tender, and submissive mate to her spouse. Considerable attention was devoted to the acquiring by "upper"-class youth of grace, charm, wit, and sprightly manner.

The adolescent and the beginnings of modern cultures. Through early modern times children of lower social classes enjoyed little, if any, adolescent preparation for adult responsibility, except what they received as a member of a hard-working family unit. Elizabeth Browning's poem "The Cry of the Children" presents a tragic picture of the lives of small children who worked in the mines of England. The novels of Charles Dickens and his contemporaries paint vivid word pictures of the sad experiences suffered by young people of the time, even when and where some schooling was made available for the masses. As was the situation in earlier cultures, economically and socially favored youth enjoyed superior educational advantages.

The Industrial Revolution and the Reformation, which were the outgrowths of general dissatisfaction with existing European cultural patterns, exercised a tremendous effect upon the place of the child and the adolescent in the societal group. Through the Industrial Revolution the provision of life necessities was taken out of the home, thus weakening to that extent the closeness of cooperative effort within the family unit. As a result of the Reformation, responsibility for achieving spiritual salvation was transferred from the religious leaders to the individual himself. Both of these societal upheavals were accompanied by significant changes in adult attitude toward most children and adolescents.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century some schooling had been made available for children of all social classes, including some schools for adolescents. For the most part, however, whatever educational oppor-

Table 2. Changes in Adolescent Status

<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>
A short pubertal period between childhood and adulthood	An ever-increasingly longer period (four to seven or eight years) of preparation for the assumption of adult responsibility
The experiencing of rigid rites and ceremonies as tests of readiness for adult status	Relatively little emphasis upon such procedures, except for religious observances (confirmation) during early adolescence and some social recognition ("coming-out" parties) for girls at the end of the adolescent period
Early marriages and the raising of large families for the benefit of the societal group	No restriction upon age of marriage or size of family
Mating controlled by parental authority	Individual freedom of mate selection
Specialized training of upper-class boys for war or political leadership	Many-sided education as preparation to engage in one or another occupational or citizenship activity
Little, if any, education for girls beyond some training in homemaking	Increasing trend toward equalization of educational opportunities for the two sexes
Great emphasis upon superiority in physical strength and endurance	Concern about the mental as well as the physical health of young people, and decreasing emphasis upon mere physical strength and endurance
Educational advantages available to a relatively small number of young people	Educational advantages available to all
Schooling, for the most part, the responsibility of parents, religious institutions, or national organizations, usually on a fee basis, especially for adolescents and young adults	Nontuition, citizen-supported education available for all from the preschool level through adolescence and, in some communities, through the graduate-college or university level
Norecognition of individual differences among children except in physical structure and constitution	A recognition and acceptance of the fact that young people are different as well as alike, physically, mentally, and emotionally
Almost complete disregard and nonunderstanding of young people's developing interests, aptitudes, and needs	Increasing interest in, and study of, the developmental pattern of the needs, wants, interests, and aptitudes of maturing children and adolescents
Emphasis upon the submission of young people to the authority and will of parents and other elders	Encouragement of individual freedom of behavior from early childhood through adolescence within the framework of the general welfare of a democratic society

tunities that existed were subsidized and controlled by the Church and were established to serve religious purposes. The developmental needs of children and adolescents were not considered, however. Some two hundred years ago fundamental schooling in the vernacular started to become a state function; educational opportunities for adolescents and young adults increased. Yet not until men like Rousseau, Bascow, Pestalozzi, and their followers propounded revolutionary theories con-

cerning the education of children was recognition given to concepts that stress the unfolding capacities of the child, the natural urges, interests, curiosities, and activities of young people, and the possibility of potential differences in ability to achieve successfully.

The nineteenth century witnessed disagreements among religious and political leaders, educators, and psychologists that dealt with the growth and developmental needs of adolescents as well as children. There was difference of opinion concerning the purpose to be served by, and the extent of, education that should be made available for all young people. Considered also were the ways in which appropriate learning opportunities should be subsidized and organized. The research and experimental contributions of psychologists, biologists, and sociologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have resulted in the gradual development, especially among the Western cultures, of a new attitude toward the maturing child and adolescent, a greater appreciation of individual differences among young people, a more intelligent understanding of the problems of adjustment that may be experienced by a young person in his struggle to achieve adult status, and a trend toward granting him increasing freedom of action and decision making during his maturing years.

Changes in adolescent status. Summarized briefly, the gradual changes in cultural patterns from early authoritarianism to present-day widespread democratic ideology has been accompanied by changing adult attitudes toward the growing-up years, as shown in Table 2.

As we consider the changes that gradually have taken place in adolescent status and in adult attitude toward the significance in the life of the individual of his growing-up years, we must be cognizant of the fact that deviations from traditional practices can be found even among some of the earlier cultural groups. Moreover, certain traditional attitudes toward adolescence have persisted to the present. Perhaps it is possible to find in the conflict that still exists between former authoritarian attitudes of adults toward young people and modern, democratic ideals one of the most serious causes of the problems experienced by today's teen-agers.

ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT IN A COMPLEX SOCIETY

Simple communal living no longer is possible in any part of modern Western civilization. Cultural patterns have become increasingly complex. Hence whatever differences are found among different societal groups, they represent degrees of complexity of ideology and differences in political, economic, and social status. The impact upon developing young people of the many stress-arousing conditions and situations inherent in Western civilization is tremendous. There probably is no other

national group in which can be found so many complex cultural influences that affect the lives of adolescents as exist in the United States of America. In the following consideration of adolescent development in a complex society, therefore, we are pointing our discussion toward the development and adjustment of young people who are citizens of the United States and who commonly are referred to collectively as American adolescents.

American Youth

As has been indicated earlier in this chapter, the culture in which, as a child and an adolescent, an individual grows and develops comprises the physical and material elements of the environment in which he is reared and all the factors of influence that are inherent in the traditions, mores, beliefs, attitudes, and behavior patterns that represent the cultural pattern of the young person's social or community group. In their abilities and tendencies to respond to and to mold their personalities according to the stimulating forces of their physical and social environment, modern American adolescents do not differ from the youth of earlier cultures. The more simple in form and more consistent the culture is, the more rapid and easier probably is the transition from childhood to adult understanding of personal and group rights and responsibilities. The complex interrelations of all the facets of so-called modern American culture include many heterogeneous classifications and groupings of personal and social attitudes and activities. The achievement by the adolescent of satisfactory preparation for adult living is dependent, therefore, upon the breadth and depth of his experiences during preadult years.

General factors of influence. To a greater or lesser extent all American youths are experiencing the effects upon their developing personality qualities of two general characteristics of modern Western civilization: (1) rapidly evolving technological changes, exemplified by twentieth-century developments in media of intercommunication, in modes of travel, in labor-saving devices, in medical research, and in forms of recreational opportunities; (2) social changes, including attitudes toward parent-child relations, educational aims and objectives, vocational preparation and activities, sex status, "caste" or class relationships, democratic rights and responsibilities, as well as personal and group appreciation of spiritual, political, and socioeconomic life values.

The maturing adolescent is inducted into his particular life pattern in many diverse ways. Some aspects of his culture he appears to absorb almost unconsciously and assimilate more or less profitably. Other phases of cultural beliefs, traditions, and socially accepted behavior patterns are learned by way of relatively formal educational experiences. The cultural

patterning of an individual's personality is described succinctly by Kuhlen.³

A culture (or subculture) makes its impact upon the young in a great variety of ways—through the family, the school, the church, the press, the radio, the movies, and various organizations and informal groups to which the young belong. Culture is transmitted in some cases by specific instruction toward stated objectives; in other instances through the use of punishment and reward to reach ends never clearly defined, sometimes even not recognized; and through the incidental learning that occurs from being with others. Some behaviors are obligatory, a high degree of conformity is demanded, and society takes definite steps—which may be as informal as a frown or as formal as a court sentence—to make individuals conform to certain established patterns of conduct. Certain habits of eating, behaviors of courtship and marriage, topics of conversation, attitudes toward religion, are prescribed by the group within which the child grows. Transgressions are punished; conformity is rewarded. In other aspects of behavior, considerable freedom of choice is possible; to a certain extent, an individual has the privilege of choosing his occupation, of deciding books he will read, of selecting his recreations—but what he “likes” and the alternatives from which he chooses are determined by the culture in which he makes his choices. Still other influences are at work in molding behavior, in which the individual exercises no choice, nor does society make any explicit demands. Movies, radio, advertisements, magazines, and newspapers change attitudes, influence style of hair dress, and in countless subtle ways affect behavior—oftentimes with complete unawareness on the part of the individual so affected. Thus, cultural influences may range from an active demanding of certain behavior patterns to a “passive” molding of personality.

The United States often is referred to as a “melting pot.” Many different peoples, representing diverse cultural backgrounds, have continued to make our country their home. Ideological differences among them exercise a potent influence upon what we like to refer to as “the American way of life.” These various peoples attempt to adjust their traditional beliefs, attitudes, and forms of behavior according to our democratic ideal. Their respective interpretation of, and ability to conform to, democratic standards concerning individual rights and responsibilities increase the complexity and heterogeneity of American culture to an extent that is not experienced by other national groups whose citizenry represents more homogeneous grouping.

Many children of foreign-born parents have been and still are the victims of conflict between old-world traditions and modern American ideals. Conflict situations caused by the recent influx into the United

³R. G. Kuhlen, *The Psychology of Adolescent Development*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1952, pp. 148-149.

States of young Puerto Ricans is a case in point. Within the freedoms guaranteed us by the Bill of Rights can be found some of the roots of adolescent difficulties, since these individual rights are not understood by all our adult and adolescent citizens and are sometimes misinterpreted in terms of the common good.

An adolescent's development in, and adjustment to, his or her particular school, occupational, community, religious, political, and economic conditions and situations are discussed in later chapters. At this point we shall consider some of the fundamental changes in our culture that are affecting the lives of young people. Three significant factors of influence upon the attitudes and behavior patterns of modern American youth are *mobility*, *technological progress*, and *war conditions*.

The effects of mobility. Mobility can be interpreted in either of two ways: as geographic change or as movement from one social class, or "caste," to another. Either aspect of mobility represents a trend away from traditional stability of home environment and social-class status toward populational fluidity.

Trend from Rural to Urban Life. At the time of the American Revolution the Thirteen Colonies lay mainly along the Atlantic seaboard. To a greater or lesser degree each colony reflected a cultural pattern that was peculiar to its old-world culture. As the newly formed United States started to expand westward, the early pioneers took with them to their new homes a mixture of traditional cultures and democratic ideals that tended to fuse into the American way of life. For the most part we were a rural people. Family ties were strong; large families were necessary so that the children might help care for the farms and provide life necessities. Early marriage was the custom. In fact, some small communities were composed almost entirely of close or more distant family relatives. Young people grew up in a relatively peaceful environment in which work, recreation, religious experiences, and schooling were home- and community-centered.

The rise of industrialism has led to a rapid urbanization of the American people. Beginning in the nineteenth century the trek of young persons from the farm to increasingly crowded urban industrial centers has continued throughout the past half century. By reference to Figure 1 it can be seen that in 1900 about 60 per cent of the population of the United States lived in rural areas. Today more than 59 per cent are urbanites or suburbanites, with expected continuing increase. These population changes constitute the bases of many adjustment problems for both rural and urban youth. Many of those who migrate from the farm to urban centers are older adolescents and young adults. From a relatively sheltered existence, including much physical work and simple social and recreational activities, adjustment must be made to crowded

living conditions, bustle and confusion, impersonal and businesslike relationships with fellow workers and even with neighbors, extended educational and vocational opportunities, and many different kinds of recreational activities and commercialized entertainment.

Both rural and urban communities differ among themselves and within themselves in terms of the respective subcultures that comprise them. Children and adolescents mingle with others of their own-age groups who have been reared in homes that represent attitudes and behavior patterns that may differ greatly from their own. They then are confronted with the problem of determining what cultural values are most

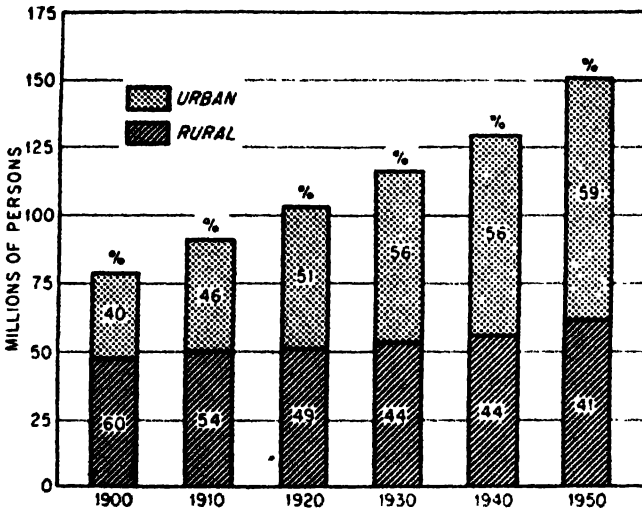


FIG. 1. Population trends in the United States, 1900-1950, showing trend toward urbanization (based on United States census data).

worth while. Especially are children of migrant workers sensitive to differences among the various communities in which they must live for a shorter or longer period of time, as their parents go from place to place for seasonal work. Adequate provision for the education and social needs of these young people has become a serious national problem.

Social-class Mobility. We are acquainted with the various caste systems that were characteristic of earlier forms of culture and still are relatively strong in some parts of the world. The democratic ideal of equality of opportunity for all people according to their ability to achieve vocational and/or social recognition has tended to break down artificial class barriers. There are extant in our modern civilization, however, certain class differentiations that are peculiar to differences in educational level, religious affiliation, occupational activity, or economic status. There also is much social mobility. Some of our most respected, admired, and revered

leaders in every area of social betterment have risen from lowly beginnings to great heights of achievement and universal esteem. Although many existing inequalities of opportunity and social acceptance still exist, an American parent rightfully can strive to make possible for his children the experiencing of opportunities for self-advancement beyond what he himself has achieved.

The concept of social mobility is an essential concomitant of the democratic ideal, yet it constitutes one more factor of possible adolescent conflict. Personal and parental ambitions in relation to personal capacity to achieve may initiate the arousal of youthful feelings of frustration that are little experienced in caste-controlled societies.

Effects of technological progress. To survey even briefly all the changes in mode of living that accompany technological progress would go far beyond the limits of this discussion. Certain ways in which material and mechanical advancements are affecting the development and life adjustment of young people, however, are worthy of consideration. We shall refer here to some of the general factors of influence upon young people in this age of technology. Specific implications of mechanical progress will be treated later in connection with adolescent problems of adjustment.

In the earlier days of our country's history, as has been said previously, many life necessities were produced in the home; others were made by hand in the shops of community artisans. The adolescent shared in production, either as his parent's helper or as an apprentice to the village producer. In any case, the young person participated in the work activity, and followed the making of an article from the first operation to its completion. Care and accuracy of workmanship were stressed. Mass production constitutes a different situation for the young person who must select the kind of work in which he wishes to engage, prepare himself adequately for it, and then seek and hold a job, sometimes in face of much competition. Vocational opportunities constantly are changing with technical advances. Increase in mechanical power is accompanied by decrease in need of man power. It often is difficult for the young adolescent to decide upon his life work. An occupational field that is open when he starts to train for it may be closed by the time the prospective worker is prepared to enter it.

For example, at the beginning of the Second World War there was a great demand for war workers with some educational background in the physical sciences. This need stimulated many high school students and college undergraduates to major in science and mathematics. By the time these young people had completed their training, however, their services in this field no longer were required and they were faced with the problem of finding a peacetime opportunity to utilize their training. The fact

that in many occupational areas specialization rather than general over-all knowledge and skill is preferred also intensifies adolescent problems of vocational selection. Chapter 16 deals fully with young people's vocational adjustments.

Another effect upon youth of improved mechanical devices can be found in the release of young people from former home responsibilities. The many timesaving and laborsaving household gadgets that are available to most housewives make it unnecessary for mothers to assign household chores to their children. Hence young people are motivated to devote to leisure-time activities the hours that once were given to household tasks. Recreational opportunities available to young people as well as to their elders also reflect the spirit of mechanical progress. Radio, television, motion pictures, automobiles, airplanes, and other inventions offer so many diverse and ever-changing ways of filling one's time and stimulating one's interests that they have become a threat to family unity, adolescent stability, societal standards of wholesome behavior, and religious values. Significant technological changes can exercise a potent and disturbing influence upon American youth during the growing-up period.

Effects of war conditions. Youthful confusion and instability brought about by the factors of mobility and technological change that are inherent in our present culture have been intensified by disturbed world conditions. Serious problems of adjustment are experienced by 18- to 20-year-olds who become members of the armed services. High school graduates and college students take with them patterns of behavior that reflect school or college campus activities. They are immature; they may not yet thoroughly understand and accept their college responsibilities; about one-third of them have little or no conception of spiritual values; too many of them lack an appreciation of the significance in their own lives of accepted moral codes and of the power of self-discipline.

At the 1954 annual conference of the American Social Hygiene Association, Major-General Charles I. Carpenter, Chief of Chaplains of the United States Air Force, spoke forcibly concerning problems that are associated with the attitudes and behavior of young military personnel here and in foreign countries. He stressed the need of basic preinduction preparation that would begin early in the life of the young person. Parents, educational and religious leaders, as well as the young people themselves must share in bringing about an emotionally stable and mature attitude in the young inductees toward their responsibilities as representatives of the American democratic state, especially in their relationships with people of a culture different from their own.

The changing status of women. In the foregoing discussion we have pointed up some of the major elements of modern American culture that

have a tremendous impact upon a developing young person. Another significant factor is the rapidly changing status of girls and women. Traditionally minded older men and women regard with dismay and even horror the increasing trend toward equality between the sexes in educational, vocational, and political opportunities for self-realization. Some younger men resent the inroads of women into supposedly male fields of activity. Many girls and young women do not yet feel secure in their new-found freedom.

Relaxed control of boy-girl relationships, combined with technologically provided increase of leisure time, has resulted in confusion concerning proper standards of behavior of one sex toward the other. As adolescent boys and girls struggle to achieve adult status in the group, keen competition may arise between the sexes. At the same time, members of each sex are motivated by maturing sex urges toward the building of new and different relationships between men and women. These new interests are especially disturbing to young people during their earlier adolescent years, but may continue through the teen-age years unless boys and girls have achieved a wholesome understanding of, and a feeling of security in, their own sex roles.

Society's responsibility for adolescent adjustment. Since an individual's development during childhood usually takes place within the family unit and in a relatively small neighborhood group, he is likely to assimilate the mores and habitual attitudes and behavior patterns that are common to the subcultural community of which he is a member. It is when, as an adolescent, he comes to grips with the elements of wider, more heterogeneous cultures that he begins to experience feelings of insecurity, confusion, or conflict. During this period he is expected to gain an understanding of the many facets of the democratically structured way of life, and to prepare himself adequately for active participation in national and world affairs.

In our modern culture adolescence probably represents the most critical period of an individual's life. An adolescent's position is anomalous. The average life span has risen from about 22 years in 1500 to close to 70 years at the present, with a possible continued rise. The age at which adult responsibilities are to be assumed is delayed, in some instances to as late an age as 25 or more years. Yet some 18-year-olds or younger teen-agers are gainfully employed. They also may be married and have children. Moreover, an adolescent may be treated by his elders as if he were a child, but is expected to display mature judgment in the management of his affairs.

The difficulties inherent in adolescent development and adjustment are increased by the fact that our cultural mores still are in a state of flux. There is no clear-cut and generally accepted adult interpretation of the

connotation and significance of adolescence. Blos emphasizes this lack of consistency when he says:⁴

The ambiguous status of the adolescent is shown in the confusion which results from the legal necessity of defining maturity in terms of age. In a culture that marks the passage of time not by the sun and the seasons, but by numbers on a clock and by numbered days in a calendrical system, that determines a man's economic value by the number of monetary units contained in his capital or his income, that places the quantitative sciences among its highest intellectual achievements, it is no accident that a person's level of maturity should be defined by some numerical technique of measuring age. An individual's level of maturity, therefore, is computed by adding the number of months and years that have elapsed since the moment of birth. Despite its neatness and objectivity, such a technique has not resulted in any general agreement as to what constitutes the age at which an individual ceases to be a child and becomes an adult. The numerical definition of maturity has varied at different times, and it varies in different localities. Not long ago a young adolescent in this country could engage in gainful employment. Today, with the more extensive protection of children as well as the increasing competition for jobs, the individual's period of economic immaturity is being prolonged. State laws differ considerably in defining the age of economic competence, as well as the age appropriate to owning a driver's license, engaging in marriage, sustaining criminal liability. In one state a seventeen-year-old boy committing a crime is tried in the juvenile court and, if it seems advisable, he may be sent to a reformatory. In a neighboring state a boy of the same age is prosecuted in the criminal court and, if found guilty, he is sent to the penitentiary. In one state, then, he is legally a child; in the next he is a full-grown man.

It is no small wonder, therefore, that the adolescent should be confused and conflicted in trying to gain a sense of his place in the wider culture, for he lives in a culture which is itself inconsistent in defining his status and in a society which fails to provide him with any preparation for increasingly responsible membership. This inconsistency in dealing with maturation is only one aspect of a culture that is heterogeneous and loosely coordinated throughout.

Among the cultural inconsistencies referred to by Blos can be noted the continuing conflict between autocracy or authoritarianism and democracy, and the effect of this conflict upon maturing young people. In their relationships with the fundamental social institutions—religious, family, governmental, educational, and occupational—adolescents need to experience a generally consistent pattern of attitudes and behavior. Instead, they may be exposed to cultural uncertainties. They may receive autocratic treatment from one of these institutions; they may be expected by another to understand democratic ideals and to pattern their behavior

⁴Peter Blos, *The Adolescent Personality*, copyright 1941, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, pp. 263-264.

accordingly. In addition, one or another of these institutions, failing to achieve a nice balance between needed authority and desirable democracy in their relations with immature adolescents, may adopt a generally permissive or laissez-faire attitude toward youth training.

Adolescents resent adult authoritarianism; they are likely to fumble in their efforts to achieve their democratic rights and to fulfill their responsibilities in a democratic society. Too great permissiveness accorded them by their elders, who themselves display a laissez-faire attitude toward cultural standards, may have dangerous consequences. In the resulting adolescent confusion, insecurity, and conflict experiences are rooted the basic causes of youthful delinquency, mental and emotional disturbance, and the continuance of immature inadequacy to meet and to adjust successfully to the personal and social obligations that accompany the reaching of adult status.

Many modern young people succeed in bridging the gap between childhood and adulthood with a minimum of disturbing experiences. They give evidence of a zestful attitude toward the many challenges that are inherent in the growing-up process. Good inherited potentials and wise adult guidance during childhood and adolescent years make it possible for them to develop stable emotional status and to adjust adequately to the many differing stimuli situations that can have devastating effects upon less fortunate adolescents. Quoting again from Blos:⁵

There can be no doubt that a heterogeneous culture provides its members with resources for abundant living. The individual in a primitive society is not given such richly diversified materials from which to select a way of life. His choices are more narrowly restricted. In our Western culture the individual is offered a wide range of practices and values from which to construct a pattern more distinctive for his own individuality. Amidst the contradictory standards that are offered, however, the discriminative task of finding a satisfying and coherent scheme of values is a difficult one, full of constant strains and conflicts even for the adult. It is a particularly difficult task for the adolescent who is experiencing the first impact of a wider culture with its inconsistent definitions of his maturity and its confusion of standards and practices. But if he can work his way through the problem of relating himself as a person to his wider cultural environment, he will develop toward a way of life abundant in its variety and uniquely appropriate to him as a distinct individual.

In this chapter⁶ have been presented the biological and cultural factors that influence to a greater or lesser extent the developmental progress of maturing boys and girls. Psychologists and educators are not so much concerned about adolescents *in toto* as they are with individual adolescents' degree of successful development. Hence we shall consider next

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

some of the techniques currently utilized to study teen-age needs, urges, interests, attitudes, and displayed behavior patterns, as well as the interpretation and possible application of the results of study techniques utilized with adolescents.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Distinguish between biological and cultural heritage.
2. What are the special impacts upon adolescent development of biological inheritance? Of social inheritance?
3. To what extent can adolescents in our culture participate in the practices of adolescents of primitive societies?
4. How do life values in primitive cultures differ from those in our culture?
5. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of an extended period of adolescence.
6. What effect has the urbanization of society had upon adolescent development and adolescents' problems?
7. To what extent should adolescents attempt to solve their own problems?
8. Enumerate changes that are taking place in our society that, at the same time, present changes in adolescent problems.
9. Compare the problems of childhood at preadolescence with those of adolescence.
10. Why is the period of adolescence sometimes considered to be a transition period between childhood and adulthood?
11. What orientation in attitude should be developed toward the adolescent period on the part of adults? On the part of adolescents themselves?
12. To what extent do environmental conditions set the problems which confront adolescents?
13. Describe the impact of potential war conditions upon teen-agers.
14. To what extent are adults responsible for adjustment?
15. List ten major problems of adolescents. Suggest two ways of meeting each of them.

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Chapter 3

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF ADOLESCENCE

Considerable research has been undertaken in the field of child study. There is available for utilization by parents, teachers, and other persons interested in the welfare of children a large body of information concerning child growth and development. For the most part, data obtained concerning young child development have scientific validity and practical value. To the present, however, we do not have equally valid study results dealing with adolescent growth and development. One reason for this difference can be found in the relative simplicity of the developmental pattern during childhood as compared with complex adolescent adjustment. Furthermore, the significance in the life of an individual of his childhood experiences was recognized earlier by psychologists and educators than was the need to gain a realistic understanding of the changes that take place during the adolescent period of development. A growing awareness of the problems experienced by young people during their growing-up years has stimulated among psychologists a vital interest in the factors of adolescent adjustment. Consequently, some helpful beginnings have been made in the study of adolescent personality.

BASIC CONSIDERATIONS IN ADOLESCENT STUDY

The publication, in 1904, by G. Stanley Hall of the findings of his study of adolescents in his two-volume *Adolescence* served as an impetus to other psychologists to concentrate their efforts upon analyses of youthful attitudes and behavior. As a result of his monumental study, Hall concluded that adolescence represents a period of "storm and stress" in the life of an individual. This interpretation of the nature of teen-age experiences came as a shock to those persons who either had regarded adolescence as no more than a continuation of childhood development or had given little, if any, serious thought to adolescent preparation for adult status. Some of the studies that followed Hall's* work, therefore, were attempts to refute his findings by showing that growth and development are continuous processes that run along smoothly from early beginnings to the attainment of adult maturity.* More recent work in this

* It was claimed that Hall's conclusions had been based upon data obtained through the utilization of the questionnaire technique that may or may not yield valid and reliable results.

field indicates greater objectivity of approach, with more variation of findings. There still exists, however, among psychologists, some controversy concerning the amount and kind of stressful experience that is general among teen-agers.

Adult need to understand adolescents. Twentieth-century psychologists have emphasized the importance of recognizing differences as well as likenesses among human beings. Probably at no age period are individual differences so marked as they are during adolescence. As was noted in Chapter 2, the impact of differing cultural influences upon differing biologically inherited potentialities is extremely strong during these years. Hence variations in rate of growth and maturation, combined with differences in attitude and behavior development and adjustment, require that adult treatment of, and attitudes toward, young people reflect an appreciation of (1) common personality characteristics of adolescents at different age levels, i.e., early adolescence versus late adolescence, (2) individual differences among adolescents of the same-age period, and (3) the progressive changes that occur in the developmental pattern of a single adolescent.

Parents become concerned when or if their younger adolescent children exhibit behavior different from that which had been displayed by their older sons and daughters during early adolescent years. Some fathers and mothers are unable to reconcile themselves to the fact that their adolescent children seem to lack certain qualities that were characteristic of parental adolescent personality. Many of the problems of home and family adjustment discussed in Chapter 14 could be avoided if parents and other relatives possessed a greater understanding of adolescent nature.

Most school people who have taught in both elementary and secondary schools are willing to admit that in many ways it is easier to work with elementary school children than it is to motivate learning among secondary school pupils. Although energy-filled youngsters may need firm guidance, they usually are malleable and respond readily and cheerfully to overt expressions of adult friendliness toward them and interest in them. It is much more difficult for the secondary school teacher to achieve rapport with all his pupils, especially if the members of his class include young people at different stages of maturation. Each pupil is an individual who may need to be treated differently from every other pupil. Unless the teacher is aware of the ways in which young people differ and knows something of the background history of each of his students, pupil cooperation may be difficult to achieve.

Malm and Jamison¹ point up the necessity for adults who are responsible for adolescent training and welfare to learn through adolescent

¹ By permission from *Adolescence*, by M. Malm and O. G. Jamison. Copyright, 1952. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, p. 11.

study what young people are like and how they best can be helped to become mature, constructive adults:

. . . Even the most accomplished teachers and the most skillful parents need to see the whole of the adolescent problem—and this “whole” is bigger than most people realize. It involves understanding not only the boys and girls of our acquaintance but understanding also in what respects they are like all adolescents and in what respects they diverge from the pattern. It involves knowing the problems that beset the adolescent even though he may not tell us about them and knowing also when we should try to help him and when we should leave him alone. It involves knowing what happy, well-adjusted adulthood for the adolescent really means and knowing what we can do for him in his growing-up years in order that he actually may become the best that he has the possibility to be. More than that, if we really understand adolescent psychology, we shall be able to recognize maladjustments in the boy or girl and then be able to give the often delicate and subtle assistance which will enable him to develop as he should. We shall comprehend the whole story of delinquency—its causes, its manifestations, and its remedies. We shall see wherein the community fails the adolescent, know what some towns and cities are doing to remedy their defects, and have a clear idea of what good community life for young people includes.

The implication of this quotation embodies an ideal state of understanding, the attainment of which requires much extensive and intensive study of adolescents and their problems. That there is an existing need for the application of such study is evidenced by many examples of unintelligent handling of youth problems by parents, school people, courts, and civic leaders. Adults must understand adolescents and recognize and fulfill their responsibilities toward them. For example, a teacher who forbids an adolescent stutterer to participate in class discussion because, according to the teacher, the student's struggles to express his thoughts “makes me nervous,” is failing to recognize the young person's need for teacher understanding and help.

Our discussion to this point may seem to place major emphasis upon adult obligations to youth. It is equally necessary for young people to understand themselves, their problems, and their own share of responsibility for the kind of changes that are taking place during this critical period. Unfortunately, one of the results of adolescent study has been the development among some adults of a sentimental compulsion to condone or minimize adolescent participation in asocial or delinquent behavior. To understand the causes of such behavior does not mean to excuse it. We probably can serve youth best by studying them, preventing or ameliorating unhygienic physical and social conditions, and then providing stress-and-strain-free opportunities for them, through their

own efforts, gradually to achieve independence from adult control, self-determination, and self-realization.

Areas of adolescent study. There is general agreement among psychologists that an individual's personality represents the complex interrelated whole organism that functions constantly as responses are made to inner and outer stimulating forces according to developed reaction habits and the strength of natural drives, urges, and acquired interests and ambitions. To accept the concept of "wholeness" of personality implies that the most effective approach to the study of adolescents might be to limit the study to a consideration of all the various phases of the personality of a single adolescent. Much can be learned from the utilization of this approach, as will be indicated later in the chapter.

There also is value in studying each of the various aspects of the whole personality, provided that attention is given to the possible effect upon the particular personality phase of the interaction that may be taking place between it and other personality phases. We sometimes refer to the various phases or aspects of the total personality pattern as *personality traits* or *characteristics*. For operational purposes a trait can be defined as a single, persistent mode of response to a stimulus situation that tends to evoke it. A trait does not function in isolation, however. Hence it is not enough to discover that one adolescent appears to be more industrious, cheerful, cooperative, alert, aggressive, timid, or courteous than another. Since a behavior trait is a learned reaction habit and is an expression of an acquired attitude, the source of its acquisition also must be understood, as well as its interrelation with other segments of the individual's whole personality pattern.

An adolescent's physical characteristics, for example, have a significant effect upon the kinds of personal and social attitudes and so-called trait responses that he may develop. In the words of Peter Blos:²

... It is the total personality, not one of its separate and diversified aspects, which responds to a situation. For purposes of analyzing and describing the complex data of behavior, however, it is often advantageous to deal separately with the physical and the mental, the intellectual and the emotional, the personal and the social. In this way attention can be focused upon certain selected aspects of the personality. But this descriptive procedure is merely a useful verbal device, not the basis of a conception of personality. To conceive of the individual as a self-contained and departmentalized mechanism, making isolated responses to simple environmental stimuli, is to set up a convenient but essentially false abstraction.

During adolescence the personality-patterning process that is taking place within a maturing young person is affected by the physical and

² Peter Blos, *The Adolescent Personality*, copyright 1941, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, p. 11.

physiological changes which he is experiencing, by the expansion of his intellectual powers and his increasing skills and broadening knowledge, by his developing urge to attain adult status and to achieve satisfactory group relations, and by his growing concern about life values. Adolescent personality development is a two-way process. Environmental conditions and situations set the stage for the kinds of experiences through participation in which the boy or girl is helped or hindered in his development and adjustment. In addition, the attitudes, behavior habits, degree of emotional control and self-understanding, and kind of personal-social relationships that are carried over from childhood to and through the adolescent period determine in great part the extent to which teen-age experiences result in the development of well-adjusted or maladjusted life patterns.

To be worth while any approach to the study of adolescent personality must take into consideration (1) the changes that are taking place during adolescence in physical structure and physiological functioning, and in personal and social urges and interests, (2) environmental stimulations and opportunities for development, and (3) childhood background of development and training. Moreover, valid and reliable findings that result from studies of adolescents should then be utilized by those adults whose responsibility it is to help youth develop personality qualities that will enable them to be competent, forward-looking, and well adjusted in the various phases of life activities. Among the areas of study and application, therefore, can be included factors that are inherent in the achievement of independence from parental control; heterosexual adjustment, wise mate choice and marital and parental success; satisfactory vocational selection, preparation, and participation; intelligent and cooperative citizenship; and prevention of, or reconditioning of, maladjusted or delinquent adolescent behavior.

Reasons for study inadequacies. Various obstacles are encountered by psychologists, educators, and other evaluators when they attempt to study all phases of adolescent life and adjustment. Some of these difficulties are common to all study projects that involve analyses of complex human behavior. It is almost impossible to isolate one phase or segment of the total, integrated personality pattern. Furthermore, the subtle interrelationships that may exist between human reactions and environmental stimuli constitute elusive elements that interfere with one's efforts to discover valid cause-effect relationships as these affect human behavior. Kuhlén says:³

It is difficult to predict what a particular person will do in a situation, because he, as the behaving organism, has the potentiality for extremely variable

³ R. G. Kuhlén, *The Psychology of Adolescent Development*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1952, pp. 12-13.

behavior. His numerous predispositions (which may not be readily identifiable) are dependent upon inherited abilities and capacities, upon current physical state, upon previous learning from various earlier experiences. Nor is the situation to which he is reacting simple. It is more than just an objective environment. It has meaning to the individual reacting to it which depends upon the meaning he brings to the situation. And of course, what an individual brings to a situation depends upon his personal history to date. Since each person has a particular life history, unique in many respects, the "cause" of particular behaviors will be found only through careful study of that individual, his backgrounds, and how he views himself and his world.

Other general factors of inadequacy in currently utilized evaluating procedures include lack of clear understanding of the purpose of the study, accuracy of administration of evaluating techniques, and correctness and completeness of interpretation of obtained data. In addition, it would seem to be a matter of general understanding that a study has value only if and when the findings are checked for validity and reliability and then applied constructively. Unfortunately, there still are too many instances of study projects that are carefully completed, and the results perhaps published in a professional journal, with little or no practical utilization of their implications.

Attempts to study adolescents present certain specific problems. The adolescents themselves may resent what to them appears to be a form of prying into their affairs. They are sensitive to possible adult criticism of their attitudes, beliefs, or behavior. For example, an adolescent will agree with his teacher that he is weak in mathematics or that he is not achieving as well as he would like in some other school subject, but he rarely will tolerate a suggestion from an elder that his grooming, dress, manners, expressed attitudes and convictions need to be changed or improved according to adult standards. The young person may seem to agree with the suggestion; he is more likely than not to continue the criticized practice, however. Adolescent secretiveness and lack of cooperation with adults whom they do not know well and in whom they do not have confidence often result in the inability of an investigator to obtain accurate or truthful responses from young people who are the subjects of an evaluative study.

Although the reasons for adult lack of cooperation vary, parents, teachers, and other leaders of youth are not always helpful in their attitudes toward study approaches. Some parents fear that questions presented to them concerning their adolescent children may carry implications of parental failure in child rearing. Moreover, it is difficult for a father or mother to be completely objective in the evaluation of his child's strengths and weaknesses, especially to a stranger.

Even though a parent admits that his adolescent child has erred in one

way or another, there is evidenced an attitude of placing the blame for the situation on conditions outside the home, or of criticizing other adults for not understanding the young person, or for failing to give him a "fair deal." An example of this parental attitude recently came to the authors' attention. A teen-age boy of a good family had been brought into court twice because of delinquent behavior. In both instances the parents criticized the presiding judge for his harshness and lack of understanding of their son's problems. They also have been consistent in their expressed attitude of placing the blame for the boy's delinquent behavior upon factors and conditions outside his own and the family's control.

Some school administrators and teachers are reluctant to devote school time to participation in study projects that involve their pupils. Except for matters that deal with school progress, any information possessed by school people concerning students and their families is supposed to be held in confidence unless an individual pupil and his family are willing to release it to other persons or agencies. This school-home relationship functions as a barrier to the obtaining by investigators of much valuable information that otherwise might be available through the administration of questionnaires to teachers and pupils, the setting up of series of fact-finding interviews, or the utilization of other mediums of investigation. The time-consuming demands of an extensive and intensive investigation, even though receiving parental and school administrator approval, interferes with the teaching-learning activities that are needed to "cover" the materials of overcrowded school curriculums. Hence teachers often believe that they dare not "waste" time on an investigation that may not have specific and immediate educational value.

Growing concern about adolescent maladjustment and delinquency among professionally-minded men and women, as well as among the general citizenry, is tending to modify former resistance to participation in adolescent study projects. An increasing recognition of the value as an educational aid of the results of studies that already have been conducted is stimulating interest in continued research. Some of the study difficulties referred to in this part of the discussion still exist, however. With the improvement and expansion of techniques of study and evaluation, some of these obstacles may be removed. As we consider the various techniques and approaches to adolescent study, we shall attempt to indicate ways through which greater reliability of methodology and validity of findings may come to be achieved.

COMMONLY USED STUDY APPROACHES

There are various possible approaches to the study and evaluation of human characteristics. More or less consciously, everyone constantly is

attempting to discover why another person acts or thinks in one or another way. For the most part, the layman's evaluation of his respective associates is conducted informally and reflects his own attitudes, standards of values, and biases or prejudices. To be valid, a study of the development and adjustment of a young person of any age must represent an objective approach and follow scientific procedures to as great an extent as is possible. Conclusions subjectively arrived at can be avoided or minimized only if the person or group engaging in the study or evaluating process makes careful preparation for the project, observes or measures accurately and objectively, classifies obtained data completely, summarizes the results of the study correctly and impartially, and verifies the final conclusions through continued research and application.

Limiting factors of study. Regardless of the study technique employed and the carefulness of its utilization, general applicability of the resulting conclusions may be questionable. For example, many of the existing studies of adolescent development and behavior have centered around research concerning young people who have been reared in middle-class urban communities. In Chapter 2 we emphasized the effect upon the developmental pattern of youth of subcultural influence, as well as of differences in biologically inherited potentialities. Hence, as we consider the various commonly utilized techniques of adolescent study and evaluation, we need to be alert to at least two significant facts: (1) generalizations resulting from research applicable only to members of the group studied, e.g., behavior or attitudes that may seem to be general for younger adolescents or for teen-agers who are born and reared in a large metropolitan community such as New York City, may not be representative of older adolescents or youth in the small agricultural village of Dundee, Ohio; (2) within the group studied there are likely to be some adolescents who, for one or another reason, deviate from the generally accepted norm of development or adjustment, e.g., an adolescent's personal and group behavior may be affected by too great difference between himself and the majority of the group in physical structure and constitution, mental potential, emotional balance, or socioeconomic status. With these cautions concerning the acceptance of study results, we now shall consider some of the generally used approaches to the study of adolescent nature.

The horizontal study approach. Much of the data now available concerning adolescents has been obtained through the utilization of horizontal or cross-sectional study approaches. By means of this technique, often referred to as a "normative" study, specific characteristics of a large group of supposedly same-status subjects are investigated to discover what the general trend or average for that particular group appears to be. When a norm has been reliably ascertained, any individual who falls into

the group studied can be compared to his group's average to determine the extent of his deviation from it, i.e., the degree to which he is atypical.

The utilization of cross-sectional studies has provided us with considerable information concerning general growth and development trends. Height and weight charts represent the results of studies that have been conducted at various age levels, respectively. The same is true of mental growth and of other phases of child and adolescent development. Comparisons of these developmental "average ages" have led to the acceptance of certain expected norms as standards for the evaluation of individual growth and progress. The many carefully conducted cross-sectional studies that have been and continue to be made have value in that they represent a convenient basis for evaluating the status of a young person at any given stage of his development.

The study limitations referred to in the preceding section apply to the utilization of the horizontal approach. When or if we critically examine all the factors involved in this method, we can recognize the danger of accepting without question any norm, no matter how reliable it may seem to be. The results of a cross-sectional study usually are supposed to represent a sampling of the whole population at a given stage of growth or development. Since it is difficult to obtain an adequate sampling, the obtained norm may not be representative of all possible cases. Hence apparent deviation from that norm may not be a reliable measure of individual evaluation. It is only as many different studies are conducted in the same area of investigation, and yield comparable results, that valid conclusions can be drawn.

Another cause of error in cross-sectional studies of growth and development lies in the fact that rate of progress differs with individuals. One cannot assume, for example, that all persons who have the same chronological age, say, 8, 10, 12, or 14 years, respectively, have reached the same maturational stage. Yet all or most of them may be fully mature by age 20. The factor of growth and development rate is particularly significant during the adolescent years. Another weakness lies in the fact that an 8-year-old group may yield a greater range of differences than is found in older age groups, with consequent unreliable "averages."

This situation can be illustrated by supposing that in a school or school system a simultaneous group study is undertaken to discover the average increase in mental ability that can be expected to take place in pupils from the fourth through the sixth to the eighth grade. Undoubtedly the study project will show that children grow mentally during these years. The average difference, however, between age and grade levels cannot be explained entirely in terms of the growth and development factors alone. Unless the school or school system is organized in terms of social promotions, i.e., according to chronological age, with no regard

for success in learning progress, the pupils of the higher grades constitute a more selective group from the standpoint of mental alertness. Since the mentally slower members of the fourth-grade group have not been able to keep pace with their brighter classmates, the norms of intelligence in the upper-grade groups represent not only increasing maturation but also greater homogeneity in mental ability.

The vertical study approach. No one can deny the fact that in spite of their weaknesses, cross-sectional group studies have great value as means of furthering our general understanding of the maturational and developmental processes. Parents, teachers, and other adults who are responsible for the welfare of young people usually are interested in general "psychological" principles only to the extent that they apply to specific boys and girls. Parents are concerned about the developmental progress of their child. The teacher at any school level needs to understand each of his pupils in terms of the young person's particular developmental history, his present status, and probable future progress. The child, and especially the adolescent, should gain some awareness of personal strengths and weaknesses. These data can be obtained only by means of a continuous study of the individual from the prenatal period through the maturing and developing years. Such longitudinal or vertical studies are time-consuming and costly projects. They necessitate the continued application of research techniques which may be difficult to manage. Moreover, reliable conclusions concerning the individual's pattern of developmental progress cannot be made until he has reached maturity. Longitudinal studies are extremely valuable, however. We now are beginning to get the results of such studies that were begun in the 1920s and 1930s. Some of these research projects will be described later in the chapter.

SPECIFIC TECHNIQUES OF EVALUATION

Various techniques and instruments of evaluation are utilized in the study of adolescent development and adjustment. Among those commonly used are (1) observational techniques, (2) interviewing, (3) questionnaires, (4) standardized testing instruments, (5) self-expressing materials, (6) experimentation, and (7) the case study or case history. Each of these study approaches is described briefly below.

Observational techniques. Observation of displayed behavior is a common method of discovering what a person is like. Roughly, this method can be classified as (1) informal, unplanned observation of behavior that takes place daily among associates, and that may be interpreted in terms of personal bias or may place emphasis upon certain aspects of behavior and disregard others, (2) planned observation that is conducted by a

trained person, is controlled in terms of specific purposes of study, and is relatively free from personal prejudice, or (3) observation that is conducted through a one-way vision screen or by taking motion pictures of displayed behavior without the subject's or subjects' awareness of being observed.

Planned, controlled observation often is used by the teacher in the classroom. This form of study technique will be discussed later. The utilization of the one-way screen or the motion-picture technique is an excellent method of studying what can be termed "natural reactions." Arnold Gesell's detailed studies of the behavior patterns of young children exemplify the value of this mode of observation. Many institutions of teacher education are employing one-way vision screen and sound-amplifying techniques as means of helping teacher trainees become acquainted at firsthand with children's behavior patterns under varying conditions.

Although well-organized observational techniques are excellent approaches to the developmental study of children, their utilization in the study of adolescents tends to be less successful. Teen-agers usually are quick to realize that they are the subjects of observational study. They are sensitive; they may be suspicious of stimuli situations that seem to focus upon themselves and their behavior. They react unfavorably to observational note taking in their presence. Hence in a situation of this kind they are likely either to become unresponsive or to display artificial rather than habitual behavior patterns. Moreover, some young people have learned about one-way vision screens; they resent attempts to interview them in rooms which they believe to be thus equipped. A 16-year-old boy expressed his attitude to one of the authors in these words: "What do they think I am—a performing monkey in a cage? Well, I'll give them their money's worth."

When or if an adolescent is the subject of planned observation, the situation should be made to appear informal, and no notes should be taken until the observational period is ended and the subject has withdrawn from the situation. Similarly, an adolescent should not be observed through a one-way vision screen, or have motion pictures taken of his activities, unless the person in charge of the project is certain that the subject is unaware of the presence of the mechanical aid, or is willing to cooperate in the project, with full knowledge of the fact that he is being observed and of the purpose of the observation.

Interviewing. An interview is a helpful method of gaining greater understanding of an individual's attitudes, interests, beliefs, and thought patterns. The success of the interview technique is in direct ratio to the interviewing skill and receptive attitude of the interviewer. Summarized briefly, the characteristics of effective interviewing include (1) careful

preparation for the interview situation by a trained interviewer; (2) the maintenance of an informal and relaxed atmosphere during the interview, as a result of the interviewer's display of a sympathetic, understanding, and sincere attitude toward the interviewee and the purpose of the interview; and (3) the provision of ample opportunity for the interviewee to express himself freely, frankly, and without undue interviewer interruption or pressure.

Adolescents tend to respond to the interview situation much in the same way as they react to the utilization of the observational technique. As was said earlier, they tend to be secretive about their affairs and are suspicious of what may seem to them to be adult prying. Consequently, they resent note taking during the interview unless they are permitted to see what is written. If they have confidence in the integrity and understanding of the interviewer and are convinced that he is sincerely interested in them and their welfare, they usually are extremely cooperative. They then report honestly concerning their attitudes, feelings, and interests; they discuss their problems freely in an individual interview with an adult who can convince them that he or she is concerned primarily with their welfare rather than in the accumulation of data about them.

Utilization of questionnaires. The questionnaire technique is one of the oldest and most commonly used in the study of adolescents. Much of Hall's data concerning adolescence was obtained in this way. A questionnaire that deals with the submitting of factual data in uncomplicated form is useful as a means of gathering objective information. These data can be helpful to an interviewer in his preparation for individual interviews with the adolescents who submitted answers to the items included in the questionnaire. Interview time then can be devoted to more personal matters.

Questionnaires that are intended to discover adolescent emotional, attitudinal, or other personal attributes need to be used sparingly. Unless the questions are presented in simple, clear form and can be answered objectively and briefly, the resulting data may be inadequate. Furthermore, adolescents may be unwilling to respond truthfully unless the purpose of the questionnaire is explained to them and their cooperation secured. Too often conclusions based upon the results of the administration of questionnaires concerning personal reactions are invalid and unreliable.

Standardized evaluating materials. Standardized intelligence and achievement tests, and interest inventories that are administered to young people at different age and development levels, yield considerable data concerning maturational and experiential progress. Self-evaluating and personality rating scales also provide some significant material helpful in adolescent study. The value of these instruments depends in part upon

the care with which they have been constructed and in part upon the accuracy of young people's responses. Rating scales that are devised for the evaluation by others of an individual's attitudes, behavior, or other personality characteristics have validity to the extent that the raters are sufficiently acquainted with the subject of the rating to give adequate opinions concerning him, and are able to divorce their judgments from personal bias or prejudice.

Other more or less standardized aids to adolescent study include (1) projective techniques such as the Rorschach test and the Thematic Apperception Test, by means of which the adolescent is provided an opportunity to give free expression to his attitudes and feelings as these represent the total interaction of his relatively well-integrated personality pattern, (2) artificially structured situations, in which the individual's behavior is observed, (3) role playing, in which the subject is asked to present certain specified forms of behavior, and (4) other more or less structured evaluating situations.

Evaluation through self-expression. Adolescents usually like to talk and write about themselves. They exchange confidences with their peers concerning their interests, their likes and dislikes, and their developing philosophy of life. They hesitate to share their thoughts, aspirations, and emotional reactions with an adult, however, unless they feel certain that he or she is trustworthy. If they discover that a confidence is betrayed by an adult, they become exceedingly resentful of such behavior on the part of the older person; their ego becomes deflated, and they may exhibit an attitude of suspicion toward other adults. For example, a college freshman confided to an apparently sympathetic and understanding woman instructor that she (the student) had engaged in "heavy petting" with one of the men students. When the two young people discovered that this instructor had gossiped about their behavior, both of them were ashamed and emotionally upset. Although they did not really love one another, they believed that they could overcome, through marriage, the apparent disgrace that they had incurred. As could be expected, the marriage was not successful. They still have not forgiven the adult who, in their thinking, had let them down.

During some part of the growing-up period many girls and boys tend to keep diaries. These daily or weekly reports of their activities, interests, and attitudes usually are emotionally charged. To this extent the diary does not represent a factual account of adolescent experiences. Moreover, young people who engage in this activity go to great lengths to maintain the secrecy of what they write. Consequently, it is almost impossible for an adult to gain access to their diaries.

Another approach to the study of adolescents is an attempt through

a written list of clearly and simply worded questions to discover their attitudes toward their peers and their adolescent experiences. The authors have collected from adolescents of various ages written answers to questions such as the following: What characteristics do you like (dislike) in members of the opposite sex? What can you do to become popular with members of your own sex or of the opposite sex? What are some of the things that you would like to do that appear to be disapproved by your parents or other adults? The data obtained are reported elsewhere in this book.

Although many of the thousands of responses that have been obtained seem to be honest reports of youthful reactions, there still is the possibility that the answers to questions like these represent what the responders consider to be acceptable answers rather than true expressions of their feelings or beliefs. Existing emotional involvement is likely to result in distorted reports of actual facts. Such questions have value insofar as they indicate that most adolescents know what they should admire in their peers rather than what actually stimulates their interest in a particular peer associate. Responses to questions of this kind tend to be much more objective if they are answered in retrospect by young adults who have come to understand some of their own adolescent vagaries. Adult evaluation of youthful attitudes and behavior may suffer from memory lapses, however, or experiential changes in personal or social values. For example, the authors are acquainted with an able and talented woman who, at the age of 15, adored a college man whose only asset was his brilliance as a student. If this girl had been asked at that time to name the characteristics that she most admired in a member of the opposite sex, she would have described this young man, stressing his academic achievements. As an adult, however, she is able to recognize this man's many weaknesses. In retrospect, therefore, she underplays her actual 15-year-old evaluation.

Some informal study approaches to adolescent development and adjustment involve objective adult appraisal of various forms of written expression that are submitted by young people in connection with their schoolwork. Alert, experienced secondary school teachers are valuable sources of information concerning their students, especially when or if the teachers are able to establish good rapport with the adolescents themselves and with parents. Later in this chapter there is a more detailed discussion of the teacher's function in adolescent study.

The experimental approach. Basically, the experimental method of study is a form of directed observation of an isolated factor under carefully controlled conditions. Although controlled experiments dealing with animal behavior have yielded relatively successful results, experimental

investigations of human characteristics are difficult to organize and conduct satisfactorily in any area of behavior except those concerned with simple reaction patterns.

For the results of an experiment to yield conclusive results in the field of adolescent study, for example, many complex factors must be controlled, e.g., sex, age, maturation level of the subjects of both the study and the control groups, as well as their past developmental experiences and their present physical, mental, and emotional status. Attempts have been made, for instance, through the application of the experimental technique, to discover the truth of the common belief among some school people and employers that high school and college girls are less successful than their brothers in the study of the physical sciences. In this area of ability to achieve, as well as in others, experimentally derived results would seem to indicate that differences between the sexes may have their origin in factors other than that of sex alone. Consequently, little has been done to date in the utilization of the experimental method in the study of adolescent development or adjustment.

The case-study approach. The case history or case study represents an accumulation by a trained person of data concerning an individual. A complete case history contains correct and adequate information about the subject's physical and physiological, mental and emotional development from birth to the time of the study, home conditions, educational, vocational, and social experiences, and any other factors of influence that are pertinent to the study. These data are obtained through the utilization of all or many of the study approaches that have been described in the preceding pages. Then they are organized by the investigator and accompanied by interpretations and recommendations.

The case history approach is employed by the staffs of psychological clinics in their study and treatment of young people referred to them because of an existing problem situation. This approach also is utilized as a genetic study of developmental changes in the attitudes, interests, and behavior patterns of adolescent boys and girls.

STUDY APPROACHES UTILIZED BY THE SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHER

It is almost axiomatic to say that a teacher's degree of success in motivating his students toward effective learning activity depends largely upon his recognition of learner needs, abilities, interests, ambitions, and attitudes toward the school, the teacher, and the value of educational offerings. Probably on no other school level is teacher understanding of his pupils so much needed as it is in the secondary school. In spite of crowded school conditions, the interested high school teacher has many opportunities to study his pupils and thereby obtain considerable infor-

mation about them and insight into their adjustment problems. Data concerning adolescent attitudes and behavior that are contributed by classroom teachers are extremely helpful as aids in investigations concerning adolescent development. These data can be obtained in various ways by the teacher as he works with and studies his adolescent pupils.

Observational study and reporting. Compared with the controlled observational techniques that were described earlier, a teacher's observation of student behavior is relatively informal and may be affected by the teacher's prejudice or lack of insight. Yet there is value in the day-by-day teacher observation of the fact that a certain student displays a particular behavior pattern in his relationships with his classmates and his teacher. The validity of teacher observation is increased if and when several teachers agree in their interpretation of a young person's personality characteristics, either during the same school year or during much or all of his stay in the school.

In an increasing number of secondary schools it is becoming customary to encourage teachers to submit written reports concerning their pupils to the school dean or other appropriate administrative officer. These observational reports, or *anecdotal records*, usually consist of brief descriptions of classroom incidents involving the display by one or another specific student of significantly atypical behavior that either is superior to the so-called "norm" or would seem to need readjustment. From an accumulation of such teacher reports concerning a large number of adolescents can be achieved an understanding of adolescent behavior trends that is extremely valuable to the student of adolescent psychology, as well as to the guidance personnel of the school.

Autobiographical materials. The secondary school teacher of English is in an excellent position to gain insight into adolescent interests and attitudes as these are displayed by his students in their written compositions or themes. Young people often divulge more about themselves in their writings than they realize. Many teachers of English have their pupils write autobiographies, or discuss in written form their interests or ambitions, their unusual experiences, or the problematic situations which they have encountered. Interesting bits of information concerning adolescents can be gathered through the utilization of this study approach.

However, too much credence cannot be given to what adolescents write about themselves. Some young people are honest and frank in their accounts about themselves, their background history, and their experiences; they feel secure in their relationships with their peer and adult associates, and are achieving successfully in their various areas of activity. There also are many teen-agers who are uncertain of their group status. They are sensitive to the economic, social, and personal ability differences that they believe exist between themselves and their peers. Hence in their

written accounts of themselves they tend to misrepresent or to exaggerate personal experiences or conditions. If a young person's report about himself can be checked against other valid data, any inconsistencies between them yield valuable information about adolescent attitudes. Regardless of the accuracy of his autobiographical material, however, an adolescent is given an opportunity through participation in self-describing writing projects to evaluate himself and his experiences more objectively than he otherwise might do.

The sociometric technique. The construction by the teacher of a sociogram to discover peer relationships among the members of his class is more common on the elementary school level than it is in secondary schools. The utilization of this technique involves the teacher's asking each of his pupils to submit to him the names of two or three classmates who are his best friends or with whom he would like to work on a project, or the name of the pupil next to whom he would like to sit in class. The purpose of the pupil selection is to discover which members of the class are most popular with their peers and which pupils are rejected by all or most of their classmates.

This technique helps the teacher discover the isolates in the class so that then he can attempt to assist these young people to develop personal characteristics that will gain for them acceptance in their peer groups. The application by secondary school teachers of this study approach affords opportunities for investigating some of the bases of adolescent peer acceptance or rejection. By comparing the behavior patterns of popular teen-agers with those of the isolates, some insight can be gained concerning adolescent relationship values. Care must be exercised by the investigator, however, that sensitive young people do not become emotionally disturbed by discovering that their classmates have rejected them. Hence teachers need to be cautious in their utilization of the sociometric technique.

ILLUSTRATIVE STUDIES AND INVESTIGATIONS OF ADOLESCENCE

The past twenty-five years have witnessed a rapidly developing trend among psychologists, sociologists, and educators to engage in systematically organized investigations of adolescent development and adjustment. Many studies that have been completed or that still are in progress represent short-time attempts to refine our understanding of limited one-age areas of adolescent nature; other investigations are comprehensive, include many phases of adolescent development and/or adjustment, and are long-time projects. The results of the more simple studies usually are based upon findings that are procured through the utilization of one or a few of the study approaches described in the preceding pages. In the

more ambitious and elaborate investigations, all or most available and acceptable informal and formal techniques are employed.

Normative versus individual studies. The type of study approach to be used depends upon the particular purpose of an investigation. Parents, teachers, social workers, or any other adults who are working with adolescents of the same-age group, for example, recognizing the fact that individual differences exist among the members of the group, need to know what is considered to be relatively normal in one or another phase of development at a particular age level. They must discover to what extent specific members of the group deviate from a "norm" that has been established as a result of supposedly accurate measurement or evaluation of many individuals on the group level. By means of such large-group investigations, generally referred to as *normative studies*, we are enabled to compare a young person's various physical characteristics, degree of mental alertness, or display of other personal attributes with the accepted average of his peer group.

Normative studies of respective developmental stages have provided a wealth of information concerning the *probable* general rate and the kind of changes that can be expected to take place during the adolescent period. On the basis of obtained findings it is possible to determine the existing status of individual young people and to predict their progress in one or another area of development. The correctness of evaluation of any one adolescent in comparison with the norm of his peer group, however, is dependent upon two factors: the reliability of the established "norm," and the effect upon him of various environmental influences that are peculiar to his particular experiences but not common among the great majority of the group with which he is being compared. Hence it is necessary for comparisons to be made in terms of conclusions that are based upon data resulting from wide, representative cross-sectional investigations. These studies must have been conducted with scientific care and their findings interpreted objectively in terms of clear and definite criteria of evaluation. Moreover, to obtain an adequate understanding of a particular adolescent's developmental pattern of progress and changing patterns of adjustment, not only should he be evaluated in terms of group norms but he also should be the subject of an intensive long-time progressive study aimed at discovering the interrelationships that exist between his potentialities of development and the molding effects of environmental influences upon his various trait potentials.

The *individual study* approach yields significant data concerning the adolescent who is studied, and may give insight into the nature of other similar young people. In order to arrive at valid conclusions concerning general trends of adolescence, however, there would be needed many individual studies that paralleled one another both horizontally and verti-

cally and that represented adequate sampling. An increasing number of such studies are under way, but the establishing of completely valid and reliable generalizations from obtained data probably still is in the distant future.

Variation in purpose of studies. As has been suggested earlier, adolescent studies vary in the purpose they are to serve. Many investigations are focused upon obtaining greater understanding of adolescent growth progress. Others represent attempts to discover something about young people's interests, attitudes, ambitions, beliefs, opinions, and habitual behavior patterns at progressive stages of their development and in terms of their background experiences. As a result of an apparent increase among adolescents of delinquent behavior and of mental and emotional disturbance, considerable attention is being given to the study of adjustment problems experienced by adolescents, the possible or probable causes of these problem situations, and ways in which maladjustive conditions can be removed or ameliorated.

Studies of adolescent attitudes, interests, beliefs, etc. A few of the many investigations in these areas are presented briefly here in order to acquaint the reader with some of the study approaches utilized and the significance of the findings.

In one such investigation, the Purdue Opinion Poll for Young People, constructed by Remmers and Davenport, was administered by correspondence to 195 adolescents (88 boys and 107 girls) and their fathers, mothers, and teachers. The young people represented a sampling of high school students who lived in rural areas or small towns of Indiana and Illinois. The purpose of the study was to discover in what ways certain specific attitudes of these high school students were related to the attitudes of their parents and their teachers. From the obtained data it was concluded that in general greater similarity of attitude was evidenced between parents and children than between teachers and children or teachers and parents; the attitude patterns of younger adolescents were more similar to those of their parents than were the attitudes of older adolescents; the degree of likeness of attitude between youth and adults varies somewhat with the specific nature of the attitude.⁴

Various studies have been made concerning adolescent interest in television and the relationship that exists between this interest and success in school achievement. According to Paul Witty's survey of the results of these studies, adolescents spend an average of from two to four hours daily in televiewing. Too great interest in TV may be accompanied by decrease in academic success. Witty suggests that, with proper parental and teacher guidance, the viewing of appropriate television programs

⁴H. H. Remmers and N. Weltman, "Attitude Interrelationships of Youth, Their Parents, and Their Teachers," *Journal of Social Psychology*, vol. 26, pp. 61-68, 1947.

can be utilized as a motivator of interests in reading and in the expansion of understanding and appreciation in many areas of knowledge and experience.⁵

Closely related to adolescents' attitudes and interests are their beliefs and opinions concerning religious values and life ideals. Kuhlen and Arnold⁶ conducted a questionnaire study to discover possible changes in religious beliefs as related to age differences. The investigators obtained responses to a 52-item questionnaire from 547 young people who ranged in age from about 12 to 18 and who represented school grades 6, 9, and 12. The items represented various religious beliefs, e.g., "I know there is a God," "Only good people go to heaven," "Prayers are answered," etc. Each statement was to be checked under one of three captions: "Believe," "Not Believe," "Wonder About." It was concluded from a study of the obtained data that many of the specific beliefs held by young children are discarded during adolescence; that with increasing maturity is developed greater tolerance concerning differences in religious beliefs and religious practices; and that older adolescents tend to display a more questioning attitude toward certain phases of religious beliefs than is characteristic of the earlier years. Consideration also is given in this study to some of the religious problems experienced by adolescents.

In a study of the development of adolescent ideals the subjects were 539 boys and 638 girls, ranging in age from 8 to 18, and representing a cross section of Middle Western school pupils, with the exception of 155 Negro children (aged 12 to 14) who lived in Baltimore. The procedure employed was to ask the subjects of the study to write a short description of "The Person I Would Like to Be Like." The ideal person could be either real or imaginary.

Stated briefly, the conclusions resulting from the obtained data were as follows: the ideal person represented one of the four following categories—"parents, glamorous adults, attractive and visible young adults, and composite, imaginary characters"; the age trend appeared to be from family members admired by the younger subjects toward the older adolescents' ideal as a composite, imaginary character; the choices of the ideal self were affected by the social environment of the respective subjects.⁷

Some investigations concerning adolescent development and adjustment. The materials concerning adolescence that constitute the bases of discus-

⁵ Paul Witty, "Television and the High-school Student," *Education*, vol. 72, pp. 242-251, 1951.

⁶ R. G. Kuhlen and M. Arnold, "Age Differences in Religious Beliefs and Problems during Adolescence," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, vol. 65, pp. 291-300, 1944.

⁷ R. J. Havighurst, M. Z. Robinson, and M. Dorr, "The Development of the Ideal Self in Childhood and Adolescence," *Journal of Educational Research*, vol. 40, pp. 241-257, 1946.

sion in the remainder of this book represent the findings of normative and individual studies of various types. We have described briefly a few of the relatively simple, short-time investigations that have yielded some significant data concerning adolescents. We now shall turn our attention to several of the more intensive and extensive studies of development and adjustment during the teen years.

One of the earlier challenging investigations is reported in Howard Bell's *Youth Tell Their Story*.⁸ This study, begun in 1935 under the sponsorship of the American Council on Education, represents an attempt to discover the problems experienced by 13,528 Maryland adolescents who ranged in age between 16 and 24, and most of whom were out-of-school youth. The study approach utilized consisted of interviews conducted by a staff of thirty-five field interviewers during a period of seven months. The data obtained from these interviews gave indication of the attitudes of these young people toward home, school, work, recreation, and religious affiliation. Some of the more serious problems reported appeared to be associated with educational offerings, recreational facilities, and employment opportunities.

In 1932 the Center for Research in Child Health and Development at Harvard University initiated a longitudinal study of 296 young people. By 1939, 224 boys and girls still continued to be subjects of physical, physiological, and psychological measurement and study. The Harvard Growth studies have yielded valuable data concerning the growth patterns of young people.⁹

In a similar category can be placed the California Adolescent Growth Study,¹⁰ a seven-year investigation that was begun in 1932 with 215 fifth- and sixth-grade elementary school children. Under the direction of Harold Jones, these young people were measured every six months by means of various study approaches, including physical and physiological testing, psychological tests and inventories, teacher ratings, and other similar mediums.

At this point attention can be directed to the approaches utilized by Jones, with the assistance of staff members of the Institute of Child Welfare of the University of California, in the study of an individual adolescent.¹¹ From among 80 boys of a grade group who participated in the

⁸ H. M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*, American Council on Education, Washington, 1938.

⁹ H. C. Stuart, *The Center, the Group under Observation, Sources of Information, and Studies in Progress*, Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, no. 1, 1939.

¹⁰ H. E. Jones, "California Adolescent Growth Study," *Journal of Educational Research*, vol. 31, pp. 561-567, 1938.

¹¹ H. E. Jones, *Development in Adolescence*, copyright 1943, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York.

seven-year study referred to in the foregoing, one boy, called John Sanders, was selected as the subject of an individual report. Included in the report were phases of this adolescent's experience and adjustment over a seven-year period, in relation to his home, school, and social relationships; his physical development, motor and mental abilities, interests and attitudes, self-evaluation, and his struggle for maturity. From the data obtained through this individual longitudinal study Jones concludes:¹²

. . . The study of single cases is likely to yield conjectures and hypotheses rather than general conclusions. At least one conclusion, however, can be lifted out of the developmental history presented here. It is, perhaps, a little like the conclusion to be drawn from a Horatio Alger story. John Sanders was a boy with an extraordinary accumulation of personal handicaps: physical, social, emotional, economic. He was unsupported by any special sense of security in his family; unaided by any special gift of intelligence or by any special insights on his part or on the part of his teachers. He reached a low point in adjustment, but he did not remain there. The greater personal stability and the more adequate social relationships he achieved in the last year of high school were carried forward during college. His college years also brought a successful record in courses and in an enterprising variety of outside activities. So marked an upturn in John's personal fortunes is evidence not only of the toughness of the human organism but also of the slow, complex ways in which nature and culture may come into adaptation.

Other comprehensive studies of adolescence have yielded data that have improved our insight into adolescent nature and adjustment problems. The Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago conducts intensive and extensive studies that are related to the development of children and adults. One phase of their program deals with the study of character development. In this connection a "broad-gauge" investigation was undertaken in a Middle Western community, "Prairie City," having a population of less than 10,000. Although the study included young people who became 10 and 16 years old respectively during the calendar year 1942, the study, as reported by Havighurst and Taba,¹³ deals with data concerning 68 boys and 76 girls of the 16-year-old group. Both statistical and individual approaches were used. The study was based upon the postulate that character is learned through reward and punishment, as well as through unconscious imitation, and that "character develops through reflective thinking." The various substudies yielded interesting data concerning the interrelationships that may exist between adolescent character development and

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 161.

¹³ R. J. Havighurst and H. Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York 1946

various factors of influence that lie within and outside the individual. These data will be considered in greater detail in a later chapter.

Another University of Chicago project deals with the impact upon adolescents of social-class status. The subjects were 175 boys and girls of high school age who lived in the Prairie City area, and the locale is called "Elmtown." The study presents a realistic and relatively depressing picture of the effect upon youthful attitudes and behavior of belonging to the "lower social classes."¹⁴

The case history approach was utilized by Peter Blos and his associates of the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, which was sponsored by the Progressive Education Association.¹⁵ Two of the adolescents selected for the study, Betty and Paul, lived in different communities but shared the advantage of belonging to economically secure families, as is indicated by the fact that both were planning to continue their education on the college level after their graduation from high school. The basic background material of the study was obtained from more than 600 histories of private and public high school boys and girls. Within this framework of data an intensive case study was conducted with Betty and Paul respectively. At the beginning of the year-length study, Betty was aged 14 years 11 months, and was entering the tenth year of her schooling. Paul was aged 15 years 4 months, and also was an entrant into the tenth grade. Data included in the case history of each young person were obtained through the utilization of the various mediums of study and evaluation that are commonly employed in the preparation of materials for a case study.

Two other adolescents also were studied, Mary, aged 18 years 3 months, and Joe, aged 16 years 10 months, at the beginning of the study. Both these young people represented out-of-school, working adolescents. The available data concerning them were relatively meager, and the study approach was mainly by way of the interview. Some of the conclusions that are applicable especially to adolescence are introduced by Blos in the following statement:¹⁶

The characteristics of the adolescent period in general and of individual adolescents in particular have been explored in the foregoing pages, and it has been pointed out that the phase of adolescent development has a task to fulfill, a manifold task involving the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual aspects of the personality. The pursuit of this task gives rise to certain recognized needs, which must be met if the adolescent person is to move

¹⁴ A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1949.

¹⁵ Peter Blos, *The Adolescent Personality*, copyright 1941, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 491-492.

forward successfully toward maturity; and it is in the power of education to provide the experience which can satisfy these needs and, at the same time, modify them in terms of social and cultural values.

Any evaluation of behavior, then, must take into account that the school is but one segment of the adolescent's experience; an attempt to determine behavior in terms of a single factor, a segment of experience, inevitably omits many causative elements and obscures the full understanding of the individual. The past and present experiences of the individual will profoundly influence his reaction to the learning situation, of whatever kind it may be. They determine his attitude to the subject matter itself--the meaning it will have for him, his ability to accept it, and the purpose it will serve in his total development. What any child learns in a given classroom situation is an individual matter which can be understood only in terms of the experience and attitudes he brings to it. No two children in the same classroom are having exactly the same experience, and the total learning situation for the group is continuously affected by each one of them.

Popular as well as professional writings give evidence of the prevalent great interest in adolescence. One can glance through very few professional journals or popular magazines without finding at least one article that describes a simple or more extensive study of teen-age attitudes or behavior. Most of these reports reflect adult recognition of the significance in the life of an individual of his youthful developmental experiences.

One example of this attitude among thoughtful lay persons is the publication of the book *Profile of Youth*,¹⁷ in which are presented twelve profiles of differing young people as representative of the many adolescents in forty-five states, who, as well as their parents, were interviewed during the course of a year by researchers, editors, and writers from the staff of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Various phases of adolescent attitude and experience were investigated--youth's views concerning politics, morals, and religion; their ambitions; their interpersonal relationships; their problems and their self-evaluations. Commenting on this cross-sectional study of American youth, Maureen Daly says in part:¹⁸

One cannot say from studying these reports that "all American teen-agers think this or that," or that "they all want this or that from life," or that "this is how they feel about religion or politics." . . .

Youth is always important because it determines what the future will be; this time the future of the world is being decided. We are part of an ideological battle that can be won or lost, without a shot being fired or a bomb being dropped; and all nations are fighting for the loyalties and minds of their youth.

¹⁷ Maureen Daly (ed.), *Profile of Youth*, J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1951.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 253, 255-256.

No one can predict with certainty what the reactions of American teenagers will be to the problems and decisions they face in the next few years. We do, however, know something of what they are like now. These *Profile of Youth* reports, in their detail, scope and objectivity, show clearly a way of life. We have recorded, as told by youth itself, the things *they* find important—the good schools, the basketball rivalries, the college scholarships and Friday night dates—endless events, big and small, that make their pattern of living. These little things are the big things. They are manifestations, in terms of the teen-agers' own experiences, of the American way of life, worth defending at any cost.

Whether one agrees with the conclusions evolved from data obtained by more or less well-trained and experienced investigators, the fact remains that many scientific and semiscientific studies have been and are continuing to be undertaken for the purpose of increasing our understanding of adolescence as a life period and of refining our insight concerning the problem situations experienced by developing adolescents in their struggle toward the achievement of adult maturity. Important as is the process of reaching sound conclusions that are based upon the obtaining of valid and reliable study, an academic interest in study results is not enough. Approaches to the study of adolescents are valueless unless their results are utilized by parents, school people, and other social agents as framework foundations of better adolescent adjustment. Home-rearing, school curriculums and teaching, vocational and recreational opportunities, social and political ideals and practices, and general adult example—all these constitute the background experiences of developing young people and determine the individual adjustments that they are likely to achieve in terms of their particular rights and responsibilities during their teen years and later. Hence throughout the remainder of this book emphasis is placed upon the practical application of significant study results as these findings apply in our discussions of evolving principles that are fundamental to wholesome adolescent development and adjustment.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Discuss the importance of careful research in the study of adolescent behavior.
2. Enumerate ten major adolescent adjustment problems that should be evaluated by means of scientific evaluation techniques.
3. What values, if any, can result from the study of adolescent inadequacies?
4. Differentiate between the horizontal approach and the longitudinal or vertical approach in the study of adolescent development. Give examples.

5. List some of the limitations of observation as a technique of adolescent evaluation.
6. Discuss the value of the interview technique to the adolescent; to the teacher.
7. What preparation should be made for an interview by the individual? By the interviewer?
8. Present reasons for the use of a questionnaire in adolescent evaluation. Illustrate some of the weaknesses of this technique.
9. If possible, ask a student who has written a diary to read some excerpts from it. What emotional overtones are still present?
10. What are the difficulties associated with the experimental approach in the study of adolescent behavior and adjustment?
11. If an adolescent is available, plan to keep an anecdotal record of some of his behavior traits during a three-week period.
12. Write a short autobiographical statement covering your experiences during the past summer.
13. Construct a sociograph based upon members of this class.
14. Decide upon a study that you (a committee of four students) would like to undertake concerning some phases of adolescent behavior. Identify the problem and suggest a research design that might be used to complete the study.
15. If it is convenient, ask adolescents to list their worries according to the seven life areas as presented in Chapter 6.
16. Compare present adolescent problems with those associated with adolescents in fiction or motion pictures. What are your findings?

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PART TWO

ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

Chapter 4

PHYSICAL AND PHYSIOLOGICAL GROWTH

The early stage of adolescent development is referred to commonly as the pubertal period. The term *puberty* is derived from the Latin word *pubertas*, "the age of manhood." Hence for a young person to have reached this period of growth signifies that physically he or she is able to participate in the reproduction of the human species.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PUBERTY

Manhood or womanhood, as we interpret the term, is not achieved suddenly or completely with the onset of puberty. The physical and physiological changes that are associated with adolescent development represent a continuing process that begins early in the life of the individual. Certain forewarnings of sexual development may be evidenced to a greater or lesser extent, however, during the later years of childhood, commonly referred to as the prepubertal or preadolescent period of growth and maturation.

General characteristics of puberty. A child can be said to be asexual. Ordinarily, he accepts without question the physical growth changes that are taking place and mingles freely with members of the opposite sex. As observable signs of sexual maturing begin to show themselves, however, the young person becomes aware of definite body changes, may experience "feelings" that are new to him and consequently not understood, and is likely to develop a changed attitude toward the opposite sex. These personal and social aspects of sexual adjustment are discussed in Chapter 9. At this point sexual growth and maturation are considered in relationship to the physical and physiological changes that are characteristic of adolescent growth and maturation.

It is difficult to determine ahead of time precisely when puberty will begin for an individual. For boys, the overt evidence may be the first nocturnal emission; for girls, the pubertal period may begin with the *menarche* or first menstruation. According to findings obtained from the retrospective reports of some individuals or by actual examination of sexually maturing young people, the age at which pubic hair (a pubertal characteristic) appears varies with individuals. In their studies of the beginning appearance of pubic hair among males, Crampton, Dimock,

and Schonfeld respectively utilized the method of direct physical examination of young boys. The results of a study by Kinsey in the same area of pubertal change were based upon retrospective reports of older men. In Table 3 is presented Kinsey's report of the comparative findings of these four studies.

Table 3. Comparisons of Data Obtained in Four Studies on Pubic Hair Development

Age	Crampton, 1908		Dimock, 1937		Schonfeld, 1913		Present study	
	Per cent	Cumulated per cent	Per cent	Cumulated per cent	Per cent	Cumulated per cent	Per cent	Cumulated per cent
9	....	....					0 2	0 2
10	....	....	2 0	2 0			2 0	2 2
11	7 0	7 0	15 0	17 0	12 0	12 0	7 7	9 9
12	24 0	31 0	21 0	38 0	30 0	42 0	25 5	35 4
13	28 0	59 0	22 0	60 0	25 0	67 0	33 5	68 9
14	25 0	84 0	27 0	87 0	12 0	79 0	22 8	91 7
15	11 0	95 0	11 0	98 0	19 0	98 0	5 5	97 2
16	4 0	99 0	2 0	100 0	1 0	99 0	2 0	99 2
17	1 0	100 0			1 0	100 0	0 7	99 9
18	...							99 9
19								99 9
20							0 1	100 0
Cases	3,835		1,406		1,475		2,511	
Mean	13.44 ± 1.51		13.08				13.45 ± 0.03	
Median					13.17		13.43	

SOURCE: A. C. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeroy, and C. E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 1948, p. 130.

Other physical and physiological changes that begin at puberty and continue through adolescence include changes in physical growth and general body contours, breast development in girls, and voice change in boys. Many individual differences can be found in the rate and sequence of growth and maturation among these various characteristics of adolescent development. Patterns of sexual development in adolescent boys are presented in Figure 2.

To this point we have focused attention upon some of the general characteristics of puberty. Later in the chapter we shall consider in greater detail some of the specific areas of physical and physiological development during adolescence.

Effects of pubertal changes upon behavior. Adults who are associated in any way with developing young people need to understand the signifi-

cance in the life of a young adolescent of the physical and physiological changes that are inherent in pubertal and later growth and maturation. Unless parents, and teachers especially, have some insight concerning the effects of physical changes upon adolescent behavior, they may find themselves almost, if not entirely, bewildered by what often are termed "adolescent vagaries."

Structural and functional changes constitute the framework factors of adolescent mental, emotional, and social development. The rate and upper limits of physical growth and physiological maturation are closely

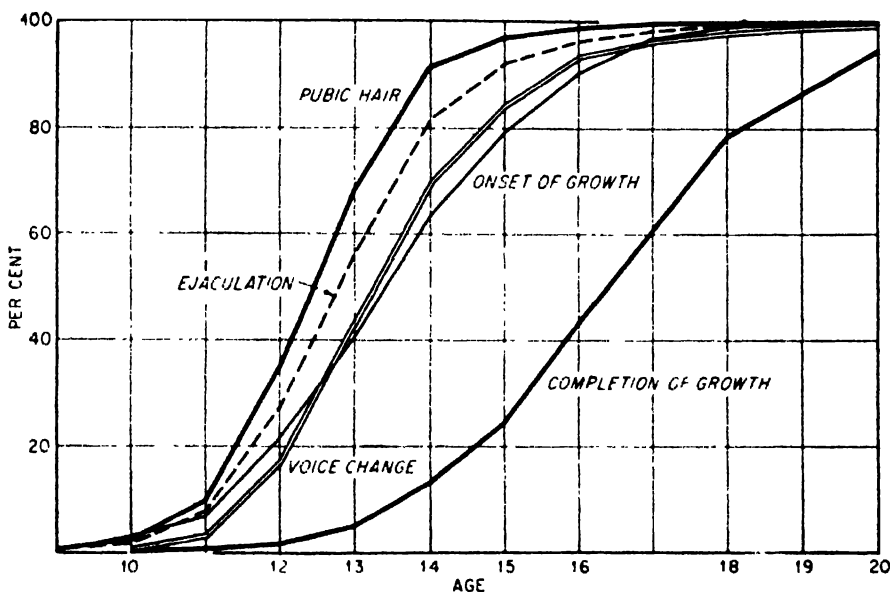


FIG. 2. Physical developments in adolescent boys. (Courtesy of A. C. Kinsey et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 1948, p. 185.)

related to a developing adolescent's self-appraisal in relation to his peers. Either retarded or accelerated physiological maturation may induce emotional reactions that interfere with the achievement of adolescent-desired social status. Moreover, a recognition of the impact upon adolescent behavior of the interrelationships that exist among the various aspects of adolescent development can help adults to be objective in their critical evaluation of young people's attitudes and conduct.

A pubescent tends to display more or less suddenly acquired but definite attitudes and modes of behavior that are different from habitual childhood reaction patterns. Furthermore, an adolescent's behavior is likely to change from year to year. The growing awareness of body changes is accompanied by changing behavior in relations with adults, members

of his or her own sex, and especially with members of the other sex. Observation of the activities and expressed attitudes of an individual at the ages of 6, 12, 15, and 18 years, respectively, yields data that give indication of the changes that take place during this twelve-year period of development. The processes of physical growth and sexual maturation, as they are environmentally helped or hindered, are the determining factors of differences in behavior development.

ANATOMICAL GROWTH

In terms of adolescent development, significant areas of body structure are height, weight, body build, and dentition.

Growth in height. Comparative growth studies of males and females yield considerable data concerning significant differences between boys

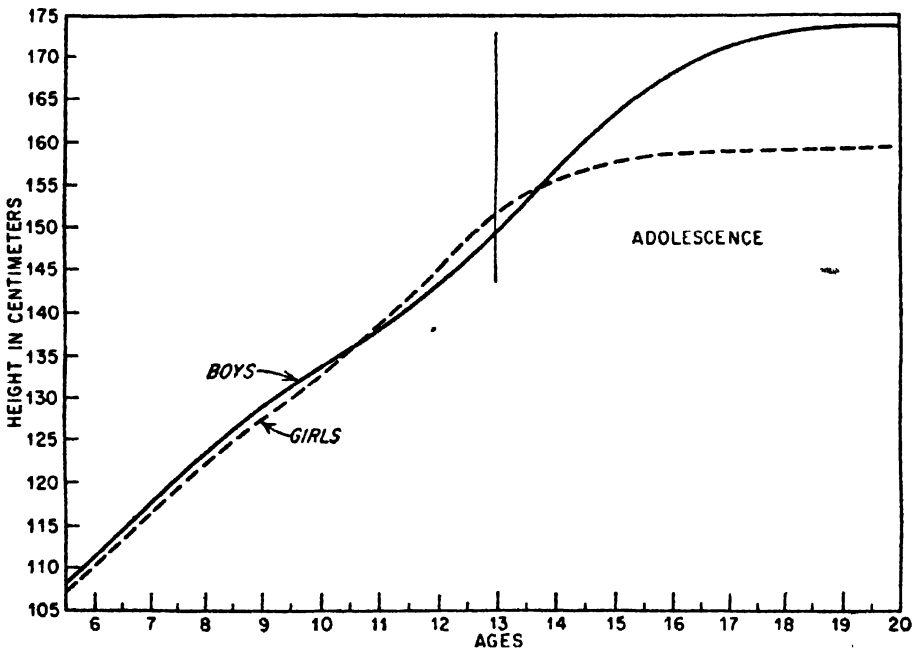


FIG. 3. Average height of boys and girls aged 6 through 19. (Courtesy of F. K. Shuttleworth, "Physical and Mental Growth of Boys and Girls Aged Six through Nineteen in Relation to Age at Maximum Growth," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 248-249, 1939.)

and girls in their respective growth patterns. At birth the boy is slightly longer (taller) than the girl. When he is about 10 years old, the boy loses his height advantage for several years. During the middle teens he regains his advantage which he continues to maintain (see Figure 3). The

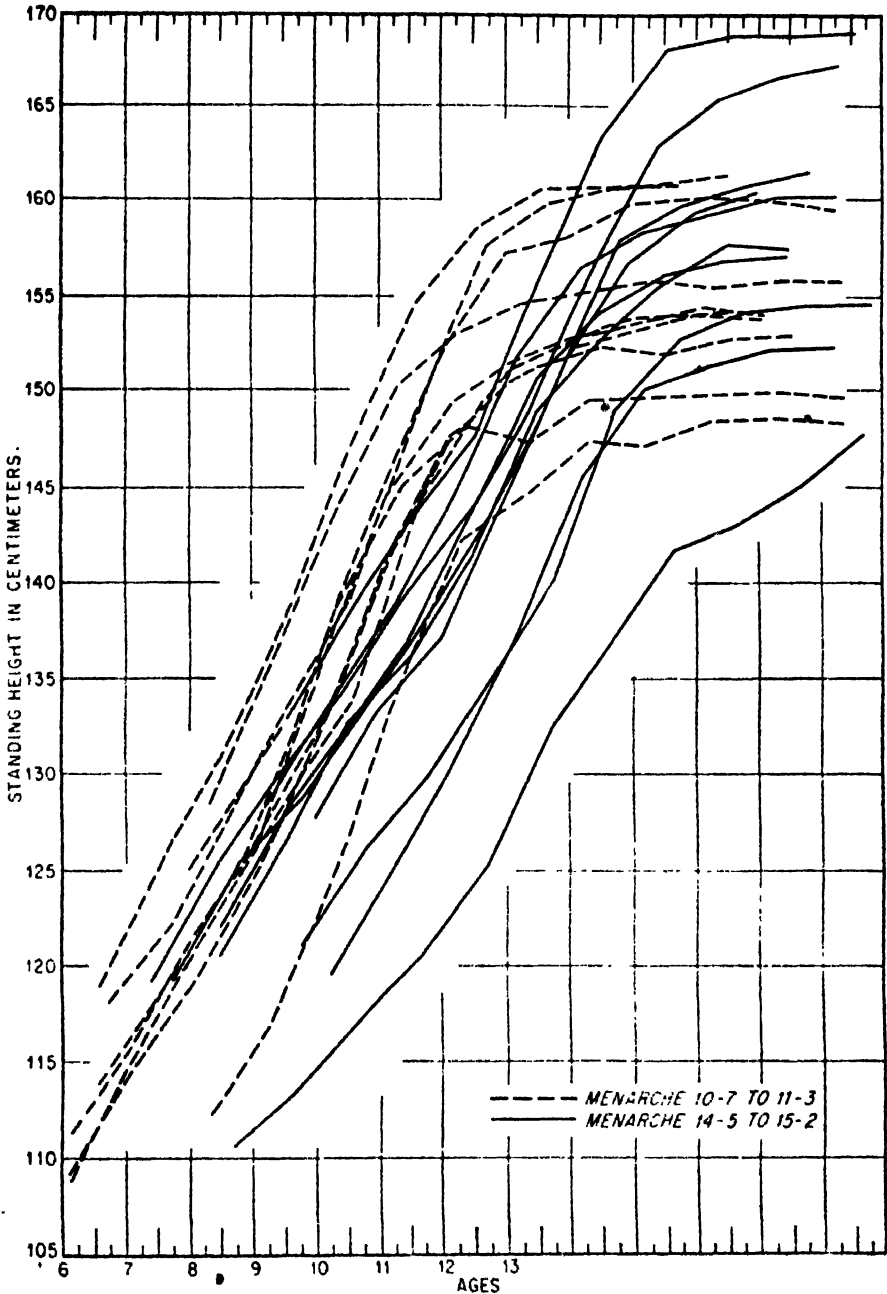


FIG. 4. Growth trends as related to age at menarche. (Courtesy of F. K. Shuttleworth, "Physical and Mental Growth of Boys and Girls Aged Six through Nineteen in Relation to Age at Maximum Growth," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 248-249, 1939.)

construction of the presented curves is obtained from longitudinal studies of many developing young people. Hence the represented height trends are not characteristic of individuals. Rather are significant individual differences observable at all ages.

Height differences are less observable or measurable at birth and in

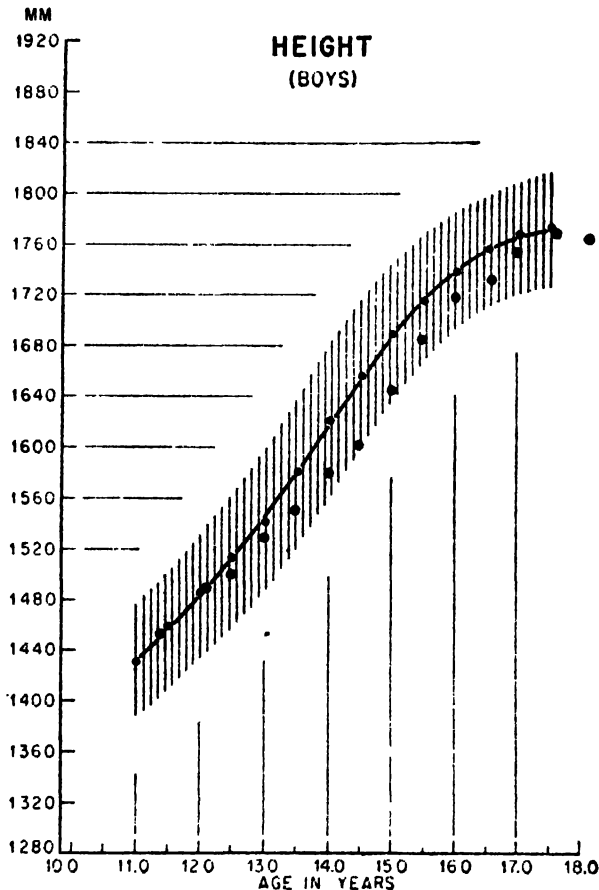


FIG. 5. Growth curve for height of boys. (Courtesy of H. E. Jones, *Development in Adolescence*, copyright, 1943, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, p. 69.)

infancy and childhood than they are during adolescence or at maturity. Yet the tall infant is likely to grow at a faster pace than the short one. Individual rate of growth in height can be illustrated by reference to Figure 4, prepared by Shuttleworth from data concerning height growth of girls in relation to age of the first menstruation.

In Figure 4 are presented growth curves of ten girls whose menarche occurred between the ages of 10 years and 11 years 3 months, and of ten

girls whose menarche occurred between the ages of 14 years and 15 years 5 months. It will be observed that the girls who reached the menarche earliest also attained their greatest height earliest; the girls who reached their menarche later attained their greatest height later, but became taller than the ten girls who began to menstruate at the earlier date. There is a rapid deceleration of growth in stature after the menarche. The inner adjustments of the body are preparing for possible motherhood, and the growth-stimulating action of the glands that earlier stimulated growth is diminishing rapidly.

Studies of growth progress among boys, as among girls, give evidence of an apparent average trend upward from early adolescence to adult height status. Height growth of any one young person may deviate from this average trend, however, both in the rate and upper limit of growth.

This fact is illustrated in Figure 5. The smooth curve in this figure represents the average pattern of growth in height of boys as reported by Harold E. Jones. The dots in the figure represent the actual growth changes of one boy, John, as measured at six-month periods.

There are significant differences in height growth among boys of the same age. This is illustrated in the variation in height of the five boys in Figure 6. Each boy is aged 16 years.



FIG. 6. Height differences among five 16-year-old boys.

A range of height difference is common among all boys and girls.

Studies of differences between the average height of boys and girls respectively as they grow to maturity, however, show some interesting variations at different stages of growth. During the developing years growth increments vary with age. For example, for some girls the growth rate at, or just prior to, puberty is greater than at any other time; for boys greater growth increment occurs during the middle, or slightly after the middle, of the pubertal period. Maximum growth periods in height are shown for boys in Figure 7; for girls in Figure 8.

The difference in growth in height between boys and girls at various periods between birth and age 18 is understood better by glancing at the graphic presentation in Figure 9.

Growth in weight. Another aspect in growth is that of weight. Growth in height alone does not give an accurate picture of the story of growth during adolescence. It is important to know that Benjamin is 5 feet tall, but the fact that his relative shortness is accompanied by a weight of 160

pounds is still more descriptive of his growth pattern. Even more significant is the knowledge that he is aged 15 years, and that his weight one year earlier was 110 pounds, and his height at that time was about what it now is. The relative height and weight increments are helpful in the understanding of the adolescent.

The period of maximum growth progress in weight, as in height, is an important factor in assessing an individual's relative peer status. In Figure

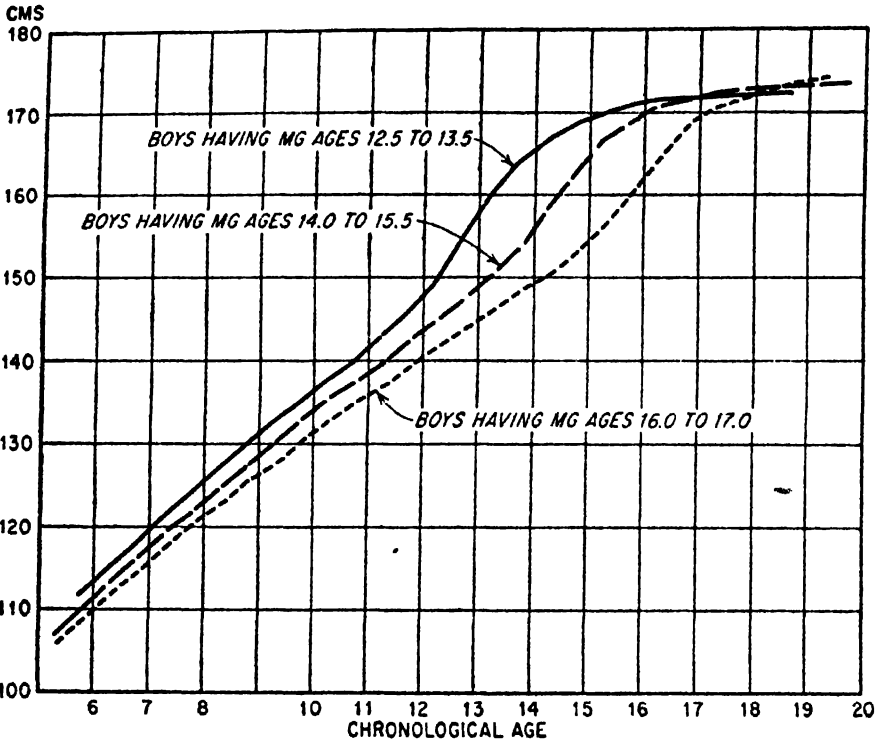


FIG. 7. Average growth trends in standing height as related to age at maximum growth (MG) for boys. (Courtesy of F. K. Shuttleworth, "Physical and Mental Growth of Boys and Girls Aged Six through Nineteen in Relation to Age at Maximum Growth," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 248-249, 1939.)

10 are presented data from the Harvard growth studies giving the average yearly growth progress in weight of 1,458 American boys and girls from early childhood to maturity, as measured by Shuttleworth. It must be remembered that an average growth curve represents the general trend in the group studied. The extent to which an individual member of the group deviates from the average may constitute a major factor of peer adjustment.

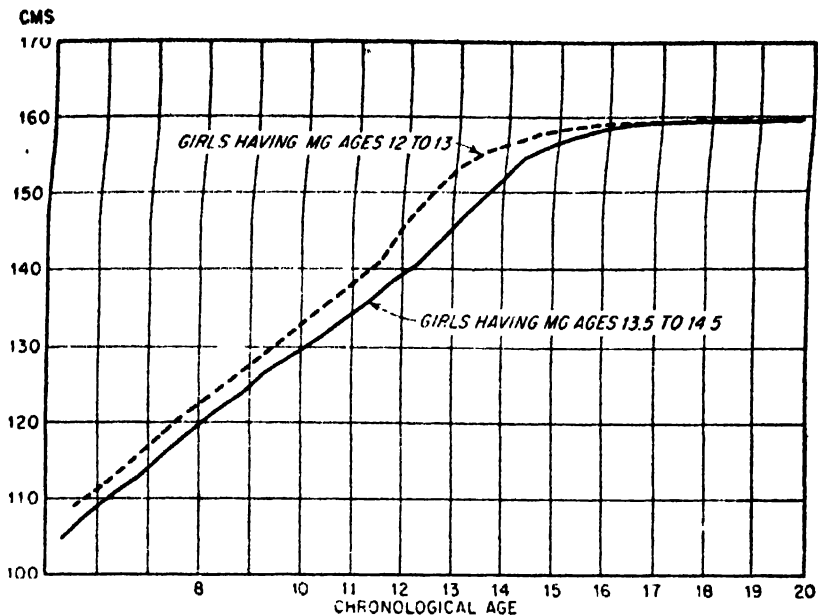


Fig. 8. Average growth trends in standing height as related to age at maximum growth (MG) for girls. (Courtesy of F. K. Shuttleworth, "Physical and Mental Growth of Boys and Girls Aged Six through Nineteen in Relation to Age at Maximum Growth," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, vol. 4, no. 3, p. 247, 1939.

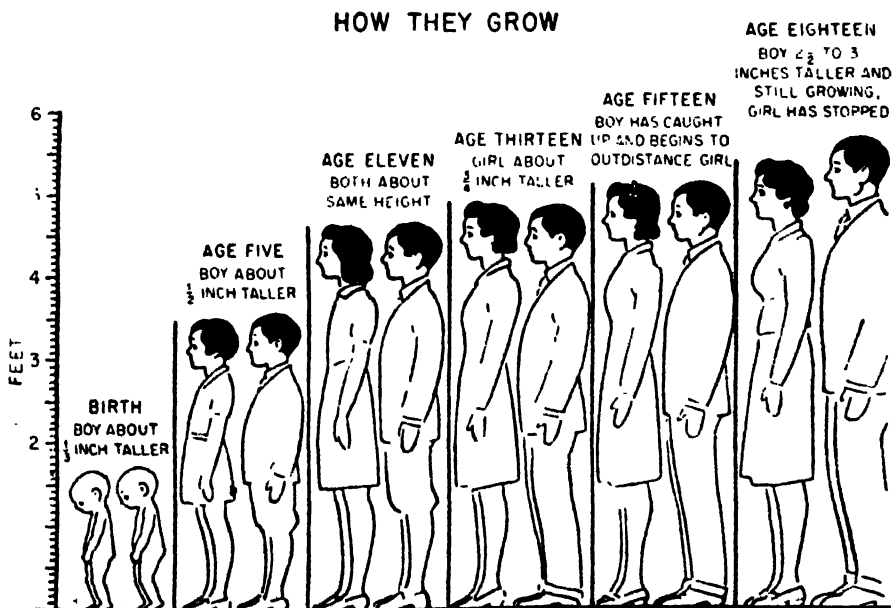


Fig. 9. Periods of slow and accelerated growth for boys and girls. (Courtesy of A. Scheinfeld, *Women and Men*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1943.)

From a comparison of the results of height and weight studies we can conclude that average weight differences between the sexes follow trends that are somewhat similar to those for height. Before puberty, girls usually are lighter than boys; during earlier puberty, however, girls tend to become heavier than boys. Toward the end of the pubertal period boys become heavier than girls and maintain this advantage throughout the remainder of their lives. The heavier weight of girls during early pubescent years is caused by the internal changes that are of such nature

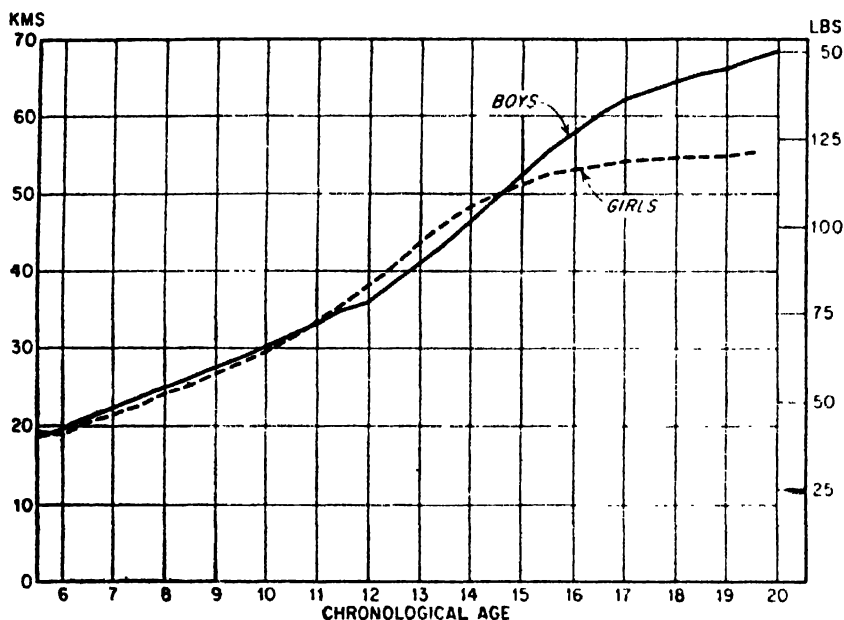


FIG. 10. Average growth trends in weight of 1,458 boys and girls from the Harvard Growth Study. (Courtesy of F. K. Shuttleworth, "Physical and Mental Growth of Boys and Girls Aged Six through Nineteen in Relation to Age at Maximum Growth," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 248-249, 1939.)

as to add weight to various female organs during this period of physiological change. It will be recalled that girls reach puberty earlier than boys. Although pubertal changes occur earlier in girls by approximately two years, the same prepubescent growth spurt appears in both girls and boys.

Changes in skeletal structure and body proportions. We know that the skeletal structure of a neonate is composed mostly of cartilage. During childhood a process of ossification takes place as the result of the depositing in the cartilage of calcium phosphate and other minerals. The pubescent's skeletal structure consists of about 350 bones. By adulthood the number is reduced to about 206 bones. The process of ossification, or

hardening, also continues during the adolescent years to maturity. Although the growth process of the bony structure appears to be relatively regular for most young people, there can be found some individual differences.

As a result of research studies it has been concluded that degree of ossification may be dependent upon nutritional factors. In addition, since the process of ossification still is continuing during the adolescent years, young people are accident-prone as their youthful energy impels them to participate in activities for which their skeletal growth status is not yet ready. Hence boys especially become the victims of broken collar-bones, strained or broken ankles, and hip and arm injuries.

Significant changes in body proportions or contours are characteristic of adolescent physical growth. There is relatively little difference in body contours between the male and female child. Inherent in the body changes that occur during puberty are the beginnings of marked contour differences between boys and girls. The adolescent boy's form usually is characterized by straight leg lines, slender hips, and broad shoulders. On the average, a girl's leg lines become curved and her hips become wider, although her shoulders may remain narrow. Changes in body proportion are presented in Figure 11 for a boy; in Figure 12 for a girl.

Of course, individual boy's and girl's deviation from what can be considered average rate and amount of growth progress in body proportions is similar to individual differences in height and weight. Some of these differences can be attributed to the age at which puberty begins. In Figure 13 are shown the differences in bodily growth between an early and later maturing boy and the various measuring techniques employed to determine the respective variations in body form.

Individual differences among the same-age adolescent are illustrated in Figures 14 and 15.

As one compares these variations in size among 15-year-old adolescents, he is able to recognize some of the physical growth factors that play important roles in adolescent peer and adult relationships. Many instances could be cited of young people experiencing adjustment difficulties that stem from physical growth. For example, a short, slender, narrow-shouldered college student recalls vividly the many embarrassments he suffered, especially during his early high school years, when his classmates nicknamed him "Baby" and excluded him from rough-and-tumble play. This young man still is trying to compensate for his body structural inadequacies through meticulousness of grooming, attempted monopolization of class discussion, and "witty" comments that annoy his peer associates.

Another annoying situation is that of a small, undeveloped-appearing 17-year-old girl who is denied certain socializing privileges that are

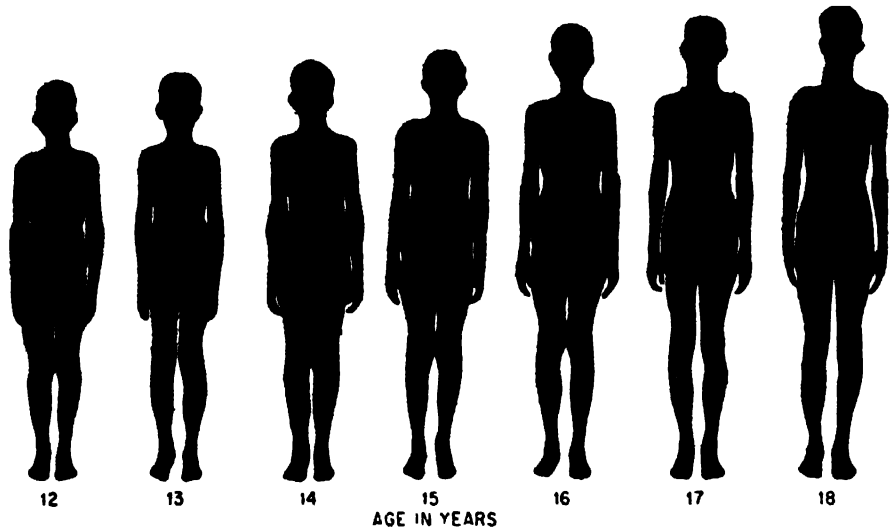


FIG. 11. Silhouettes from body photographs at year intervals. (Courtesy of H. E. Jones, *Development in Adolescence*, copyright, 1943, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, p. 68, Fig. 6.)

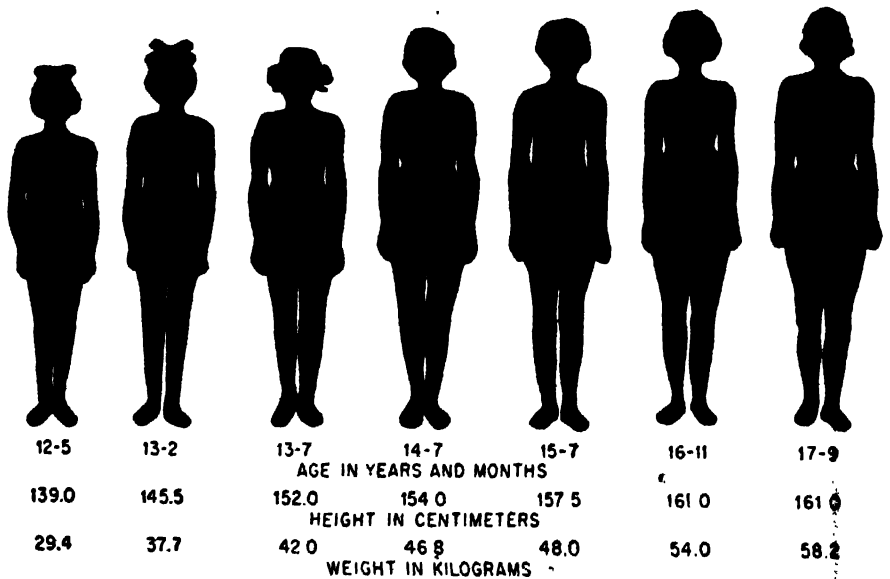


FIG. 12. Changes in proportion for a girl, ages 12 to 17. (Based on photographs found in R. Priesel and R. Wagner, "Geschlechtsmerkmale bei Mädchen," *Zeitschrift für Konstitutionslehre*, vol. 15, pp. 333-352, 1929-1931, courtesy of L. Cole, *Adolescent Psychology*, 3d ed., Rinehart and Co., Inc., New York, 1948, p. 41.)

granted to her tall, physically well-developed 15-year-old sister who, according to the parents, is "big enough to take care of herself." Again, a boy who, now aged 16 years, about 6 feet, 4 inches tall, and well developed, experiences feelings of thwarting. His sister, about one and one-half years older than himself, is tall for a girl but some 5 inches shorter than her brother. In line with expected growth progress, how-

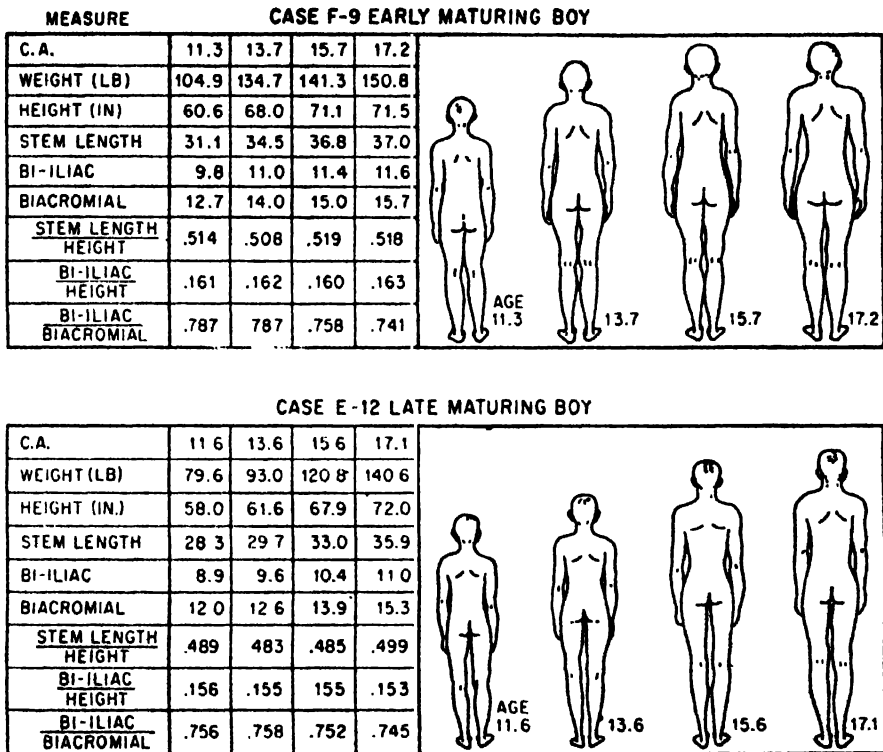


FIG. 13. Bodily changes with increasing age in an early- and in a late-maturing boy. (Courtesy of N. Bayley and R. Tuddenham, "Adolescent Changes in Body Build," in Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944, p. 46.)

ever, two years ago the girl exceeded her brother by at least 6 inches in height, as well as in proportionate weight and general physical status. Consequently, the boy resented not only his physical inferiority to his sister but also the, by him imagined, attitudes of the family and his peer associates toward his apparently retarded growth. He became emotionally disturbed by the thought that he would "take after his mother," who is relatively short and slender in comparison with his 6-foot, 6-inches, and over-300-pound father.

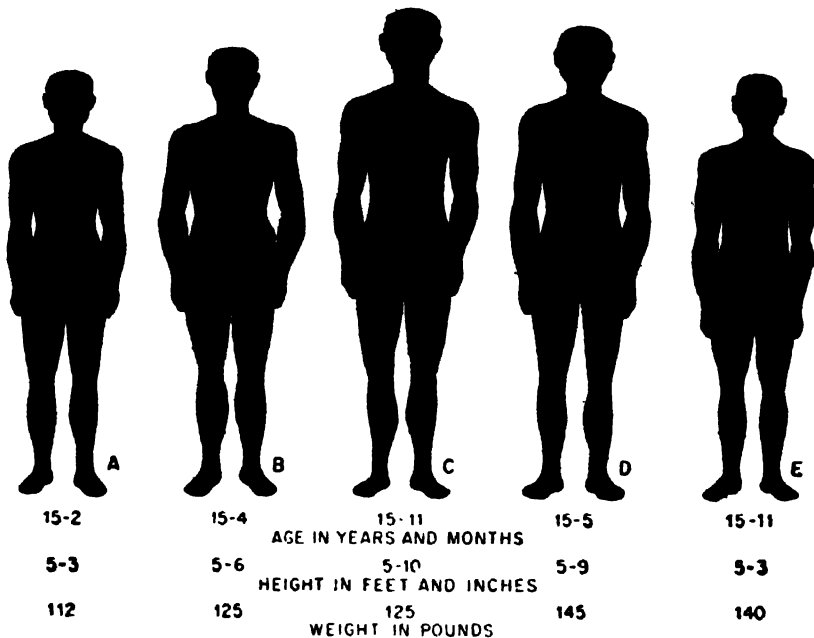


FIG. 14. Variations in size among 15-year-old boys. Redrawn from pictures in F. K. Shuttleworth, "The Adolescent Period," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1938, Figs. 90-93. Courtesy of the National Research Council.)

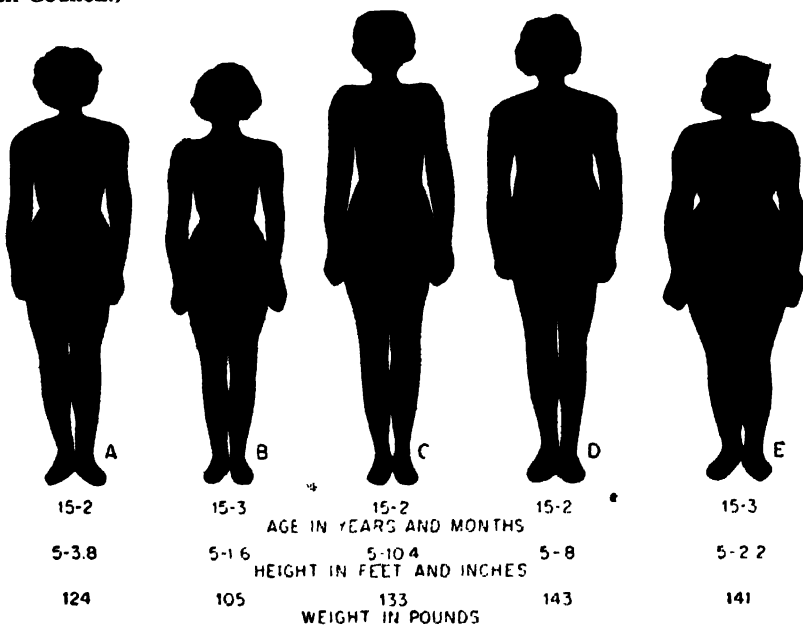


FIG. 15. Variations in size among 15-year-old girls. Redrawn from pictures in F. K. Shuttleworth, "The Adolescent Period," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1938, Figs. 90-93. Courtesy of the National Research Council.)

The reader probably could cite many more examples of adolescent reaction to anatomical status. The few situations described are sufficient to indicate the significance of the physical growth pattern. In fact, attempts have been made to classify adolescent and adult body build in

- I. Measurements for determining normal weight and the percentage deviation from normal weight.
 1. Weight.
 2. Total height.
 3. Chest circumference, measured at the level of the base of the xiphoid cartilage (corrected for deviations from the average amount of fat and subcutaneous tissue).
 4. Width of the hips at the crests of the ilia (corrected for deviations from the average amount of fat and subcutaneous tissue).
 5. Width of the knee at the epicondyles.
- II. Measurements for determining the relative amount of subcutaneous fat on the body and for the secondary purpose of "correcting" chest circumference and hip width.
 1. Arm front.
 2. Arm back.
 3. Chest front
 4. Chest back
 5. Supra-iliac
 6. Abdominal (midway between nipple and umbilicus).
 7. Hip difference.

} These two measures are used to correct chest girth for deviations from the average amount of fat.

} This measurement is used to correct hip width for fat for deviations from the average.
- III. Measurements for the purpose of determining the actual limb girths and norm for limb girths (for determining muscular development).
 1. Girth of upper arm.
 2. Girth of forearm.
 3. Girth of thigh.
 4. Girth of calf.
 5. Width of elbow at the epicondyles of the humerus.
 6. Width of knee at the epicondyles of the femur.
 7. Girth of the chest at the level of the xiphoid cartilage.
- IV. Measurement of the lung.
 1. The breathing capacity or the total amount of air which can be exhaled into a spirometer after a maximum inhalation.

Fig. 16. Summary of methods used for evaluating physical status. (Courtesy of C. H. McCloy, "Appraising Physical Status: The Selection of Measurements," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 104-105, 1936.)

relation to behavior and attitude concomitants of physical structure and proportions.

Classification of body build. Interest in the significance to an individual of his body build is not new. As early as 400 B.C., Hippocrates attempted

to classify "personality" types according to so-called body humors. During the first quarter of the present century Kretschmer concluded that an individual's personal characteristics can be classified according to his body build as

Athletic—muscular and responsive to desirable adjustments

Asthenic—tall and thin, critical of others but sensitive to criticism of themselves

Pyknic—short and stout, easygoing and popular with people

Dysplastic—abnormal build with characteristics growing out of the abnormality

In modern research the more objective study approach includes the utilization of anthropometric measurements to evaluate physical status.

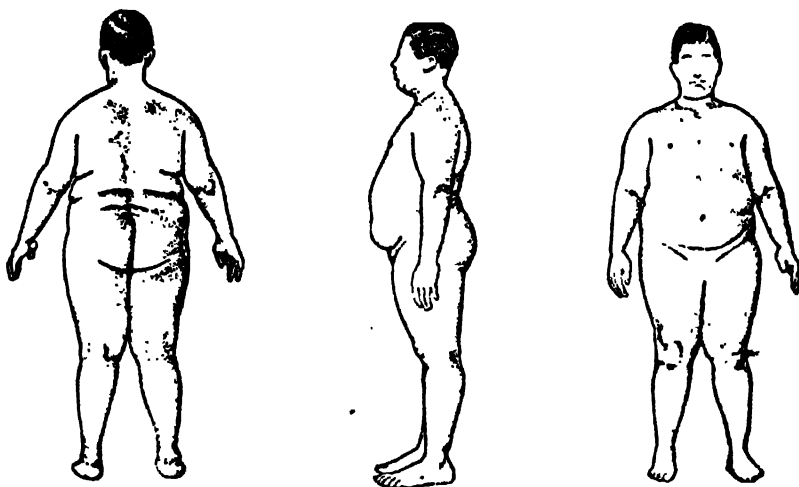


FIG. 17. A predominantly endomorphic physique: numerical rating 7-4-1. (After W. H. Sheldon, courtesy of The Ronald Press Company, New York; from photographs, courtesy of Harper & Brothers, New York.)

McCloy's summarization of some of the commonly used techniques for the appraisal of body build is presented in Figure 16.

An extensive study between body build and type of personality among men has been undertaken by Sheldon and his coworkers.¹ Basing their findings upon results obtained by the utilization of anthropometric measurements with more than 4,000 college men, conclusions were reached that males cannot be classified according to discrete types of body build. Rather do they represent a kind of combination, with one type of build predominating over the others. Hence in their studies they have employed various digit evaluations to indicate moreness or lessness

¹ W. H. Sheldon, S. S. Stevens, and W. B. Tucker, *The Varieties of Human Physique*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1940.

of each of three body types. Certain personal attributes supposedly are associated with the body types respectively. The categories according to which, with some variations, male build can be classified are termed somatypes. They include

Endomorphic—body soft and round, and behavior dominated by massive digestive viscera

Mesomorphic—muscular and bony, hard and heavy physique, and thick skin

Ectomorphic—fragile and sensitive to exposure

The various somatypes, including the body build of an “average” male are presented in Figures 17, 18, 19, and 20.

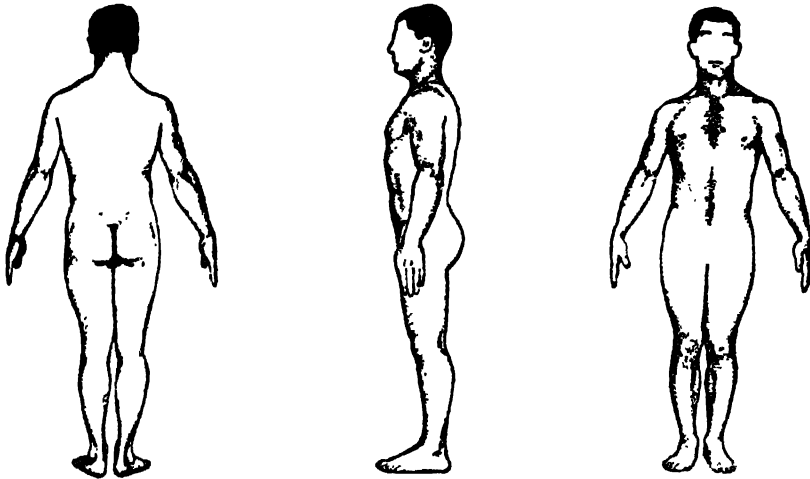


FIG. 18. A predominantly mesomorphic physique: numerical rating 2-7-1. (After W. H. Sheldon, courtesy of The Ronald Press Company, New York; from photographs, courtesy of Harper & Brothers, New York.)

Attempts at body typing have gained some popularity, especially insofar as emphasis has been placed upon the association of body build and personal attributes or kinds of temperament. Scientifically, however, the various conclusions that have emerged from studies in this area are questionable. To the extent that one or another tendency in body build seems to be associated with the overt expression of a specific kind of temperament probably represents a paralleling rather than a cause and-effect relationship. Factors other than physique alone can be said to influence personality development among adolescents (see Chapter 7). In conclusion, however, it can be repeated that in deviant height, weight, and body proportions may be rooted many of the social problems of maturing young people. Extreme tallness or shortness may lead to difficulties of adjustment. Abnormal overweight induces ridicule or more or less

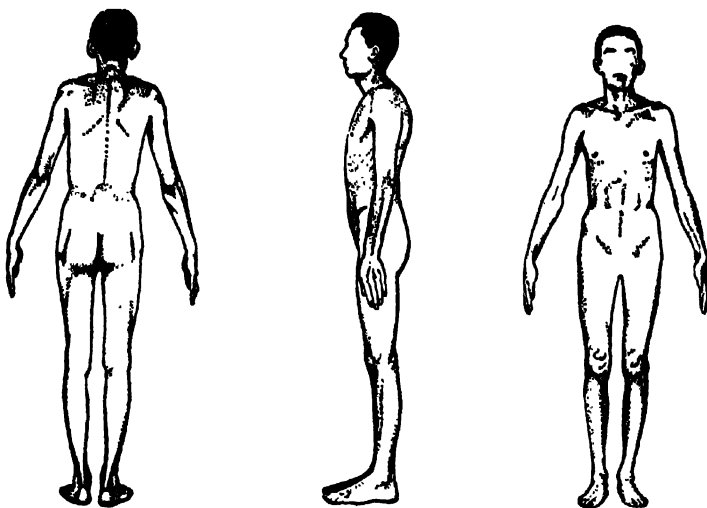


FIG. 19. A predominantly ectomorphic physique: numerical rating 1-2-6. (After W. H. Sheldon, courtesy of The Ronald Press Company, New York; from photographs, courtesy of Harper & Brothers, New York.)

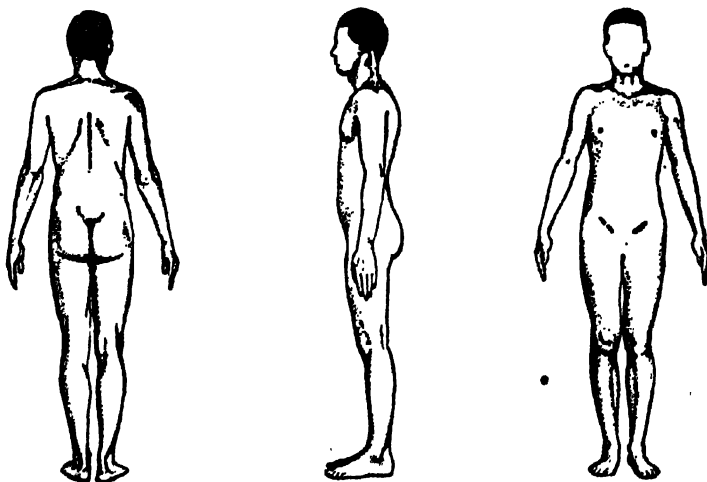


FIG. 20. An average physique: numerical rating 4-3-4. (After W. H. Sheldon, courtesy of The Ronald Press Company, New York; from photographs, courtesy of Harper & Brothers, New York.)

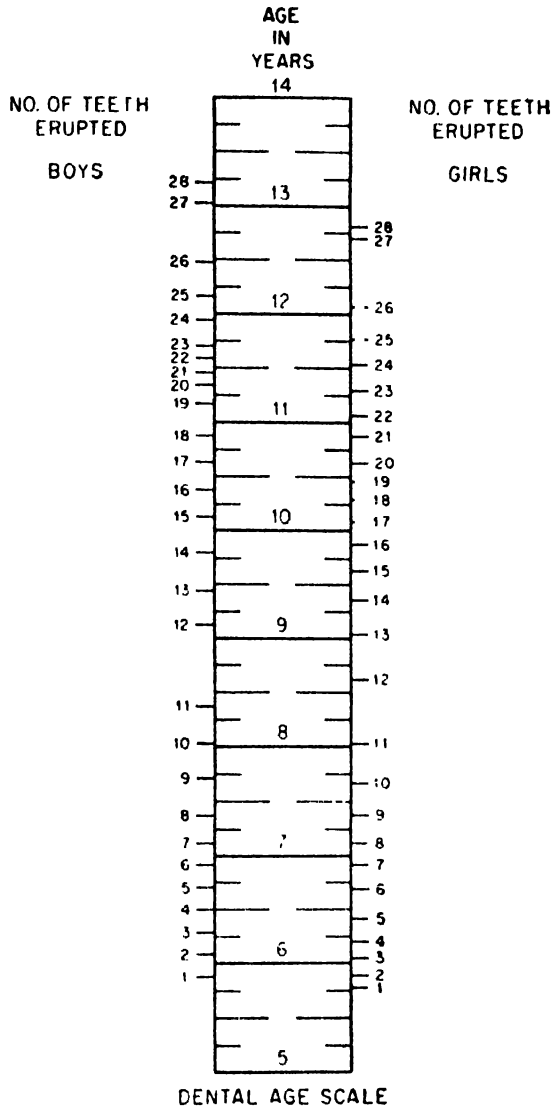


FIG. 21. Dental age scale. (Courtesy of Psyche Cattell, *Dentition as a Measure of Maturity*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1928.)

good-natured name-calling among the peers of the fat boy or girl. Adolescent misery can be caused by peculiarities of body contours resulting from irregularity of growth rate, as, for example, large hands or feet, long torso and short legs.

The significance of dental growth. The number of permanent teeth erupted usually represents a reliable measure of maturity level. The dental scale presented in Figure 21 is based upon the examination of about

12,000 children of north European stock at different age levels. It is evident from the scale that girls are more advanced than boys at each age level. As is found in other areas of physical growth, there can be detected a definite spurt in dental development during the preadolescent state. The closeness of the erupted teeth, by number, indicates that the frequency is greater at one time than another.

The shape, arrangement, and "health" of a young person's teeth probably are innate. The enamel may be hard or soft. It has been determined, however, that proper nutrition and periodic dental care are significant factors of teeth preservation. Although the "first" teeth benefit from care, it is imperative that a young person learn to use rather than misuse his "second" or permanent teeth. During the growth period, as well as throughout life, healthy teeth are achieved and maintained only insofar as they are cared for properly.

PHYSIOLOGICAL MATURATION

Adolescent changes in anatomical characteristics are observable. Their progress can be evaluated by the periodic utilization of objective measuring instruments. The maturational progress of physiological characteristics, however, represents functional change that usually is reflected in the behavior reactions of the maturing young person. Generally included among physiological aspects of physical constitution are the nervous, circulatory, respiratory, and digestive systems, the muscles, and the endocrine glands.

Physiological changes during adolescence. As we have seen, the effect upon individual adolescent adjustment of particular patterns of anatomical or structural growth can be serious. Of much greater significance in the life of the maturing young person, however, are the emotional behavior and attitudinal concomitants of the physiological changes that are taking place within him. It is possible that the variability of behavior characteristics of many teen-agers can be explained by the fact that they have difficulty in understanding and adjusting to all the forms of physiological functioning which they are experiencing.

The functional potentialities of the major organs of the body are dependent upon rate and limit of growth, as these are accelerated or retarded by environmental conditions. Interest in physiological functioning is evidenced by the increase in number of studies that deal with the growth progress of the internal organs of the body, in comparison with earlier investigations concerning the growth patterns of height, weight, body contour, and other anatomical aspects of individuals.

Studies of the various organs of the body reveal interesting data concerning growth progress of individual organs, as well as growth inter-

relationships among the various organs. In one study, for example, consideration was given to the respective rates of growth of four basic types of tissue: lymphoid, neural, genital, and general all-over external body dimensions.² In Figure 22 is shown the relative velocity of weight growth of these four types of tissue.

The findings of this and other studies seem to indicate that the growth of some internal organs is similar in many respects to height and weight

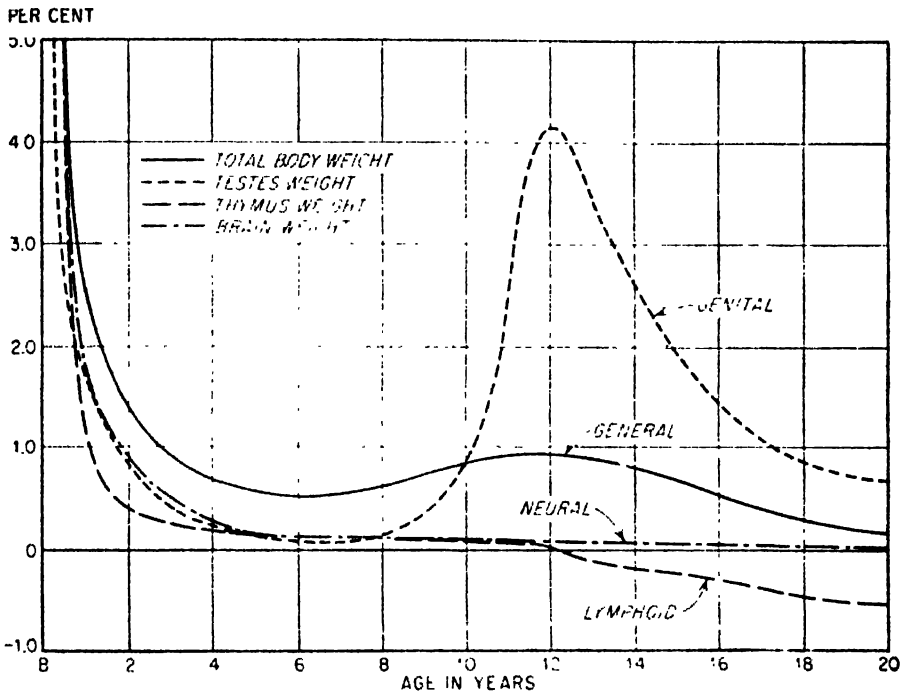


FIG. 22. Relative velocity of the four basic types of tissue growth. (From *The Measurement of Man*, by J. A. Harris et al., University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, Minn., 1930.)

growth patterns. It appears also that immediately preceding and during puberty there is considerable increase in the rate of growth of certain internal organs. Referring again to Figures 22 and 23, it can be noted that the velocity of growth slows down rapidly for all organs until age 8, when it rises slightly for total body weight and falls again after age 14; the rate of genital growth, however, rises rapidly from the ages of 8 to 12, falls off rapidly until about age 18, but at age 20 is higher than weight growth.

² J. A. Harris, A. Jackson, D. G. Paterson, and R. E. Scannon, *The Measurement of Man*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1930.

Growth of the heart and circulatory system. By the time an individual is 12 years old his heart can be expected to weigh about seven times as much as it did at birth. Although there may be a lag in growth during preadolescence and early adolescence, the heart appears to double in size from the ages of 12 to 17. Although arterial growth is positive, it progresses at a much slower rate than does heart size.

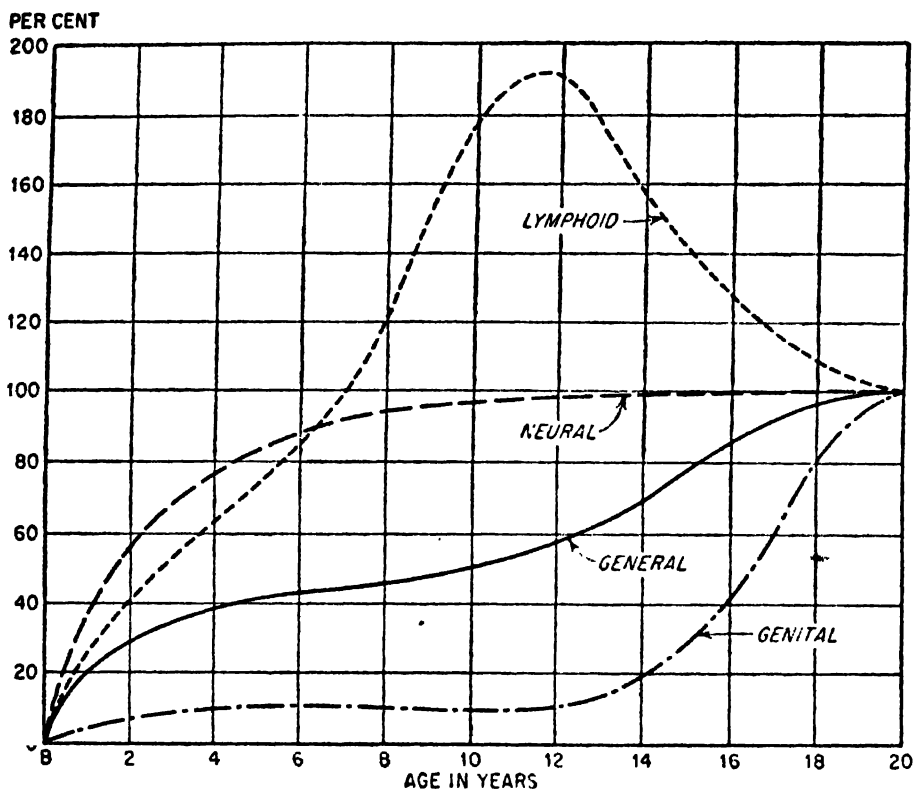


FIG. 23. Typical examples of growth curves of the four basic types of tissue growth. (From *The Measurement of Man*, by J. A. Harris et al., University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, Minn., 1930.)

The growth ratio between the heart and the arteries results in an increase of systolic blood pressure from young babyhood to the later adolescent years. Moreover, during early childhood the sexes differ little in blood pressure; from about puberty onward, however, boys tend to have higher blood pressure than girls. Pulse rate is highest at birth, decreasing with age. The decrease is steady between the ages of 12 to 18. During adolescence the pulse rate of girls is from 2 to 6 beats per minute faster than that of the boys. Decrease in pulse rate with increase of age is shown in Figure 24.

Various minor heart difficulties experienced by adolescents are caused by unevenness of development of the heart and circulatory system. Young people and their parents usually need not become disturbed by occasional adolescent "spells" of palpitation, fast pulse, or other circulatory irregularities. During their growing-up years, however, boys and girls should not engage in so strenuous physical activities that the functioning of the heart is damaged.

The California Adolescent Growth Study has yielded data that deal with "exercise tolerance." According to the findings of this study, exercise affects blood pressure and pulse rate. Systolic blood pressure (maximum pressure attained at each heartbeat) is increased, and diastolic

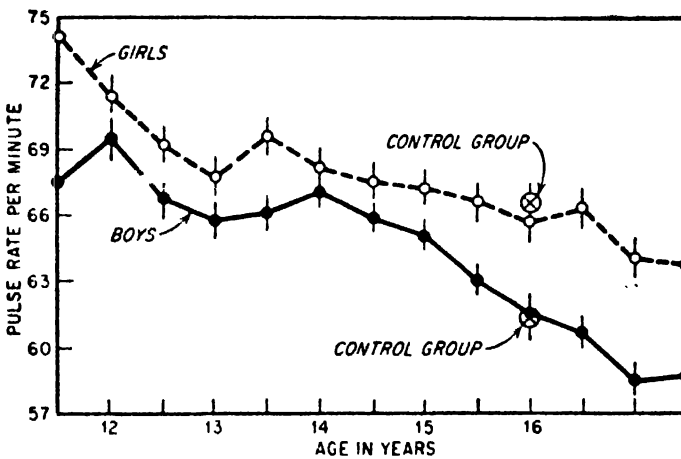


FIG. 24. Age change in basal pulse rate. (From N. W. Shock, "Physiological Changes in Adolescence," in Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, part I, *Adolescence*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944, p. 59.)

pressure (pressure maintained in arteries as heart dilates and fills) is decreased; these trends are reversed, however, during recovery from the effects of exercise.

The pulse rate increases rapidly during exercise and may not return to normal until forty-five minutes or more after the cessation of exercise. Respiratory or oxygen consumption also is increased by exercise. With ensuing rest, return to normal respiration is relatively rapid. In Figure 25 are presented the physiological effects of rest after exercise.

Growth trends in muscular strength and coordination. Muscular strength increases during adolescence. There are differences between the sexes, however, in the degree of muscular power achieved during these years. Although the muscles of an adolescent girl become longer and heavier than they were during childhood, the difference in body proportion of

the girl from that of the boy helps account for the greater muscular strength of the latter. Superior male strength during the growing years also can be attributed partly to the fact that boys usually are more active than girls and engage in more strenuous exercise. Moreover, male superiority in physical sports is based upon the advantage of greater leverage resulting from the possession of wider shoulders, longer arms, and larger hands.

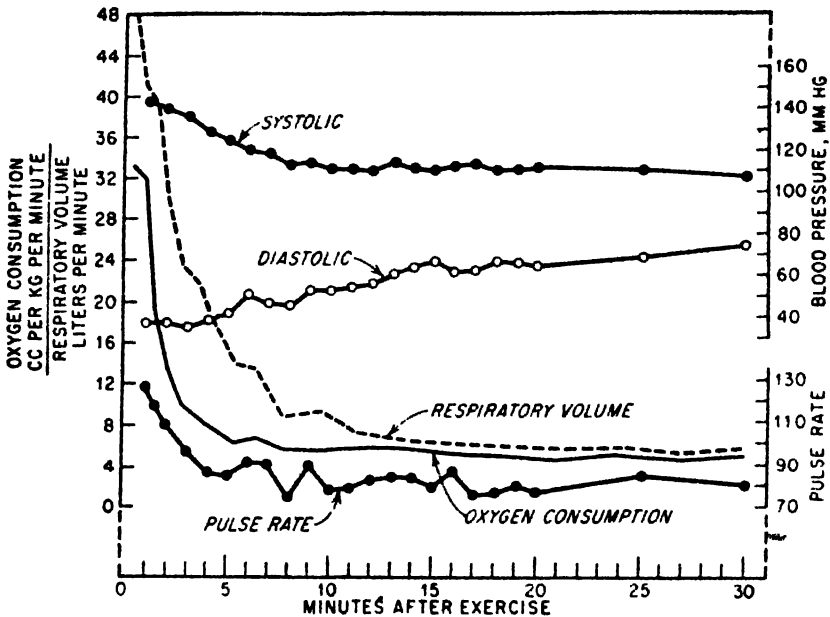


FIG. 25. Physiological displacements and their recovery after exercise. (From N. W. Shock, "Physiological Changes in Adolescence," in Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, part I, *Adolescence*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944, p. 65.)

Most teen-age boys take great pride in exhibiting their increasing muscular strength. Traditionally, the prestige value in this area is great for the boy; for the girl the displaying of exceptional muscular power may act as a deterrent toward the achieving of desired popularity, especially among same-age boys. Consequently, a boy often attempts by strenuous exercise to develop his muscles; a girl tends to refrain from muscle-developing activity. Modern girls are beginning to participate successfully in various forms of athletics, however, although sports rules usually are modified for them in terms of their endurance and performance potentialities. Numerous measurements have been taken to discover differences between boys and girls in relative strength of grip, speed of running, height of jumping, distance of throwing a ball, and width of broad jump.

It is relatively easy to discover a person's strength of grip, for example, by measuring the number of pounds of pressure he can exert. The difference between male and female strength of grip as reported by Jones is given in Figure 26. It can be observed that the average grip of boys is greater than that of girls at all ages. The difference remains fairly con-

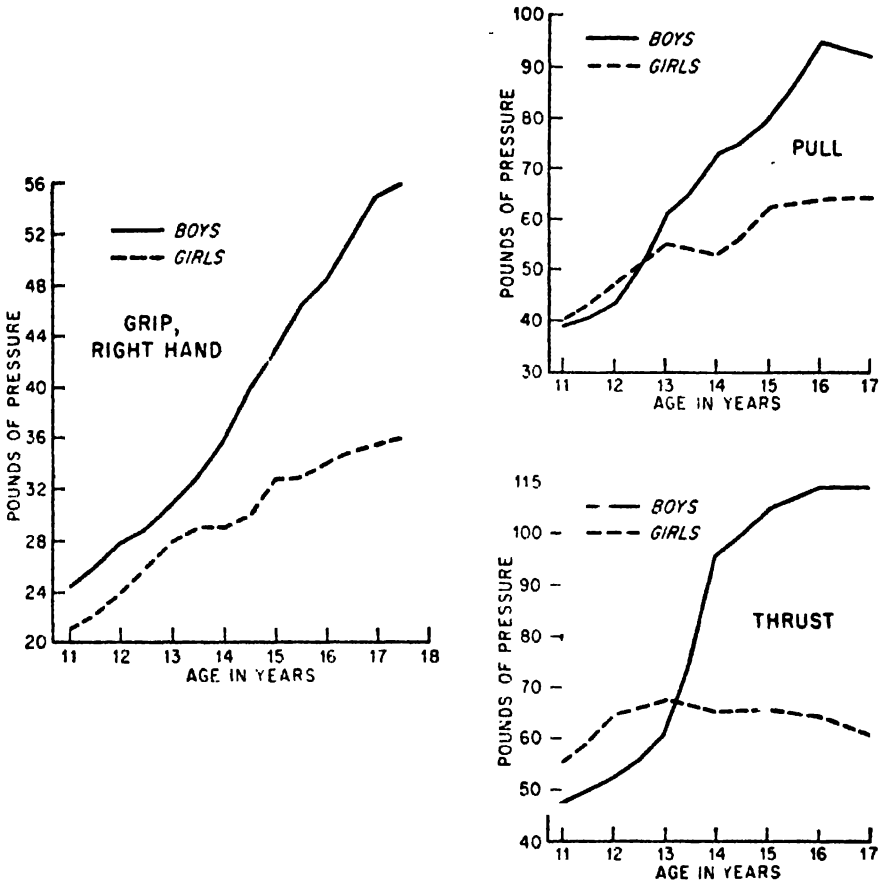


FIG. 26. Growth in strength. (From H. E. Jones, "Motor Performance and Growth," *University of California Publications in Child Development*, vol. 1, pp. 35-36, 1949. Used by permission of the University of California Press, publishers.)

stant from ages 11 to 14; although from that time the strength of grip of girls continues to rise, the rate is slower than that of boys. Significant differences are shown between the sexes in both "pull" and "thrust." In these tests girls are superior by several pounds to boys between the ages of 11 and 13. However, there are significant differences between the girls and the boys after that time. After age 13 the ability of girls to

thrust appears actually to drop, while it rises rapidly for boys between the ages of 13 and 16.

By reference to Figure 27 it can be seen that there are important differences between the sexes in athletic skills. In the dash and the broad jump girls show a loss between the ages of 12 and 17. Although girls appear to increase in the other skills to age 18, boys give indication of

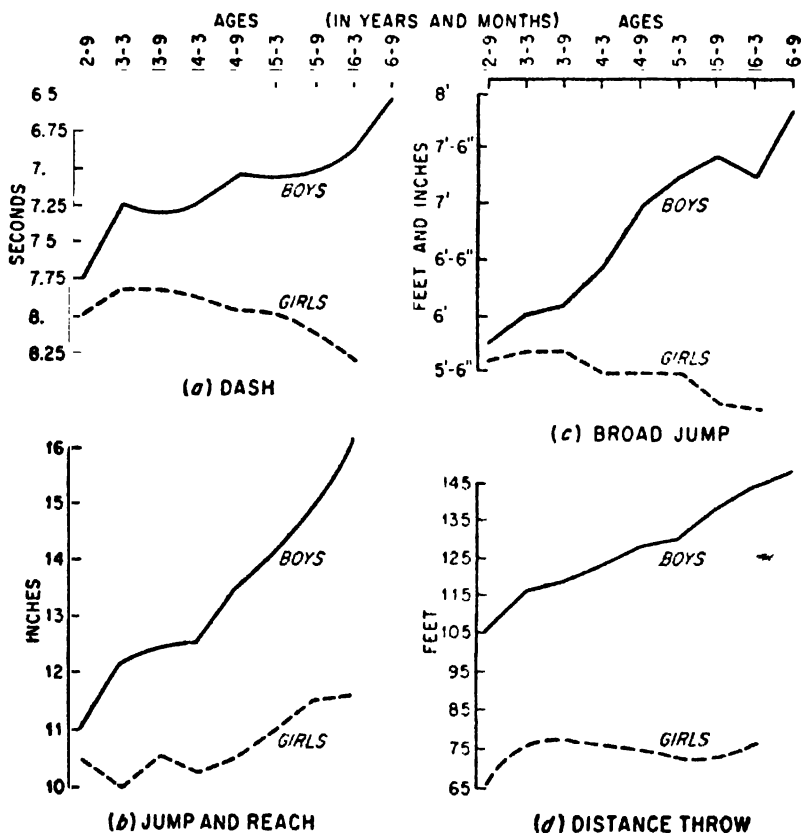


FIG. 27. Increase in athletic skills. (Based on figures in A. Espenshade, "Motor Performance in Adolescence," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1940. Courtesy of the National Research Council.)

athletic superiority at all age levels, as well as of more rapid rates and higher limits of performance in all of the skills presented in the diagrams.

In addition to measurable sex differences in muscular strength, it has been found that for either sex there is variability of growth in strength during the 11-to-17-age period. Increase in strength appears to be closely associated with the general growth that is characteristic of adolescence.

Jones presents data based on the California Adolescent Growth Study in which right-hand strength is compared for two groups of girls: earlier

maturers whose average age at menarche was 11.7, and later maturers whose menarche did not occur, on the average, until at age 14.5. These data are presented in Figure 28. According to the graph, there is a rapid rise in strength of grip for the early menarche group prior to the age of about 12; this is followed by a very slow rate of increase. During their earlier years the girls who matured later show relatively regular but retarded growth in strength of grip.

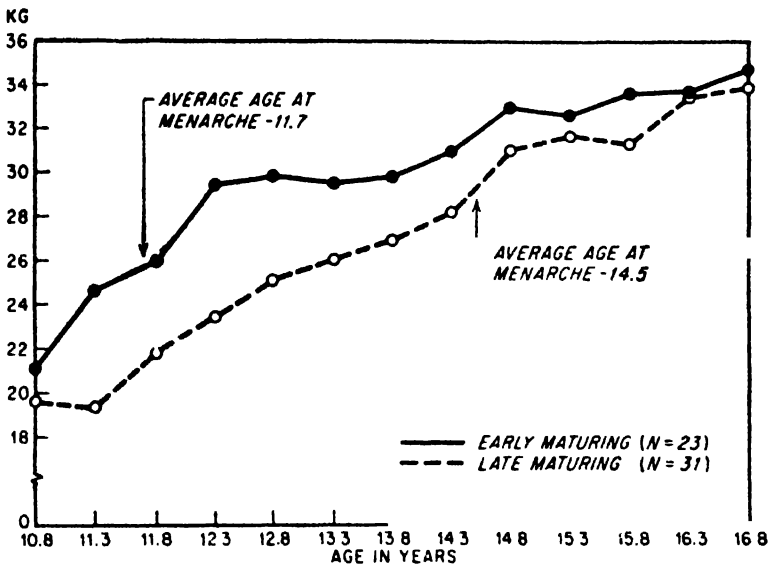


FIG. 28. Manual strength development (girls) in two maturity groups. (This and Fig. 29 were taken from H. E. Jones, "Development of Physical Abilities," in Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, part I, *Adolescence*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944, p. 107.)

Jones also reports concerning physiological factors that influence strength measurements among boys at successive ages. Based upon the work of Dimock, Jones presents the performance (as he claims, misnamed "physical capacity") of three different groups classified according to onset of pubescence (see Figure 29). The scores of performance upon which the graphs are based represent a composite of the Rogers Strength Index.³

Functions of the endocrine glands. Located at various parts of the body are ductless glands known as endocrine glands. Although small in size, they exercise an extremely important influence upon the growth and proper functioning of other body organs. The endocrine glands are small sacs containing chemical laboratories for the production of substances

³ H. R. Rogers, *Test and Measurement Programs in the Redirection of Physical Education*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1927.

called *hormones*, which are discharged into the blood stream. Each of these glands (see Figure 30) produces its special hormone that is distributed, through the circulation of the blood, to the part of the body where it performs its special function. Some hormones influence the rate of body growth, some affect basal metabolism (basal energy), others affect mental development and emotional behavior, and still others play important roles in the development of both primary and secondary sex characteristics.

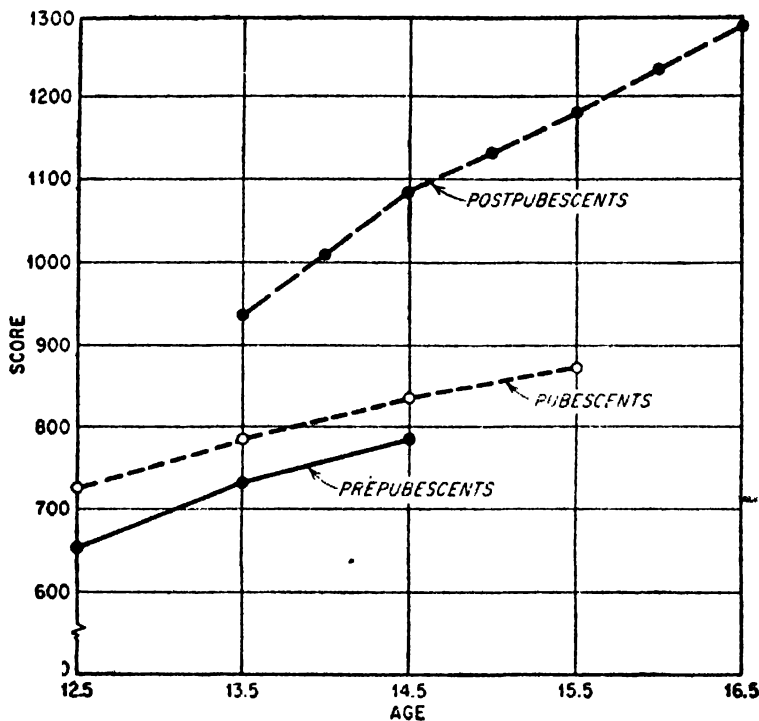


FIG. 29. "Physical capacity" in relation to age. (Jones, page 108; see Fig. 28.)

The *pituitary* gland secretes growth hormones, which control general bodily growth, and gonadotropic hormones (sex hormones), which are necessary for the functioning of the sex glands. The pituitary gland consists of three lobes—the anterior lobe, the pars intermedia, and the posterior lobe. Each part secretes one or more hormones, but the exact nature and function of some of them have not been discovered. It is known, however, that the anterior lobe of the gland secretes both the growth hormone and the gonadotropic hormone. During the prepubertal years there is a marked increase in the number of hormones secreted by the anterior lobe, which remains active throughout the reproductive period of life.

The *thyroid* gland secretes a complex hormone known as thyroxin. This secretion, partly influenced by the anterior lobe of the pituitary gland, aids in the control of metabolism and the normal development and functioning of the body. Thyroid enlargement resulting from cell increase (puberty hyperphasia) in young adolescents is a common cause of emotional instability. When a serious deficiency in thyroid secretion exists from birth or infancy, it gives rise to a condition known as *cretinism*—stunted physical development or deformity.

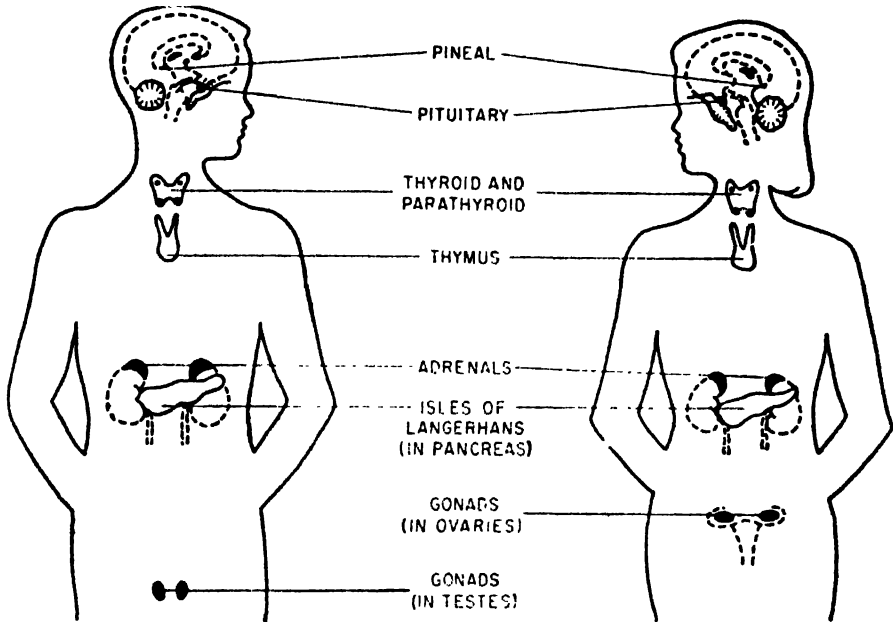


FIG. 30. Position of the endocrine glands. (By permission from *Health Observation of School Children*, by G. M. Wheatley and G. T. Hallock. Copyright, 1951, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, p. 93.)

The calcium metabolism of the body is regulated by the *parathyroid* glands. If there is an insufficient supply of parathyroid, there is evidence of an increase in physical response to motion, habit spasm, emotional upset and outbursts, and sudden uncontrollable impulses.

There are two *adrenal* glands, one above each kidney. Each gland is composed of two parts: adrenal *cortex* (the outer layer) and the *medulla* (the inner core). The hormones secreted by each of these parts of the adrenal gland have widely different functions. The medulla secretes *adrenaline*, a hormone which seems to energize the body when demands for sudden action occur. The cortex produces a hormone known as *cortin*, which is vital to life and appears to be related to sexual development. An insufficiency of the cortin hormone sometimes occurs during

or following an acute infection. Extreme deficiency of cortin may produce a condition known as *Addison's disease*, which is characterized by weakness in various areas. There is likely to be progressive weakness, excessive fatigue, lowered resistance to disease, low blood pressure, weak heart action, and diminished sex interest. Normal health may be restored by the injection of adequate amounts of cortin. Overactivity of the cortex, on the other hand, may result in premature puberty.

The *thymus* and *pineal* glands are believed to have some influence upon sexual development. The thymus is located in the neck, below the thyroid gland. It consists of two lateral lobes and secretes a hormone that appears so to influence the gonads as to hold in check the development of the reproductive organs in the young child. The pineal gland is a small cone-shaped structure about the size of a pea, lying at the base of the brain, behind and above the pituitary gland. The exact function of the gland is not known. It is believed that its secretions also affect sexual development by inhibiting it until the age of puberty is reached. This gland gradually degenerates so that by adulthood it seems to serve no definite function.

The *gonads* are sex glands. The testes secrete hormones in the male that are different from those secreted by the ovaries in the female. The primary function of the testes is to produce sperm cells. The primary function of the ovaries of the female is to produce ova or egg cells. These functions are connected directly with reproduction and function through ducts. Hence they do not represent strictly an endocrine function. The hormone produced by the *interstitial* cells in the testicles of the male account for the development of secondary sex characteristics, however. The hormones secreted by the *corpus luteum* of female ovaries also are connected with secondary sex characteristics. *Theelin*, one of the sex hormones, is active until the menopause. It stimulates the breasts and reproductive organs as well as secondary sex characteristics.

The gonads remain in an underdeveloped state until puberty, although there may be some hormonal benefits through a slight functioning. On the average, the ovaries are not fully developed until about age 20; likewise, at the age 14 the testes are only about 10 per cent of adult size, but are relatively mature at age 20. It is likely that no sperm cells are secreted by these glands before puberty. Nevertheless, certain hormones, the androgens and the estrogens, begin to be secreted early and show rapid increase at puberty.

Both boys and girls excrete small amounts of estrogenic and androgenic hormones into the urine. The amount of excretion is not significantly different for either sex until the beginning of puberty. At this time the male continues to excrete estrogens at about the same rate as he had been doing earlier, but the female excretes them at a tremendously in-

creased rate owing to a cyclic excretion which appears some years before the menarche. There is change also in the excretion of androgens, although the rate difference is not so great as with the estrogens (see Figure 31).

In his discussion of the relative effects of hormones upon sexual behavior Shock suggests:⁴

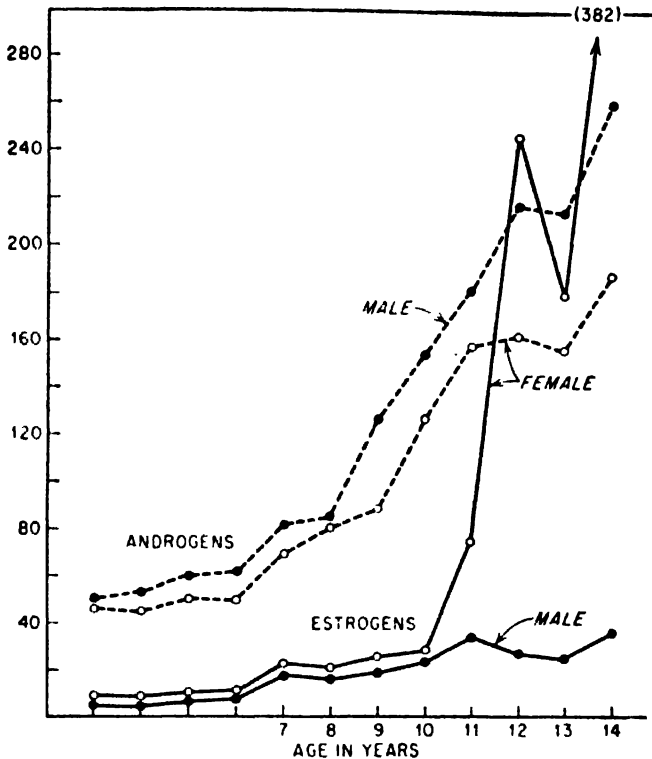


FIG. 31. Age changes in excretion of sex hormones. The female sex hormone, produced by the ovary, is the chief estrogenic hormone. (After I. T. Nathanson, L. E. Towne, and J. C. Aub, "Normal Excretion of Sex Hormones in Childhood," *Endocrinology*, vol. 28, p. 852, 1941.)

The endocrine changes in adolescence thus seem to be characterized by an increased secretion of the pituitary gland which stimulates the maturation of the sex glands themselves. With maturation of the sex glands increased amounts of male or female sex hormones are liberated into the blood stream, stimulating growth and development of accessory sex organs, and resulting in the appearance of secondary sex characters. While copulatory behavior in animals is influenced and often determined by the level of sex hormones

⁴N. W. Shock, "Physiological Changes in Adolescence," in Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, part I, *Adolescence*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944, p. 76.

present in the blood, no such clear-cut relationships have been demonstrated in the human.

The male sex organs. The male sex organs are both external and internal to the body. They consist of the testes, the penis, the *vas deferens*, and the prostate gland (see Figure 32). The testes are located in a small sac called the *scrotum*. The function of the testes is to secrete the sperm cells which are needed to fertilize the egg cells produced by the female. Although the sperm cells are produced in the testes, they pass up through the tube and the *vas deferens*, to the seminal vesicles, and on to the prostate gland. They are mixed with certain fluids in the *vas deferens* and the prostate gland, and then are propelled by muscular contraction

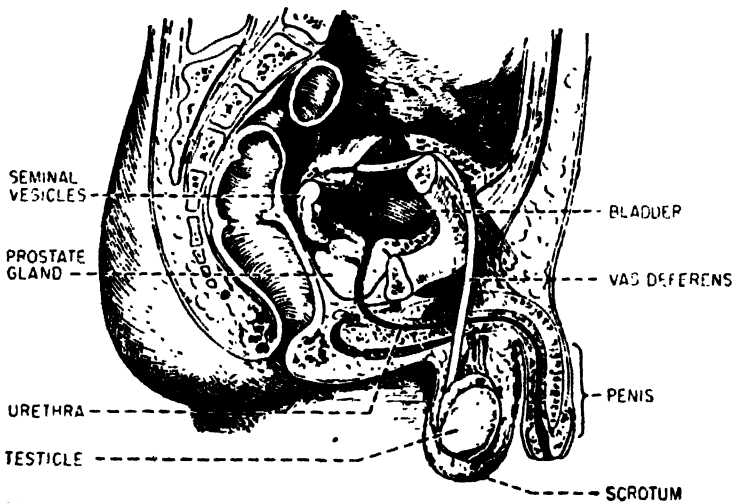


FIG. 32. Male sex parts. (Adapted from G. McHugh, *Sex Knowledge Inventory, Form Y*, Family Life Publications, Inc., Durham, N.C., 1950, p. 2. Courtesy of the president.)

through the penis in the form of semen, in which millions of sperm or reproductive cells float.

The penis is composed of a spongy tissue that can become permeated with blood, hardened, and extended. With proper erection, the penis can be used to introduce the semen containing sperm cells into the vagina of the female sex organ, thus inducing fertilization.

Ejaculation. The first ejaculation, or the fact that maturational status is adequate for it to occur, marks the onset of the pubertal period. The appearance of the first ejaculation may be hastened by mechanical or other means. The extensive findings of Kinsey and his coworkers concerning the age and source of first ejaculations are given in Table 4.

Kinsey fixes the date of puberty in boys at the date of the onset of the first ejaculation, without regard to the cause of the ejaculation. He

Table 4. Sources of First Ejaculation in Relation to Age at Onset of Adolescence

Source of first ejaculation	Per cent depending on each source				
	When age at onset of adolescence is				
	8-11	12	13	14	15+ and later
Masturbation.....	71.6	64.8	58.9	55.0	52.1
Nocturnal emissions.....	21.6	28.2	35.6	38.9	37.1
Petting.....	0.0	0.3	0.6	0.3	2.2
Intercourse.....	0.6	1.4	0.9	0.9	3.2
Homosexual.....	2.6	3.2	1.2	2.0	2.2
Animal.....	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.0
Spontaneous.....	3.3	1.8	2.6	2.6	3.2
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Cases.....	306	722	984	650	186

SOURCE: A. C. Kinsey et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 1948, p. 300.

especially makes the point that if the pubic hair and the first ejaculation make their appearance during the same year, there can be no doubt as to the year of the beginning of puberty. Since the larger percentage of the boys studied by Kinsey stimulated ejaculation by mechanical or other means, he believes that the date of puberty might better be determined by the physical development, which in some cases is some years in advance of first ejaculation.

There seems to be a definite relationship between the onset of puberty as determined by the first ejaculation and social or educational level. Kinsey concludes:³

In the male the age of first ejaculation varies by nearly a year between different educational (social) levels: the mean is 14.58 for boys who never go beyond eighth grade in school, 13.97 for boys who go into high school but not beyond, and 13.71 for boys who will go to college. The differences are probably the outcome of nutritional inequalities at different social levels, and they are in line with similar differences in mean ages of females at menarche, where nutrition is usually considered a prime factor effecting variation.

The female sex organs. The female sex organs can be considered to be internal, since they are contained within the body cavity. They consist of the ovaries (two in number), the Fallopian tubes, the uterus, the vagina, the labia (major and minor), the hymen, and the clitoris (see Figure 33).

³A. C. Kinsey et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 1948, p. 187.

The ovaries secrete the ova or egg cells; the Fallopian tubes carry the ova to the uterus or permit the sperm to move up for fertilization; the uterus houses the fertilized ovum and provides a place for its nourishment throughout the period of prenatal development; the vagina is the organ into which the penis deposits the male sperm cells during sexual intercourse as the result of an orgasm (the ejaculation of the semen into the vagina).

The growth of the ovaries is slow during childhood. At puberty they grow rapidly, reaching their full growth at age 20. Sometimes the ovaries grow more rapidly than corresponding parts of the abdomen and thus create a pouchy appearance which usually disappears within a

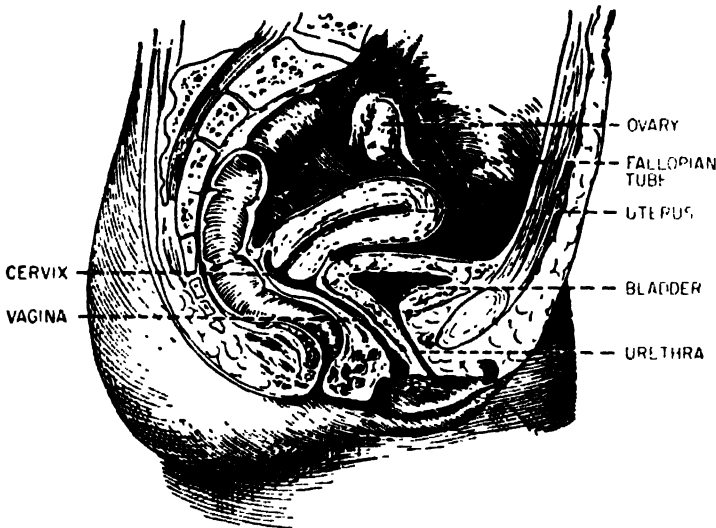


FIG. 33. Female sex parts. (Adapted from G. McHugh, *Sex Knowledge Inventory, Form Y*, Family Life Publications, Inc., Durham, N.C., 1950, p. 2. Courtesy of the president.)

relatively short time. The walls of the ovaries are lined with follicles that contain the immature egg cells. These ova begin to ripen at the start of puberty and continue to mature at the rate of one every month. Usually the ovum originates in one ovary one month and in the other ovary the next month. The ovum is discharged by the bursting of the follicle at the time of ripening of the egg cell. It then makes its way through the Fallopian tube to the uterus, where the egg, if it has been fertilized by a sperm cell, is nourished and protected during the period of prenatal development. If the egg is fertilized, the process is known as conception. The fertilized ovum then continues to live and grow in the uterus for approximately nine months, and is then expelled through the vagina as a new individual. If the matured egg is not fertilized when it reaches the uterus, it will deteriorate and pass from the body.

Menstruation. In preparation for the start of the new life the body of the female provides extra blood to nourish the fertilized ovum. At first the menstrual flow usually is at the rate of once every lunar month, unless fertilization takes place. Within a relatively short time, however, the regular cycle of approximately every twenty-eight days will continue until, in the late forties or early fifties, the menopause or change of life is reached.

There is an increase in blood pressure during the three or four days preceding menstruation; there also is a drop in body temperature about one day before the onset of the menstrual flow. These facts often cause a girl to feel different from her usual self. She may become fatigued or depressed. The girl recovers from these physical discomforts shortly, however, and she feels physically fit until the approach of the next menstrual period. The pains that often accompany menstruation are not uncommon during the early years.

The first menstrual flow can be terrifying to a young girl who has had no warning of its appearance. Hence every girl needs to be prepared in advance to understand that it is a natural function and cannot be avoided. Sensitive girls especially should be spared the shock that may accompany the discovery that something suddenly seems to be wrong with them. It may be better for an adult to describe menstruation in relatively scientific terms than to wait until uninformed girls discuss it among themselves in undesirable surroundings and thus acquire inadequate and emotion-stirring ideas. Moreover, mothers can be good examples to their daughters by exhibiting emotionally controlled behavior during their own menstrual periods.

The menses soon become regular and the physical discomfort becomes less and less. The present attitude of women toward the menstrual function has reduced the number of individuals who suffer pain to so great a degree that the aid of a physician is necessary. In those instances in which a physical examination is indicated it should be had without delay. All girls should be encouraged to meet most of their responsibilities during these periods, however, especially since the following of daily routine is made possible through the utilization of modern sanitary aids.

Effects of physical status upon adolescent adjustment. All human beings respond adversely to those conditions which interfere with vital urges. If fulfillment is endangered, there is a possibility that herein may germinate what may become a basic frustration. Both size and strength are influential in assessing a boy's place among his fellows. A study of twenty boys among seventy-eight 17-year-old boys revealed that the ten strongest boys achieved better personal adjustment and gained greater social prestige than were attained by the ten weakest boys of the same age. The stronger boys were more at ease with others and freer from emotional

tensions. The weaker boys showed many symptoms of maladjustment, suffered from poor health, and manifested inferiority, tensions, anxieties, and worries.

Table 5. Physical Manifestations Which Disturbed Adolescents

<i>Manifestations which disturbed boys</i>	<i>Number of boys</i>
Lack of size—particularly height.....	7
Fatness.....	7
Poor physique.....	4
Lack of muscular strength.....	4
Unusual facial features.....	4
Unusual development in the nipple area.....	4
Acne.....	3
Skin blemishes, scars.....	2
Bowed legs.....	2
Obvious scoliosis (curvature of the spine).....	2
Lack of shoulder breadth.....	1
Unusually small genitalia.....	1
Unusually large genitalia.....	1
<i>Manifestations which disturbed girls</i>	<i>Number of girls</i>
Tallness.....	7
Fatness.....	7
Facial features.....	5
General physical appearance.....	5
Tallness and heaviness.....	3
Smallness and heaviness.....	3
Eyeglasses and strabismus (cross-eyedness).....	2
Thinness and small breasts.....	2
Late development.....	1
Acne.....	1
Hair.....	1
Tallness and thinness.....	1
Big legs.....	1
One short arm.....	1
Scar on face.....	1
Brace on back.....	1

SOURCE: H. R. Stolz and L. M. Stolz, "Adolescent Problems Related to Somatic Variations," in *Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, part I, *Adolescence*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944, p. 86.

Physical changes exert a powerful influence upon adolescent attitudes and behavior. Girls desire those physical and physiological attributes that will make them attractive to boys and accepted by girls. Adolescents want their peer associates of both sexes to admire their physical appearance. The boy wants to be regarded as masculine; most girls take pride in their femininity. Both sexes desire their faces to be free from acne.

A study of physical manifestations which disturb boys and girls is re-

ported by Stolz and Stolz.⁸ These data are based upon a study made by the Institute of Child Welfare at the University of California. Ninety-three boys were included in the study. Table 5 gives a summary of the findings concerning the physical manifestations over which these adolescents appeared to be disturbed.

For the duration of the study, which lasted eight years, at least twenty-nine of the boys were definitely disturbed concerning their physical characteristics, and thirty-eight of the girls gave evidence of disturbance because of real or imagined physical features. It is believed by the experimenters that these represent a minimum number and that others also were suffering from less evident disturbances based upon physical causes.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Recall as many changes in physical structure as you can that took place during your adolescent years. In what ways did these changes create problems for you?
2. List as many physical changes as you can that usually occur at puberty.
3. Study the data in Table 3 and report the differences that you observe among the findings of Crampton, Dimock, Schonfeld, and Kinsey.
4. Differentiate between primary and secondary sex characteristics.
5. Interpret the growth graphs in height (page 70) and in weight (page 76).
6. What conclusions are to be drawn from the information presented in Figure 9?
7. Compare the physical growth of boys and girls in height and weight at various stages of development.
8. In what ways may differences in height growth be associated with adolescent adjustment?
9. Which methods of measuring adolescent anatomical growth do you consider most reliable? Which most easily applied?
10. What adolescent problems are likely to be experienced by the 16-year-old boys whose pictures appear in Figure 6?
11. What adjustment problems are experienced by the tall girl in the family or group? The short boy in a family of taller siblings?
12. Discuss the significance of dental growth in adolescent maturation.
13. What importance should be associated with the classification of physical types as presented by Sheldon and others?

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⁸H. R. Stolz and L. M. Stolz, "Adolescent Problems Related to Somatic Variations," in Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, part I, *Adolescence*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944, pp. 80-99.

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Chapter 5

MATURING MENTAL ABILITIES

During the present century, much attention has been focused upon the developmental patterns of mental functioning. Intensive and extensive study has been devoted to attempted solutions of problems arising out of the observed fact that children and adolescents differ in their degree of successful reaction to situations that involve the utilization of complex mental processes. Some of the major questions to which answers have been sought deal with the refinement of skill competence, the mastery of book knowledge, and the gaining of accurate understanding of meanings and relationships. Numerous investigations have been conducted, various theories have been evolved concerning mental growth and development, and differing interpretations of "intelligence" have been formulated.

The varying results of research in this field have stimulated considerable controversy among psychologists. Consequently, continued research study is needed to resolve existing disagreements among investigators. Tentative conclusions, based upon available data, seem to present evidence of certain growth and development trends in mental abilities from childhood through adolescence, however. In the following discussion we shall consider some of the basic aspects of mental development, the interpretation and significance of intelligence, the evaluation of intellectual progress, and characteristic adolescent changes in mental potentialities.

BASIC ASPECTS OF MENTAL DEVELOPMENT

When we speak of a person's power of adjustment, we usually are referring to the relative adequacy of his responses to one or more of the multitudinous stimuli situations which he may experience daily. We know that an individual's attitudes and behavior are being molded constantly by many and differing inner and outer affective influences. Basically, the appropriateness of his responses to these factors is dependent upon his ability (1) to understand the stimulus situation in reference to himself, (2) to utilize adequate means for meeting it, and (3) to evaluate objectively the personal and social concomitants of his reactions. Hence the effectiveness of an individual's attitudes and behavior adjustments is rooted in his degree of mental alertness or intelligence and reflects his

mental growth status, his previous experiences, and the complexity of the situation.

The process of mental growth. In terms of the human constitution "mind" is a function rather than a physical entity. The so-called mental processes represent activities of the central nervous system, especially of the brain. Specifically, mental activity is controlled by the cortex (the outer layer of the cerebrum) rather than by the brain as a whole. It also is important to keep in mind the fact that, although the actual number of brain cells is fixed during the prenatal period, the cells continue to develop until maturity is reached. Moreover, the extent and direction of cell activity at any growth stage are the resultants of the kind and amount of environmental stimulation experienced to that point. Consequently, mental growth per se cannot be divorced from experientially influenced mental development. Although the constitution of the nervous system determines the limit of mental growth, mental progress may be retarded or accelerated by environmental factors and physical conditions.

The mental activity of the very young child represents the beginnings of awareness of simple elements of his environment and of himself in relation to them. As the child's nervous system grows and he continues to respond more or less adequately to a succession of varied and increasingly complex inner and outer stimuli, mental development is taking place. There is a continuing formation of functional responses that change gradually from simple reaction patterns to complex mental operations. The various aspects of mental activity and mental association can be categorized as sensation, perception, memory, imagination, and reasoning. These aspects of mental activity do not function independently of one another but are characterized by interdependence and much interaction.

Mental growth is both qualitative and quantitative. During infancy and early childhood there is rapid improvement in the quality of mental performance as well as considerable increase in the number of mental responses that can be made. Although mental growth is relatively continuous during later childhood years and into adolescence, the rate of growth and the upper limit of growth vary with individuals. In general, results of studies in this area would seem to indicate that the rate of growth gradually decreases until the upper limit of growth or maturation is reached. For many individuals mental maturity is reached during the later adolescent years, although the growth process may continue to about age 23.

Characteristics of mental development. Inherited potential is a significant factor of mental development. There is general agreement among psychologists, however, that a close relationship exists between mental development and the kind of environmental conditions and situations by which an individual young person's maturing mental potentialities are

stimulated. Although present hypotheses concerning individual differences in mental growth and development need to be verified through further research, recent studies have yielded some interesting data concerning innate and environmental conditions that can affect an individual's rate and kind of mental development. Among these factors of influence are included sex, national and racial background, physical status, health and nutrition, and socioeconomic status.

Studies dealing with attempted discovery, through the administration of standardized testing instruments, of sex differences seem to yield little, if any, evidence that either sex exhibits any consistent advantage over the other in general mental ability. From data resulting from analysis of subtests, however, it can be concluded that adolescent girls excel in verbal traits, language usage, and clerical ability; boys appear to have some advantage over girls in scientific content, mechanical activities, reasoning, and space relations. Individual differences in mental ability among members of the same sex probably are greater than differences between the sexes. There appear to be more males than females at either extreme of mental ability.

Many investigations have been attempted to determine the possible relationship that may exist between mental acuity and national or racial background. Although popular explanations of observable mental differences tend to place emphasis upon the factor of inherited capacity, the results of studies seem to indicate that such differences are related rather to the type of testing instrument administered and the method of its administration, as well as to the background of experience, educational opportunities, and general living conditions of the respective subjects of the testing program.

Results of investigations lead to the conclusion that there is a positive correlation between physical health and mental status. Young people possessing superior mental acuity usually are physically fit; the mentally retarded tend to suffer from physical defects. These research findings are in contradiction to popular belief that bright children are physically below normal or that dull children are noted for their brawn rather than their brains. Further, later studies concerning the influence of diet upon mental development negate earlier research findings; it would seem that malnutrition has no effect upon mental development. Although more recent studies yield inconsistent results, there is some indication that properly balanced and adequate diets favor improved mental development.

Some research findings appear to substantiate a belief that there is a relationship between demonstrated mental acuity and economic status. Results of standardized tests administered to adolescents indicate that superior performance generally is characteristic of young people reared

in homes and neighborhoods that represent satisfying social and economic security. Inferior performance appears to be related to underprivileged living conditions and meager environmental stimulation. Specific application of these general trends is dangerous, however. Some of the greatest leaders in various areas of endeavor suffered serious deprivations during their early years; not every economically and socially privileged young person exhibits in his behavior the possession of superior mental acuity. Factors other than social and material advantage that may be responsible for individual or group deviation from "average" performance include the background history of the socioeconomic status, inherited potential, emotional balance or imbalance, and other psychological influences.

THE FUNCTIONING OF INTELLIGENCE

The terms *degree of mental ability* and *intelligence status* often are used interchangeably. Viewed developmentally, a young person's degree of mental ability at any age represents his existing stage of mental growth as this has been accelerated or retarded in terms of environmental experiences. When we speak of a person's intelligence, however, we are referring more specifically to the way in which he functions in a situation that requires the utilization of mental activity. In fact, there is a growing trend toward substituting the term *intelligent behavior* for the word intelligence, in order to stress the functional implication of its meaning.

The concept of intelligence. Considerable controversy continues to exist concerning the formulation of a definition of intelligence that would be acceptable to all the various schools of psychological thought. Earlier definitions emphasized the innate aspects of intelligence. According to this concept, an individual was supposed to possess at birth whatever "intelligence" he might display throughout his life; his possible degree of mental achievement was thought to be limited in terms of natural intellectual endowment. More recent investigators emphasize the influence of environmental experiences upon intellectual development, especially during the adolescent stage of mental growth.

Many attempts have been made to define intelligence. These vary in their emphases. For example, intelligence has been interpreted variously as the ability to learn or to profit from experience, or as the ability to adjust to novel situations. Some psychologists conceive intelligence to be the operating of the higher mental functions, i.e., memory, conceptual and abstract thinking, reasoning, and problem solving.

Until the relatively recent past, it was customary to refer to "general intelligence" as opposed to specific aptitudes. As early as 1920, however, Thorndike suggested that intelligence can be considered to have three

aspects—abstract, mechanical, and social—and that an individual may give evidence of differences of ability among the three. Other investigators have attempted to break down general intelligence into component parts or mental traits. As a result of their researches, Kelley, Thurstone, and Burt concluded that the following individual mental traits may exist: perception, number, visualization of space, verbal relations, deduction, and problem solving. According to Stoddard, “intelligence is the ability to undertake activities that are characterized by (1) difficulty, (2) complexity, (3) abstractness, (4) economy (speed), (5) adaptiveness to a goal, (6) social value, and (7) the emergence of originals (inventiveness), and to maintain such activities under conditions that demand a concentration of energy and a resistance to emotional forces.”¹ Changing concepts of intelligence are closely related to the propounding of psychological theories that have evolved from investigations of mental activities.

Theories concerning the nature of intelligence. The trend toward analyzing the composite of intelligence into individual mental traits is an outgrowth of the promulgation of various theories concerning the nature of intelligence. In 1923 Spearman formulated the theory that intelligence consists of a general factor (*g*) and various special abilities (*s*). Basing their research upon Spearman’s statistical analysis of intelligence, Kelley, and later Thurstone, arrived at the conclusion that a *multiple-factor* theory represents a better explanation of the nature of intelligence than did Spearman’s two-factor theory. Thurstone listed thirteen components of intelligence, seven of which, considered to be the primary mental abilities, are listed among the foregoing definitions of intelligence. Although Thorndike claimed that “quality of intellect depends upon quantity of neural connections,” he further concluded that there probably is no general mental ability as such, but rather his three categories referred to above—abstract, mechanical, and social.

The many attempts that have been made to arrive at a valid explanation of behavior that can be evaluated as “intelligent” have not yet yielded conclusive answers. When one tries to apply a propounded theory or to measure any of the suggested mental traits, he is faced with the problem of determining to what extent individual responses fall into a specific category. Garrett’s critical evaluation of what he calls “omnibus definitions” presents a point of view which is worth considering, even though one need not agree completely with him. He says:²

Omnibus definitions are in general too broad to be wrong and too vague to be useful. Again, I think we must avoid obvious and circular definitions. It is

¹G. D. Stoddard, “On the Meaning of Intelligence,” *Psychological Review*, vol. 48, p. 225, 1941. By permission of the American Psychological Association.

²H. E. Garrett, “A Developmental Theory of Intelligence,” *American Psychologist*, vol. 1, p. 372, 1946. By permission of the American Psychological Association.

undoubtedly true that intelligence involves the ability to learn but our understanding is not greatly enhanced by saying so. Nor are we greatly helped by the oft-quoted cliché that intelligence is what the intelligence tests measure. The main and perhaps the *only* value in this smug (and I might almost say smirking) statement lies in the fact that it is "operational" in a loose sort of way. It is certainly not informative and was probably never intended to be.

Garrett then goes on to interpret intelligence as including "at least the abilities demanded in the solution of problems which require the comprehension and use of symbols." By symbols he means numbers, words, equations, diagrams, and formulas representing ideas and relationships. He frankly admits that intelligence as conceived by him can be considered to be *symbol or abstract intelligence*. Moreover, he defends Thorndike's suggestion that there may be three levels of intelligence, thereby refuting the concept of intelligence as a general unitary function. Concerning Thorndike's theory, Garrett says:^a

Probably all that Thorndike really intended to do was to emphasize the fact that the biological notion of intelligence as adaptability to the environment is too broad to be useful and that, accordingly, it is more profitable to study individual differences in behavior within certain fairly well defined areas. Books, people, and machines constitute three sorts of things with respect to which it is important to measure a person's performance. These categories, to be sure, are not necessarily exclusive, nor do they run the gamut of human behavior. But they *are* important and they do cover a broad segment of life activities. Moreover, considerable experimental evidence for the existence of at least two levels (the abstract and the mechanical) can now be marshalled; and the social level might also be established if its constituents could be agreed upon and adequately measured.

The various theories concerning the functioning of mental abilities do not represent a complete dichotomy. Continued study of individual performance on so-called tests of intelligence would seem to indicate that differences in success of response are quantitative rather than qualitative (Thorndike), since test results indicate that the more successful do not give evidence of new kinds of intellectual behavior. Rather are they superior in their reactions to the same sorts of stimulating material to which the "less able" respond unsatisfactorily. Further, an analysis of the clusters of factors that constitute the materials of any situation involving the display of intelligent behavior yields data that would seem to justify the implications of the multiple theory of intelligence suggested by the followers of Spearman. We now shall consider briefly the significance, in the mental development of an individual, of the differentiations (traits) in intelligent behavior that characterize progress in mental maturation, and the organizational patterns of those traits.

^a *Ibid.*, p. 373.

Trait differentiation and organization. Fundamental to a consideration of changes in intelligent behavior as accompaniments of mental development is the acceptance of the theory that evidenced intellectual power at any age level not only is dependent upon innate capacity but also reflects the influence upon mental activity of environmental factors. To substantiate this theory many investigations have been undertaken that represent comparative studies of the performance of younger children with that of older children and adolescents.

The results of these studies seem to indicate that young children give evidence of a great degree of generalized intelligence. With increased mental maturation and enriched environmental experience, individual performance is characterized by differentiation of response and specialization of abilities. It has been discovered, for example, that space-perception changes from tactual-visual during early childhood to visual localization by the age of about 13. In general, specific mental traits seem to have become fairly well stabilized by the beginning of adolescence. According to Segel:⁴

This process of differentiation of responses continues throughout the life of the individual—at first on the basis of the hereditary potentiality of the individual and the environment and later largely on the basis of his environment. In the first decade of life the type of intelligence itself changes—at first very fast, but more slowly toward the end of the period.

The fact that within limits native mental potentialities progressively are affected by experienced environmental influences poses important questions concerning the kind of learning situations to which the mentally maturing young person should be exposed. It may be recalled that two of the primary mental abilities listed by Thurstone are the verbal and number functions. During childhood verbal facility is basic to overt display of intelligent behavior, especially in our culture. The truth of this statement was brought to the attention of the authors during a two-day visit to their home of three little boys, aged 5, 4, and 3 respectively. The children were born and have been reared in Asia Minor and spoke only Arabic. Verbal intercommunication was almost impossible, although the eldest boy was able to understand a few English words. Because of the language barrier, it was difficult for them to relate to us or for us to understand them. Consequently, we were unable to evaluate their respective degrees of mental alertness, except what we could assume as a result of our observation of their reactions to toys and other objects around them.

⁴D. Segel, *Intellectual Abilities in the Adolescent Period*, U.S. Department of Health, Welfare, and Education, Bulletin 6, 1948, p. 2.

Concerning the significance of verbal ability in relation to the display of degree of mental acuity, Anastasi and Foley say:⁵

Success in the practical business of everyday life—for both child and adult—is so closely linked with verbal aptitude that a serious deficiency in this respect will brand the individual as mentally incompetent. Conversely, the person who is especially proficient in verbal functions may thereby compensate for deficiencies along other lines and will rarely, if ever, find his way into an institution for the feeble-minded. No other single talent seems to be such a saving grace in our society. Because of its intimate association with our concept of “general intelligence,” verbal aptitude does not ordinarily enter into our classification of special talents or defects. Children who are deficient in reading or verbal expression are usually inferior on intelligence tests. On the other hand, case studies of juvenile authors have invariably shown them to be children of very high IQ. To define intelligence within our culture is primarily to catalogue those activities which are made possible by linguistic development.

Mental traits are characteristics of an individual's behavior to the extent that he gives evidence of possessing specific intellectual abilities that are relatively stable, that have predictive value, and that may differ to a greater or lesser degree from the characteristics of other individuals. The “primary mental abilities” proposed by Thurstone—verbal comprehension, word fluency, number, space, associative memory, perceptual speed, and induction or general reasoning—can be considered to be group factors that represent “aggregates of more elementary units.” The elementary units may be said to have *functional unity* or serve as *operational unities*.

The factors of intelligence, as these comprise the variables of individual performance (on an intelligence test, for example), provide descriptive categories of responses rather than serve as the causes of the responses. By means of the sampling approach,⁶ or the application of statistical techniques of factor analysis,⁷ it is possible not only to study the organization of intelligence but also to investigate special areas of vocational and academic abilities. One of the major problems of the adolescent, for example, is rooted in his uncertainty concerning his plans after high school. He needs help to determine in what areas of continued study or of occupational activity he can be expected to perform successfully. To reach an objective and realistic decision it is necessary for him to know

⁵ A. Anastasi and J. P. Foley, *Differential Psychology*, rev. ed., 1949, used with the permission of The Macmillan Company, New York, pp. 488-489.

⁶ G. H. Thomson, *The Factorial Analysis of Human Ability*, 3d ed., Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1948.

⁷ J. P. Guilford, *Psychometric Methods*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936. Also, D. L. Wolfe, *Factor Analysis to 1940*, Psychometric Monograph no. 3, 1941, and Anastasi and Foley, *op. cit.*, chap. 15.

the ability demands of various areas of study or work, as well as his probable or possible chances of meeting the intellectual requirements of any one or more of them. Factorial techniques can be applied in the construction of tests of specific abilities, or of special aptitudes such as speed of reaction, number facility, mental flexibility, insightful reasoning or problem solving, clerical perception, or artistic appreciation. Through the administration to interested young people of appropriate test batteries, some predictive evidence can be obtained concerning their special strengths and weaknesses in the areas tested.

THE EVALUATION OF MENTAL ABILITIES

In their day-by-day activities individuals differ in the ability to perform successfully, especially in situations that require responses that go beyond the fulfillment of routine or habituated tasks. A trained observer often is able to evaluate roughly, over a period of time, the degree of intelligent behavior that a young or older person displays as he engages in one or another form of activity. A secondary school teacher once remarked that after he had worked with a class of students for a school term, he had a fairly accurate impression of the intelligence level of each of his students. He may have been correct in his belief. He probably could have done a better job of guiding the learning activities of the mentally different members of the class, however, if early in the term he had consulted the official records of performance of these young people on standardized intelligence tests. The value of observing individuals in action cannot be questioned. This is a time-consuming technique; the utilization of more formal instruments may not yield completely accurate data, but their results represent certain general intellectual trends or special abilities that then can be checked for validity against performance in actual situations.

Instruments of intelligence testing. During the past fifty years or more many so-called intelligence tests have been constructed. These testing instruments can be classified according to various categories: (1) individual or group; (2) paper-and-pencil, verbal and nonverbal, or performance. Intelligence tests also differ in range of difficulty. Some tests are designed to measure the mental alertness of young children. These tests are nonverbal, paper-and-pencil tests, or performance tests, and usually are administered to one child at a time. Other tests are constructed for use with older children and/or adolescents; they may be given individually or in groups. For the most part they are verbal or pencil-and-paper tests, although they may include nonverbal material or performance tasks. Still other tests are designed to evaluate the functioning of the higher mental processes of older adolescents and adults. Certain batteries

of tests are so constructed that they can be utilized with various age levels and the results interpreted in terms of increasingly higher norms.

A survey of even the most reliable and valid group tests of intelligence would go beyond the space and function limits of this chapter.⁸ Attention is directed at this point, therefore, to a brief description of several individual tests that can be used with adolescents. One of the best-known individual tests is the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Intelligence Scale (1937 Terman-Merrill revision). Although the 1937 revision of this scale can be used on all age levels, beginning at age 2 and extending to the level of superior adult, it is considered to be especially adequate for use with older children. Most of the test items for the higher age levels are presented in verbal form and test the individual's ability to recognize relationships, to make adequate judgments concerning situations and conditions, and to engage in problem solving.

Another individual intelligence test that is gaining in popularity among clinicians to evaluate the degree of mental acuity of older adolescents and adults is the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale.⁹ Insofar as is possible, this scale avoids the inclusion of tasks that involve the kind of school experiences that, according to Wechsler, are characteristic of many intelligence tests. The Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale includes verbal and performance subtests. As used at present, it consists of eleven subtests. These are (1) six verbal subtests: general information, general comprehension, arithmetic reasoning, digits forward and backward, similarities, and vocabulary; (2) five performance subtests: picture completion, picture arrangement, object assembly, block design, and digit symbol. A comparison of this test with others in the field will show that the tasks follow traditional clinical syndromes. Abbreviated forms of the test sometimes are utilized to evaluate specific areas of abilities.

In addition to the Bellevue Intelligence Scale, Wechsler and his associates have constructed the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children,¹⁰ based upon the Wechsler-Bellevue Scale and intended for use with children between the ages of 5 and 15. WISC gives evidence of greater care in standardization than does the WBIS. A recently revised form of the WBIS, called the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS), is a well-standardized and valid individual intelligence test. The Wechsler scales as well as the Terman revision of the Binet-Simon Scale can be

⁸For a detailed discussion of various types of intelligence tests and their functions see the Selected References at the end of the chapter.

⁹D. Wechsler, *The Measurement of Adult Intelligence*, 3d ed., The Williams & Wilkins Company, Baltimore, 1944.

¹⁰D. Wechsler, *Intelligence Scale for Children*, Psychological Corporation, New York, 1949. Also H. Seashore, A. Wesman, and J. Doppelt, "The Standardization of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children," *Journal of Consulting Psychologists*, vol. 14, pp. 99-110, 1950.

administered and interpreted adequately only by trained psychologists and clinicians.

As commonly utilized by school people, intelligence tests represent techniques to discover how successfully a young person can be expected to learn. Since most tests administered to school pupils above the early grades are of the paper-and-pencil variety, at least some verbal facility is needed to respond to the test items. In addition, the ability to deal with even simple mathematical concepts presupposes an understanding of numerical relationships. Hence it may seem difficult to discover the extent to which performance on such tests is the result of innate capacity or of acquired knowledge. The test items contain learned materials but the manipulation of those materials presented in novel form requires the ability to recognize principles or relationships. If the individuals who take the test have a common background of learning, any difference among them in manipulatory test material usually is regarded as the innate or unlearned factor.

The functioning of innate ability through the mediums of learned materials is explained in part by Schneiders.¹¹

We may accept the general principle that innate capacities will express themselves in overt behavior and accomplishments; and thus the measurement of these factors is indirectly a measurement of the capacities underlying them. Because this relation is clearly exemplified in language development and its skillful use, vocabulary is often used as an index of general intelligence. The problems utilized in intelligence tests are new in content or in form, thereby requiring the subject to apply previously learned knowledge, concepts, or principles in a way that manifests intellectual ability. This process is clearly exemplified in figure-analogies tests, where there is a notable departure from items that have been formally learned in the process of education. Intelligence testing may be likened to the well-known eye examination. The materials used may be familiar or unfamiliar; but the end results are clearly indicative to the examiner of differences in visual acuity. To be able to *read* the letters of the Snellen Chart, a certain amount of learning is necessary; but to be able to *see* the letters, a minimum amount of visual acuity is required. Similarly, familiarity with numbers requires learning, whereas the understanding of principles that govern number sequences is dependent on intellectual acuity.

Interpretation of intelligence test results. Raw scores, representing the number of correct responses on a specific test, have little value as a measure of comparison with results of other tests on the same performance level or different age or grade levels. Hence raw scores need to be interpreted according to statistically computed norms for the test,

¹¹ A. A. Schneiders, *Introductory Psychology*, Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, 1951, p. 265.

or in terms of conversion into one or another accepted type of derived scores. Among the more commonly used bases of interpretation of individual performance on an intelligence test are mental age, intelligence quotient, and percentile rank.

The concept of mental age is an outgrowth of a form of test organization, primarily the Binet-Simon type, in which the respective test items represent units of increasing difficulty. In terms of established age norms, an individual's performance on the test can be interpreted as an indication of the fact that he possesses a certain mental age regardless of his chronological age. For example, a young person whose chronological age is 13 may appear to have a mental age of 10, 13, or 16. In other words, he is below, at, or above what can be considered "normal" for his chronological age group. This is a commonly used method of interpreting actual performance on a test.

In order to obtain more definite information concerning an individual's relative dullness or brightness, Terman devised a technique to discover the relationship that can be expected to exist between an individual's chronological age and his demonstrated level of mental maturity. This type of derived score is called the *intelligence quotient* (IQ). The IQ is obtained by dividing the mental age (resulting from performance on an intelligence test) by the chronological age, multiplying the quotient by 100 to eliminate the decimal point. This is a statistical device that is relatively meaningless unless the IQs are classified into categories that represent continuous but differing levels of ability to perform. According to Terman and other investigators, the general population can be expected to distribute itself into various mental ability groups, as represented in Table 6.

Table 6. *Levels of Intelligence*

<i>Descriptive term</i>	<i>IQ range</i>
Near genius or genius	140 and above
Very superior	130-139
Superior	120-129
Above average	110-119
Normal or average	90-109
Below average	80-89
Dull or borderline	70-79
Moron	50-69
Imbecile	25-49
Idiot	0-24

SOURCE: L. M. Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligence*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1916, p. 79.

A plotting of the IQs of a representative cross-sectional sampling of the general population should result in the construction of a normal

curve of distribution, the supposed "norm" of the distribution including about 60 per cent of those tested, and the extremes—very superior and subnormal—representing about 1 per cent for each (see Figure 34).

An interesting classification of general ability, with predictive possibilities, is shown in Table 7.

There is a growing interest among psychologists in the application of the *percentile ranking* of individually earned raw scores within the range limits of the members of the group with whom the individual is competing. The scores earned by all the members of the group are arranged in percentile rank order (percentile grade norms, for example). The significance of an individual's performance is indicated by his place in

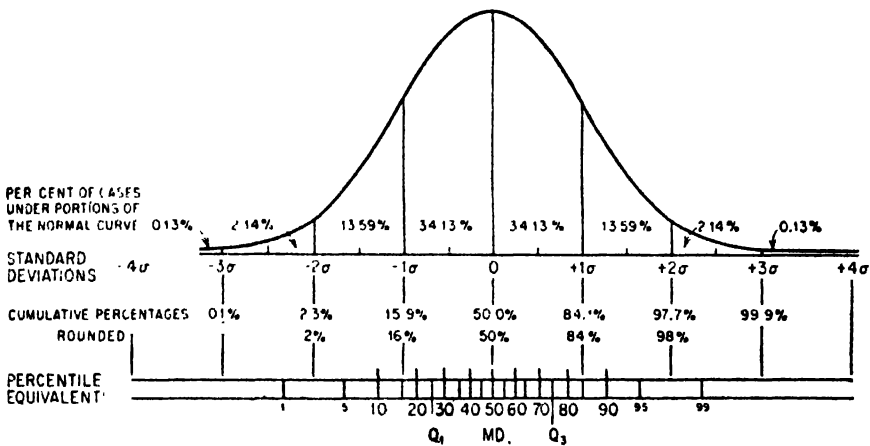


FIG. 34. Distribution of mental abilities. (Courtesy of *Test Service Bulletin*, no. 48, p. 2, January, 1955.)

the group, i.e., if subject L has a percentile rank of 92, this means that only 8 per cent of his group represents an intelligence status that is higher than his, and 92 per cent are less able mentally than he is (according to the results of the specific measuring instrument applied); the raw score of subject R, on the contrary, earns for him a percentile rank of 28, indicating that 72 per cent of the group are brighter than he is. The application of this interpretative device has validity only to the extent that the members of the group tested are similar in educational and experiential background.

Constancy of mental development. The extent of constancy that is maintained between increase of age and mental maturation has been a matter of much controversy. Especially do questions arise among school people concerning the constancy of the IQ. Since mental age status commonly is determined by performance on a test of intelligence, the validity

Table 7. Classification of General Ability as Measured by the Revised Stanford-Binet Scale, with Approximate Academic and Vocational Possibilities of Each Group

<i>IQ</i>	<i>Percent- age of children</i>	<i>Adult M.A</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Academic Possibilities</i>	<i>Vocational possibilities</i>
140 and up	0.6	21 and up	Very superior	Graduate	Professional, executive
120-139	9.9	18-0 to 20-11	Superior	Technical	Professional, technical
110-119	16.0	16-6 to 17-11	High average	College	Technical, business
90-109	47.0	13-6 to 16- 5	Average	High school	Clerical, skilled
80- 89	16.0	12-0 to 13- 5	Low average	9th grade	Semiskilled
70- 79	7.5	10-6 to 11-11	Inferior	7th grade	Routine work
60- 69	2.4	9-0 to 10- 5	Borderline deficient	5th grade	Unskilled labor
50- 59	0.5	7-6 to 8-11	Deficient	3d grade	Simplest labor
Below 50	0.1	Below 7-6	Very deficient	Special class	Unemployable

* These percentages will be found to be approximate for white children of school age whose parents are native-born. They are calculated on the assumption of a normal distribution with a standard deviation of 16 points of IQ. The adult "mental ages" are the Stanford-Binet mental age scores that these children will have to obtain to have the same IQs respectively that they had as children.

SOURCE: This table was prepared by S. L. Pressey and F. P. Robinson, *Psychology and the New Education*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1944, p. 89, from material in papers by M. A. Merrill, "The Significance of I.Q.'s on the Revised Stanford-Binet Scales," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, vol. 29, pp. 641-651, 1938; M. Teagarden, *Child Psychology for Professional Workers*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1940, p. 405; and Douglas Fryer and F. J. Sparling, "Intelligence and Occupational Adjustment," *Occupations*, vol. 12, pp. 55-63, 1934.

and reliability of the testing instrument becomes an important factor. Moreover, one must take into account certain other elements of influence. Rate of growth may not parallel increase in chronological age; environmental experiences not only affect mental growth during all the maturing years, but may exercise a more potent influence upon mental development at certain ages than at others; training stimulates more extended and greater development among the mentally superior than among the mentally retarded.

We know that inherited potential sets limits to the extent of mental growth but that kind and amount of environmental stimulation affect rate of development. The child who remains in a relatively constant environment probably will maintain a ratio between his chronological and mental age that expressed as IQ may vary no more than about 5 points. With changes in environmental conditions, these point differences may become greater. The IQs of children tend to be more constant than

the IQs of adolescents, probably as a result of the latter's wider variation in experience and possibly because of differences in the tests used for the two age periods respectively. A young person, however, who continues to experience relatively constant educational advantages tends to give evidence of comparative constancy of mental development. His IQ can be expected to have predictive value for several years at least.

The degree of mental alertness displayed during the early years of childhood has little, if any, predictive value for adolescence. Not only is it difficult to construct and administer appropriate tests of mental ability for use with the very young child, but his experiential background still is too meager for him to display whatever mental potentialities he possesses. Concerning the predictive value of the results of intelligence tests administered to young children, Anastasi and Foley say:¹²

The growing individual exhibits an increasing consistency of ability level, not because the "rate of growth" is constant, but because his present accomplishments constitute an ever increasing portion of his future accomplishment as he grows older. This is tantamount to saying that at age 15 we can make a more accurate prediction of an individual's subsequent behavior than at age 2, because we know more about him at 15. The proportional change in his behavior from age 15 to 16 is less than from age 2 to 3, and certainly much less than from 2 to 16.

MENTAL DEVELOPMENT DURING ADOLESCENCE

As has been suggested earlier, a significant characteristic of the adolescent years is the fact that the interests and activities of young people in the secondary school tend to become more specialized than they were during the childhood years. In general, elementary school children are exposed to relatively the same educational stimulation, i.e., they are expected to learn what can be termed the fundamentals. Emphasis is placed upon the mastery of primary language skills and numerical concepts, and upon the development of power to engage in simple problem solving. During the later maturational stage, however, are evidenced the beginnings of preparation for adulthood. Secondary school students select different curriculums or courses in terms of their own ambitions and interests, or as the result of parental pressures. Their out-of-school interests and activities also are likely to differ from those that were experienced during earlier childhood years. Hence the mental growth patterns of respective young people are influenced by differing environmental situations and conditions, resulting in variation of mental development that is reflected in their performance on tests of intelligence.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 296.

Characteristics of adolescent mental development. Although general adaptability in mentally stimulating situations (the *g* factor) may continue to show itself in adolescent behavior, special mental abilities (the *s* factors) become much more evident than they were during the less challenging childhood years. Yet it must be kept in mind that the mental reactions of the adolescent do not suddenly change completely. The potentiality to develop certain special abilities always has been present. During the teen years increasing mental growth and appropriate environmental conditions encourage the development of these abilities. Perhaps this point can be clarified by reference to the development of a particular form of physical prowess, such as weight-lifting. Because of his lack of strength, a small child cannot lift a heavy weight. As one child develops physically his strength increases, but he may not become sufficiently interested or able, or receive sufficient training in this form of physical activity, to become a champion weight-lifter. Another child who gives no or little evidence of superior ability in this area possesses undeveloped potential that later, through training, enables him to excel as a weight-lifter.

There are certain popular misconceptions concerning changes in mental capacities from childhood to adolescence. Contrary to the opinions expressed by some test administrators, there appears to be no valid evidence that the onset of pubescence is accompanied by a sudden spurt in mental development. It is possible that the earlier physical development of girls, as compared with that of boys, gives the former some advantage in test-determined general status of mental development over boys of the same chronological age. The developmental pattern of specific mental functions represents a continuum of growth and development from early years onward, however. For the most part, age differences in overt display of one or another aspect of intelligence can be explained in terms of general growth trends and environmental enrichment.

The ability to concentrate. Adolescents as well as children exhibit differences in their ability to concentrate upon a situation, condition, or task. From the adult point of view most children are inadequate in this respect. They are distracted easily from one stimulating situation to another, especially if the second stimulus is more closely related to personal interest than the first. Fundamentally, the child's attention span is short. Parents and teachers recognize this fact. A child asks a question that appears to represent great personal interest; before an adult has formulated the answer the questioner's attention may have focused upon something else. He scarcely is aware of the fact that he asked a question and was receiving an answer. A child usually is so busy trying to find out about the many new things and activities by which he constantly is stimulated that his interest flits from one to another, without concentrat-

ing for an appreciable length of time on any of them. Of course it is possible for a child occasionally to become so engrossed in an object or activity of particular interest to himself that he temporarily is unaware of what is going on about him. The fact that he does not hear his mother or another adult speak to him may be interpreted by the older person as willful disobedience or disregard for adult authority.

(Attention span gradually increases with age, i. e., an individual develops greater power to return to the original attention-demanding situation from which he momentarily has been distracted. Therefore it can be expected that the adolescent is gaining the ability to concentrate upon a task at hand.) Yet personal interest in the activity remains a significant factor of his willingness or ability to concentrate successfully. Adults sometimes deplore the lack of concentration shown by the teen-ager. In many instances, however, the difficulty is not so much his inability to concentrate but rather his tendency to concentrate on matters other than those to which adults, in terms of their wishes or desires, expect him to devote his entire attention. Sometimes a secondary school teacher seems unable to understand that an adolescent boy or girl may have so many interests and "worries" that he or she cannot concentrate upon school study so well as the teacher expects or demands.

Environmental conditions may interfere with concentration. Differences among high school students in the preparation of home assignments may result from differing study conditions in the home. One student may be fortunate enough to have his own room in which he can work without outside interference. Another boy or girl is expected to concentrate upon school tasks in a room shared by other members of the family who engage in interesting conversation or turn on the radio or television; a parent may interrupt the young person's study to "run errands" or to participate in other family chores. So accustomed do some adolescents become to distractions that they claim that they can concentrate upon their studies better while they are listening to the radio than if the room is quiet. The telephone also may be a strongly disturbing preventer of young people's gaining the power to concentrate successfully on mental work. Fundamentally, however, successful concentration is linked with adolescent interests.

The ability to memorize. Memory is considered to be a special mental trait. People differ in what they remember, and how well or how long they retain in memory those situations or conditions that they have experienced or the persons or things with whom or with which they have been associated. We know that the intensity, vividness, or duration of a stimulus, as well as the kind of personal feelings that are attached to it, determines the strength of one's memory of it. Pleasant experiences are supposed to be remembered longer than annoying ones. Yet the vividness

or the affective influence of an unpleasant experience may seem to impress itself indelibly on one's memory. For example, an embarrassing situation caused mainly by an adolescent's social immaturity or awkwardness may so greatly affect his self-regarding attitude that he becomes emotionally involved at the time of its occurrence. More serious is the fact that he remembered it for a long time, unless he later redeems himself by displaying greater social ease or until, as a mature adult, he can recognize the relative unimportance of the incident.

Memory can be classified as rote (verbatim reproduction of memorized material) or logical (recall of meaningful ideas presented in one's own words). Early psychological studies concerning memory placed almost complete emphasis upon the functioning of rote, or verbatim, reproduction. Hence it was concluded that children's memories are better than those of adolescents and adults. According to the findings of later investigators, however, the probabilities are that children are willing to memorize by rote certain materials such as poems or prose passages, but that adolescents or adults find verbatim memorization monotonous or time-consuming. Moreover, a child may not understand the meaning of the material that he has memorized. Since the older person is more interested in ideas than in the words themselves, he is more willing and able than the child to master content logically.

It has been found that if an adolescent or adult is motivated to memorize certain material by rote, such as a part in a play or another selection which he desires to reproduce exactly, he usually is better equipped to do so than is the child. The task is relatively easy for the older person since he understands the meaning of what he is memorizing, experiences a personal interest in the material to be memorized, and expects to obtain commendation for his performance. Unless personal interest or desire acts as a motivating force, however, an adolescent usually dislikes intensely to be required to memorize by rote any material such as scientific or mathematical formulas, grammatical rules, the spelling of words out of context, or other similar study tasks.

For a time psychologists repudiated the value of any drill or rote learning, placing emphasis upon the understanding of concepts as one of the main functions of learning. Since understanding not always is tantamount to knowing and remembering, *overlearning* through functional repetition of significant facts or concepts is coming to be utilized in secondary schools and colleges to a greater extent than it was during the recent past.

The functioning of imagination. During early childhood the imaginary and the realistic worlds are so closely related to each other that a youngster sometimes finds it difficult to distinguish between imagined and real experience. The imaginative lying of the young child is rooted

in this interrelationship of his two worlds.) During the elementary school years, however, the child becomes so intrigued by his many real experiences that he is likely to give little or no attention to imaginary situations, conditions, or people. There are exceptions to this generally displayed attitude, however, especially among lonely "only" children.

It is difficult to measure by way of standardized measuring instruments the progress of developmental change in the functioning of a maturing individual's powers of imagination. Growing young people differ in their display of creative imagination. These differences may be rooted in inherited potentiality or result from environmentally stimulated experiences. Moreover, the functioning of the imagination may constitute one of the basic factors of a special aptitude that, with training, expresses itself in superior performance. For example, why do relatively few persons, in comparison with the general population, exhibit great superiority in areas of performance such as music, representative art, writing of prose or poetry, or other specific ability fields?

There is controversy among psychologists concerning the origin of special aptitudes. Many measuring instruments have been devised to predict degree of potential in one or another form of imaginative expression. It is believed that an aptitude is a quality or aspect of personality that is possessed to some degree by all people, but that quantitatively it may be greater for some than for others. Consequently, prognostic tests are administered to children and adolescents to discover to what extent, at the time of the testing, an individual may seem to display a special aptitude. Present possession of a specific ability may not be predictive of its future realization, however, unless the young person is motivated toward intensive participation in appropriate learning experiences. Unfortunately, a parent, for example, may attach too great importance to the fact that a young child seems to enjoy strumming on the piano or whirling around the room to the accompaniment of dance music. Consequently, the child, who possesses little, if any, special ability, is forced by the ambitious parent to "take lessons" and spend many hours in resented and useless practice.

These brief comments concerning the development of special aptitudes have been introduced at this point because of the close relationship that exists between aptitudinal potential and the functioning of the imagination. The exceptional musician, artist, or writer possesses the ability so to interpret realistic materials that he stimulates the imagination of others. To accomplish this goal the artist in any area of expression must be able to recognize and subtly combine the ideal and the real. In other words, he must possess an active but controlled imagination.

As was noted in the foregoing, developmental changes in the functioning of imagination cannot be evaluated successfully by means of stand-

ardized tests. During the course of class activities, however, teachers can discover some significant differences in the use of imagination between the child and the adolescent. For example, an imaginative story written by a child usually deals with action that is unusual or different from that which he actually experiences. Except in rare cases, a child's production takes the form of objective presentation of imaginary people, situations, or conditions; his drawings are based upon observed material; his music performance is related to his present simple experiences. Usually a child is willing to practice scales and to play simple musical compositions that often are performed with musical accuracy but with relatively little expression of emotionalized imagination.

Adolescents, on the contrary, tend to give their imagination free rein. With little or no adult stimulation, they are moved to express their imaginative dreams in poems or idealistic stories which often reflect their developing philosophy of life or personal ambitions. Adolescent symbolic drawings or musical renditions reflect the expression of personal mood at the moment or the play of the imagination. Technical accuracy of performance may be disregarded. Adolescents are more concerned with the imagined feelings and thoughts of the people in their stories than are children. High school and young college students also tend either to introduce much immature humor into their writings or to stress human misery and deprivation to the point of extreme tragedy that is unrelieved by any lighter touch of humor.

Most young people can be encouraged to develop realistically controlled imagination. A varied background of experience is an excellent stimulator of adolescent imagination. The interested and imaginatively inclined teacher is able to recognize the kinds and levels of functioning imagination exhibited by the various members of his classes. He is alert to the signs of superior potentiality displayed by some of his students. He accepts as his responsibility the improvement of their abilities; he encourages them to continue their training toward the development of superior performance in the area of a specific aptitude. This teacher attitude represents a phase of adolescent guidance that to the present has been relatively neglected. At the same time, it must be remembered that regardless of the strength of an aptitude, the achievement of superior performance depends upon the young person's general mental ability status and the appropriateness and intensity of the training program.

Sometimes complete absorption on the part of an adolescent in specific, time-consuming study in one area of study activity denies him opportunities to develop satisfactorily those other phases of his personality that will enable him to establish desirable interpersonal relationships. It also happens that an adolescent boy or girl may give evidence of one or another specific aptitude which he is willing to develop, but other matur-

ing interests demand his time and attention. Hence this young person may dissipate his energies rather than concentrate upon improvement of the special ability. Consequently, his imagination functions to his detriment insofar as he attempts to reconcile his various interests and behavior reactions. To illustrate this point reference can be made to the case of Joan.

During her high school and college days Joan constantly was commended by her teachers for her imaginative ability and especially for her "flair" for writing. She was encouraged to continue training in this field and thus channel her imagination into the production of thought-challenging fictional writings. Although Joan has continued to experience the urge to engage in this activity, she has come to be involved in so many other imagination-stimulating projects and responsibilities involving human relationships that her time and energy are expended almost entirely in outgoing, group-centered activities. Whatever writing in which she finds time to engage is associated with her work. Many talented adolescents find themselves in the position of selecting concentration upon one of various areas of activity in which to utilize their imagination, or of drifting into a field or fields other than the one in which their exceptional powers of imagination could be utilized most effectively.

The development of success in reasoning and problem solving. There is a close relationship between imagination and judgment or reasoning. Moreover, the mental processes involved in thinking, reasoning, and problem solving do not vary qualitatively from childhood through adolescence. The child thinks; he can reason about the simple situations and conditions with which he has experience; with training he is able to solve problems that lie within his limits of comprehension. The continuance of mental growth and the expansion of experience inherent in intellectual development are basic factors of adolescents' increasing power to engage in the manipulation of concepts, ideas, and relationships.

The degree of skill attained by an adolescent at any age depends upon the rate and upper limit of his mental development. From results obtained through the administration of testing techniques, it has been found that adolescents differ from one another in their ability to think objectively, judge correctly, or obtain adequate insights concerning people or objects in their environment or about situations or conditions by which they are affected. Yet, for the most part, teen-agers give indication of better intellectual discrimination than is characteristic of children.

Training plays an important role in the development of adolescent reasoning and problem solving. For often immature young people are encouraged to make judgments concerning one or another situation or condition with which they have not yet had sufficient experience to gain adequate insight into its subtle elements. They sometimes are expected to

attempt solutions of social, economic, political, or other major problems that may defy a mature adult's power to solve. Lacking adequate experiential background for objective reasoning, adolescents are likely to depend upon imagination, or to repeat, parrot-fashion, statements which they find in newspapers or magazines, hear on radio or television, or garner from the conversation of adults who themselves may be poorly informed or prejudiced in their thinking.

From a democratic point of view it certainly is desirable for young people to become aware of the many problems that need to be solved in the interest of general human welfare; realistically, however, adults as well as young people need to recognize the fact that reasoning or judgment, to be valid, must represent the mental maturity and experiential background that are lacking even among so-called adults. Consequently, there is a growing trend among psychologists, sociologists, and educators to motivate maturing adolescents to give major attention to problems that are within their developing comprehension limits, and to encourage them to reason objectively about their own youthful problems of adjustment. Teen-agers can be helped, step by step, to achieve control of their imagination through improved appreciation of the realities of life, they can be inducted gradually into situations that possess problem potential. To the extent that these educative processes succeed, it is found that young people gain increased power to become sensitive to subtle elements of their environment, to achieve improved insight, and to engage in objective, unprejudiced, and constructive reasoning and problem solving.

Relation of mental function to other aspects of adolescent development.

The importance to the adolescent of the kind and amount of development in his various mental functions that are taking place is great. The degree of mental acuity that he possesses and is trained to utilize adequately during his teen years represents a significant factor of his adjustment to his responsibilities as an adult. Yet one cannot disregard the interrelationships that exist among the various personality aspects of the developing individual. We have referred briefly to the relation between physical and mental growth. Attention also needs to be directed toward the role of the mental functions in the emotional development and social adjustment of the adolescent.

Too many parents of the past disregarded the effect upon their maturing children of adolescent emotional changes. A growing boy's or girl's participation in social activities was considered to be a matter of almost complete parental decision. High school teachers and administrators were accustomed to consider intellectual achievement to be the primary concern of their pupils. More recent educational philosophy has stressed adolescent emotional development and social adjustment almost to the exclusion of intellectual advancement. Many psychologists and educators

are recognizing the dangers inherent in either of these extreme approaches to adolescent education.

Here now is being evidenced a commendable adult appreciation of the developmental needs involving all aspects of adolescent personality. Hence the present trend is toward greater educational emphasis upon a young person's achievement of adjusted and adjustable patterns of behavior and attitudes that involve adequate functioning of his physical, mental, and emotional potentialities in the management of his personal affairs and in his relationships with individuals of all ages.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Give examples to illustrate that competition may serve useful purposes in mental development.
2. Explain the process of mental development.
3. What is meant by "the cumulative interpretation of mental concepts"?
4. Explain the statement: "Habits once formed cannot be broken."
5. What is the relationship, if any, between mental attitudes and physical disease?
6. Under what conditions does the "sour grapes" attitude of adolescents enter into the hostility between social classes of different economic status?
7. Explain why it is unwise to keep an adolescent long at a task that does not challenge his intelligence.
8. How does a daily schedule for an adolescent's work affect his mental life?
9. What conditions are conducive to dishonesty in school?
10. People who have adjustment difficulties frequently are unaware that these adjustment experiences are common to others. Explain.
11. Name mental habits that you are proud to possess. Name others that you wish you did not have.
12. What restrictions, if any, should be placed upon an adolescent's intellectual activities?
13. What mental values are likely to accrue to the adolescent who carries out well-laid study plans?
14. Explain the importance of the environment in relation to mental development.

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Chapter 6

CHANGING EMOTIONAL PATTERNS

The development of the emotions begins at birth and continues through adolescence. The very young child's emotional experiences constitute general all-over patterns of response. Gradually the various emotional reactions become localized and definitive. By the time an individual has attained emotional maturity (sometimes well into the period of adulthood) characteristic patterns of emotional behavior have become habituated.

An adolescent is sensitive to the many emotion-arousing stimuli in his environment. His affective experiences become vital to him in a way that they had not functioned earlier. He responds to social stimuli differently; he is building a personality out of the environmental influences that produce one feeling tone today and another tomorrow. Although emotion plays a leading role in the development of the individual through his entire life, during adolescence he is emotionally aroused by stimuli that may not have affected him as a child. The emotional changes are caused largely by the physiological development that is taking place or has taken place within him.

A girl who is preparing for her first date spends all day arranging and rearranging her hairdo, painting and repainting her fingernails, and trying to decide which dress to wear. Yet she has not completed her preparations when her date arrives that evening. This girl's behavior exemplifies the emotional strife experienced during adolescent years. Another girl may react to her first date by worrying all day about whether she will know what to talk about. Her anxiety changes to delight when she discovers during the evening that conversation flows freely. The first date may be an emotion-arousing experience for the boy as well as for the girl. The adolescent boy also fusses about his grooming, he is anxious about his "manners," he ventures a quick parting kiss, which causes him to feel as though he were walking on air even though the kiss is no more than a peck on the cheek.

THE BASES OF EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES

An emotional experience is a stirred-up state of the individual. Although there may be increasing storm and stress during adolescence,

emotions are experienced both before and after this age period. Hence they are not peculiar to the adolescent stage of development. Emotional reactions during adolescence differ, however, in certain respects from earlier emotional expression.

The nature of feeling. A feeling state is an affective experience that accompanies an individual's daily experiences. The attitude of the individual at the moment has a profound influence upon the way he may react. Both an anticipatory attitude toward, and an attitude of acceptance of, the environmental conditions aid the individual at the time to experience *pleasantness* or *unpleasantness*. Of necessity, feelings are subjective and introspective. Only the individual can experience the feeling state; if the situation is accompanied by a feeling of pleasantness, there is a desire to repeat it; if unpleasantness is experienced, there is a tendency to exhibit avoidance behavior. There is a strong adolescent drive to continue activities that bring enjoyment and thus prolong pleasant experiences, and to reject, avoid, or terminate unpleasant situations or conditions.

An adolescent feels differently about participation in certain activities at various age levels. Some activities in which he may have been intensely interested and which were pleasant to him at age 13 or 14 become extremely unpleasant to him at 18 or 19. For example, a 19-year-old girl writes:

One attitude I had when I was 13 that changed my growing up was a concept I had about friends. At 12 I found them essential in my life. We girls formed a club and I was very friendly with all the members, although at that time I was more concerned about myself than about others. At 14 I was still friendly with the same group, but decided that their feelings were important and should be considered if I wanted to keep their friendship. At 15 I found myself too mature to be friendly with them. I had a "boy friend" and decided to spend most of my time with him. I was very happy as I saw this boy most of the time; I spent little time with the girls. By the age of 17 I had cut off my friendship completely with the girls and was interested only in the boy. After I had entered college I decided that it is as important to have girl friends as well as a companion of the opposite sex. I became friendly with a few girls; these friendships have continued until the present. Now, at 19, I see how much I missed by not having closer friendships with girls, at least during part of my adolescent years.

The stimuli that produce pleasantness or unpleasantness change with the circumstances surrounding them. Changes in age, interests, and attitudes contribute to these changes in feeling. At one time the attitude and behavior of one individual may arouse pleasant feelings in another person. If, however, the second person loses interest in the other, the former pleasant feelings are not experienced. The girl who is the present object

of an adolescent boy's affection stimulates him to experience feelings of pleasantness at the sight of her, at the sound of her voice, or at the touch of her hand. No matter how deep these feelings toward her may be, they are lost if and when another girl becomes the center of his interest.

Thompson and Witryol conducted a study that deals with adult recall of unpleasant experiences that occurred in each of three periods of childhood.¹ These periods represented the first 5 years of life, ages 6 to 12, and the ages 12 to 18 respectively. Fifty young women, college students between the ages of 18 and 24, participated in each of the recall studies. The subjects of the experimental project were asked to respond in terms of recall to each item of a list of twenty-two categories of unpleasant experiences for each of the three designated age levels. Recently the experiment was further extended by the authors. They used the same twenty-two categories and gathered data from college students of both sexes, 100 women and 100 men. The resulting data are presented, alongside the findings of Thompson and Witryol, in Table 8.

The instructions given these college students were as follows: "Read through the following list of 22 categories of possible unpleasant experiences. Check the appropriate experiences which you may have had. It may be best to go through the list three times, considering one age range at a time, e.g., 0-5; 6-12; 12-18."

Percentage differences between the studies in the category "Unclassified" result partly from the fact that in the second study each person checked a list of unpleasant experiences rather than name them, as was required in the first study.

In both studies the items group themselves into three generally meaningful "clusters": (1) "Unpleasant or painful sensory and emotional experiences"; (2) "Unpleasant experiences during process of learning to live in a social world"; (3) "Unpleasant experiences generating feelings of inadequacy and insecurity." The findings as shown in Table 8 would seem to indicate that the subjects' unpleasant memories of experiences that occurred during early childhood fall into the first group of items, especially "Painful Injuries" and "Illness"; during the ages 6 to 12, the unpleasant experiences were clustered around "Forced to Do Unpleasant Things" and "Verbally Disciplined"; in the 12-to-18-year-old group, unpleasant experiences appear to be closely related to adolescent attitudes of personal inadequacy and insecurity, as is indicated by their unpleasant experiences with "Death of Relatives and Friends," "School Failure," and being "Refused Desired Objects."

The percentage difference in responses between the studies is slight.

¹ G. G. Thompson and S. A. Witryol, "Adult Recall of Unpleasant Experiences during Three Periods of Childhood," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, vol. 72, pp. 111-123, 1948.

Table 8. Percentage of Responses in the Categories of Unpleasant Experiences

Category of unpleasant items recalled	During first 5 years of life				During 6-12 years				During 12-18 years			
	T & W		C & C		T & W		C & C		T & W		C & C	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
	N = 721	N = 262	N = 250	N = 803	N = 710	N = 590	N = 735	N = 670	N = 578			
1. Painful injuries	10.0	5.0	10.0	7.6	4.6	5.6	6.4	3.6	6.0			
2. Sensory irritations	8.9	3.9	5.0	1.6	3.7	2.0	0.1	3.3	3.4			
3. Illness	8.4	17.2	16.0	4.9	8.7	8.1	5.1	3.1	4.4			
4. Loss of personal property	8.4	3.4	6.0	4.3	5.2	4.1	3.4	6.0	3.8			
5. Corporal punishment	7.3	5.0	10.0	7.1	3.9	4.9	1.0	0.09	1.2			
6. Attacked by animals	6.1	3.0	2.0	1.1	1.7	2.9	0.0	0.09	0.05			
7. Forced to do unpleasant things	4.9	4.5	3.2	15.2	3.0	3.8	3.4	4.41	5.0			
8. Verbally disciplined	2.8	15.0	11.4	9.9	9.7	9.4	4.1	6.2	7.0			
9. Feelings of guilt	4.9	3.0	3.2	7.6	7.7	5.6	2.1	8.3	7.0			
10. Teased or ridiculed	2.8	5.0	6.0	4.9	6.1	8.4	2.5	4.2	4.0			
11. Persistent fears	4.4	2.8	0.8	4.9	3.5	2.9	1.4	3.6	3.0			
12. Fighting with peers	2.2	2.9	5.0	4.3	4.8	5.5	1.4	3.0	4.4			
13. Visit to doctors	2.8	9.2	13.0	3.3	6.7	6.4	1.0	4.4	5.0			
14. Deaths of relatives and friends	1.6	1.8	1.5	1.6	3.6	3.8	9.7	6.5	7.0			
15. School failure	1.7	0.0	0.0	4.9	1.0	1.4	8.3	1.8	4.4			
16. Refused desired objects	4.4	3.9	2.8	4.9	4.6	2.9	8.3	4.4	3.3			

Table 8. Percentage of Responses in the Categories of Unpleasant Experiences (Continued)

Category of unpleasant items recalled	During first 5 years of life				During 6-12 years				During 12-18 years			
	T & W*		C & C†		T & W*		C & C†		T & W*		C & C†	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
	N = 721	N = 262	N = 250	N = 803	N = 710	N = 590	N = 735	N = 670	N = 578			
17. Loss of friends	2.8	1.8	1.2	3.3	3.6	3.7	8.0	3.0	2.9			
18. Quarrels with parents	0.0	3.4	1.2	0.5	5.1	5.5	5.4	9.0	9.0			
19. Broke up with boy friend	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		4.9	7.6				
20. Broke up with girl friend‡			0.0			0.06			6.0			
21. Feelings of inferiority	0.0	3.9	1.5	0.0	6.3	6.2	4.9	8.1	6.0			
22. Witnessed accidents	2.8	1.8	1.6	0.5	1.8	3.8	3.4	3.8	4.3			
23. Lack of popularity	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	4.5	2.9	3.4	3.1	2.8			
24. Unclassified (all others)	2.8	1.8	0.0	7.6	1.0	0.04	11.8	1.0	0.05			

* T & W = Thompson and Witryol.

† C & C = Crow and Crow.

‡ N = Available responses for analysis

§ Item included because men participated in this study.

SOURCE: G. G. Thompson and S. L. Witryol, "Adult Recall of Unpleasant Experiences during Three Periods of Childhood," *The Journal of Genetic Psychology*, vol. 72, p. 118, 1948.

The students in the Crow and Crow study reported many more unpleasant experiences in these items: (1) ages 1 to 5, "Illness," "Verbally Disciplined," and "Visit to Doctors"; (2) ages 6 to 12, "Illness," and "Feelings of Inferiority"; (3) ages 12 to 18, "Quarrels with Parents," and "Feelings of Guilt." The students in the Thompson and Witryol study reported significantly more unpleasant experiences in (1) ages 6 to 12, "Forced to Do Unpleasant Things"; and (2) ages 12 to 18, "School Failure," "Refused Desired Objects," and "Loss of Friends."

The nature of emotion. Emotions resemble feelings to the extent that the entire body participates in the reactions that accompany the experience. Both feelings and emotions are concerned with the affective experiences that involve general reactions of the individual during the time he is affected by stimuli that arouse or excite. An individual is not born with set patterns of emotional behavior. Emotional responses are the outgrowth of interactions between inherited constitution and environmental factors of influence. An emotionalized state may be accompanied by a dynamic drive to action, but the emotion cannot be regarded as the cause of the drive.

Some adults erroneously attempt to explain a young person's expressed urge "to go places and do things" as symptomatic of the strong emotions that are considered to be characteristic of adolescent development. As we know, however, the physiological and psychological changes that are taking place during the growing-up years give rise to the arousal of new wants. The extent to which these adolescent "needs" are satisfied or thwarted determines the kind and intensity of consequent emotional reactions.

The arousal of emotions. An emotion results from the fusion of complex sensory and perceptual experiences with patterns of attitudes and behavior already established. The perception of an appropriate stimulus starts the emotion, which is fully experienced as soon as the feeling tones and other affective elements have been aroused through the functionings of the autonomic nervous system. The feelings and impulses thus aroused are basic to an emotional experience. Moreover, stimulus situations that are associated with interest or desire can become emotion-arousing. For example, if an individual has developed an interest in another individual, object, or a situation, it is possible that emotional reaction will result from stimuli that emanate from the presence of the individual, object, or situation, or from thoughts about the stimulator of the emotional state.

There is a close relationship between the stimulus that arouses the emotion and the emotion itself. A particular stimulus arouses one emotion at a time; it cannot arouse two opposite emotions simultaneously. Moreover, the stimulus situation may arouse an emotion at one time and not at another, even though the conditions appear to be similar at both

times. Contrariwise, similar stimuli may arouse different and even opposing emotions at different times. Difference in perception of the stimulus will change the inner reaction of the individual to it. Stroking may arouse the emotion of anger at one time; at another it may elicit the emotion of affection.

The rate of change from one emotional state to another can be rapid. A person may be aroused by anger or jealousy at one moment; if he is exposed to an appropriate stimulus, he immediately may experience a more pleasant emotional state. The intensity and duration of emotional responses depend upon the physical and mental condition of the individual as well as upon the persistency and strength of the stimulus. An emotional state is likely to continue if the stimulus that aroused the emotion is present and the individual is aware of it. If the stimulus is removed, however, or the individual's attention is distracted from it, the emotion either disappears or is reduced considerably in strength.

Physiological bases of emotion. Many physical and physiological changes accompany an emotional experience. These changes are made possible through the functioning of the endocrine glands as they are controlled by the autonomic nervous system. This nervous system has three main divisions; they are concerned with glandular action and the action of many vital organs. The *cranial* and *sacral* divisions work together and in direct opposition to the *sympathetic* branch. The cranial and sacral therefore are sometimes called the parasympathetic branch. Nerves from all branches run to the vital organs of the body, such as the heart, blood vessels, lungs, stomach, liver, intestines, spleen, salivary glands, sweat glands, kidneys, bladder, colon, and genitals (see Figure 35).

The sympathetic branch inhibits digestion, constricts blood vessels, dilates the pupils of the eyes, causes the hair to stand erect, releases blood sugar from the liver, stimulates the secretion of sweat glands, releases adrenaline from the suprarenal glands, increases the blood pressure and pulse, and checks the flow of saliva. The action of the cranial and sacral divisions is opposite to that of the sympathetic. There is a constant struggle for normal balance between these sets of nerves. During an emotional state the sympathetic branch is in ascendance; as the emotion subsides, the parasympathetic branch assumes control until normal balance is restored.

It can be observed in Figure 35 that the nerves run to the viscera and return, rather than to the muscles that are connected with the skeleton. The sympathetic nervous system is not under voluntary control; a person cannot direct his heart to beat faster, his glands to secrete more or less fluid, or his eyes to dilate. Nor can he experience an emotion unless there is an actual stimulus to arouse it. He also is unable to stop the emo-

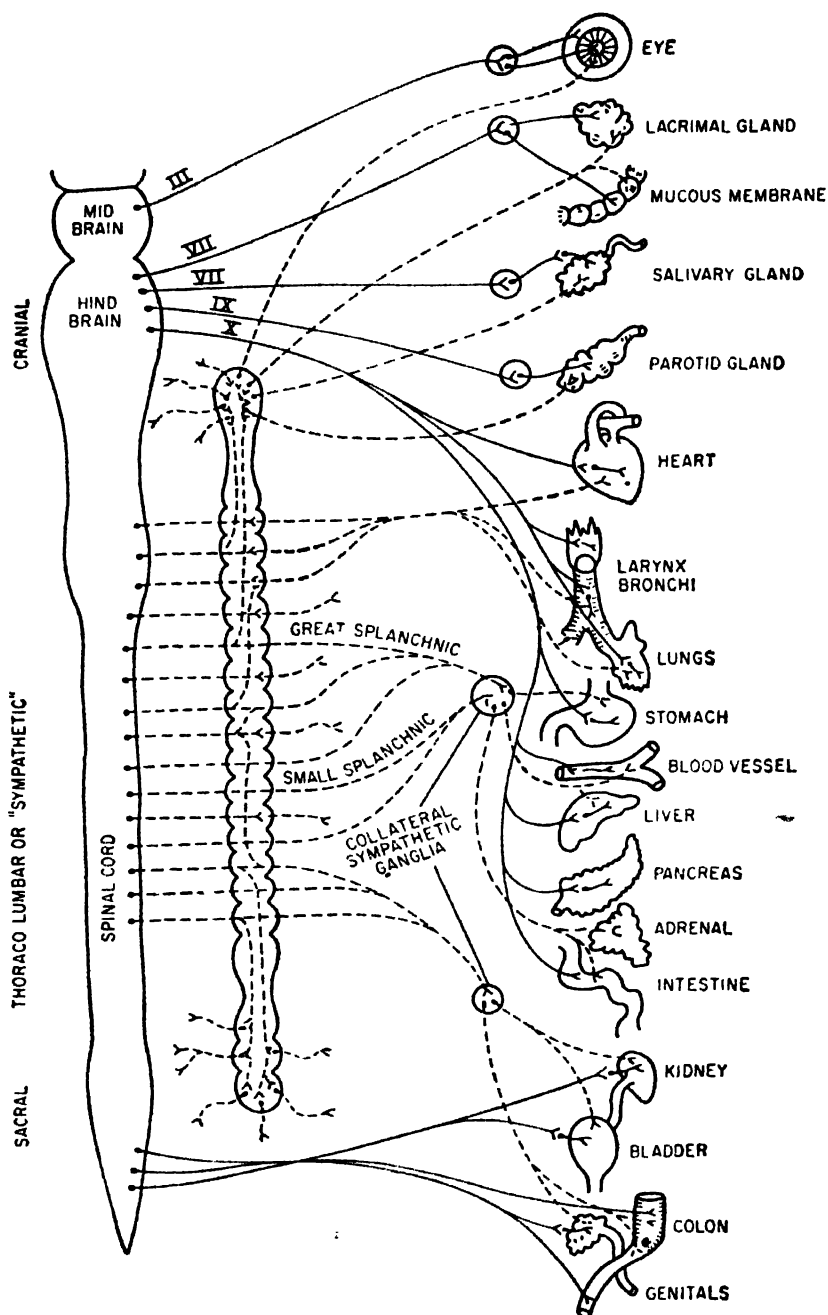


FIG. 35. Diagram showing the more important distributions of the autonomic nervous system. The brain system and spinal cord are represented on the left. The organs affected under emotional stimulation are shown on the right. The nerves of the cranial and sacral divisions are shown in full lines, while those of the sympathetic are shown in broken lines. (From Frederick H. Lund, *Emotions*, copyright, 1939, The Ronald Press Company, New York, p. 35.)

tion if external and internal conditions are set for its continuance. Overt expression of one's feelings can be partially concealed, but the emotion itself cannot be controlled. The keen observer can recognize certain overt signs of emotionalism, such as a bulge of the eyes, a flush on the face, a flow of tears, a choke in the voice, an attempted retreat from the situation, or a display of aggressive behavior.

An emotion, therefore, represents affective feeling tones, is characterized by inner adjustment, is conditioned by the functioning of the autonomic nervous system, is expressed overtly through behavior responses peculiar to the particular emotional state experienced, and is aroused by the interaction between an external stimulus situation and the inner mental status. The stirred-up state of the individual, as represented by a combination of these factors, represents an emotional experience. Thus an emotion is a dynamic internal reaction that protects and satisfies the individual or causes him discomfort or annoyance. These various aspects of an emotional experience can be condensed into a summary definition of emotion as *an affective experience that results from the fusion of complex sensory and perceptual stimulation with established patterns of behavior, accompanied by inner adjustment of stirred-up states and expressed in one or another form of overt behavior.*

SIGNIFICANCE OF ADOLESCENT EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES

Anyone who lives with or associates closely with teen-agers cannot help be aware of the fact that adolescent emotional experiences constitute an extremely important accompaniment of the growing-up process. Even apparently well-adjusted adolescents have their trials and tribulations, as well as highly satisfying and thrilling experiences. Their emotionalized attitudes tend to fluctuate between optimistic, enthusiastic cooperation and withdrawing, pessimistic depression. To a parent or a teacher an adolescent's behavior may seem to be unpredictable.

For no area of development during the "in-between" years is adult understanding of the changes that are taking place more needed than in regard to emotional development and adjustment. Previous chapters have referred briefly to the impact of emotion-arousing situations upon the sensitive young person, especially as these are related to adolescent study approaches. Although various methods of studying adolescents already have been described, we now shall indicate how some of these techniques can be applied specifically to the study of adolescent emotions, thereby gaining greater insight into the affective phases of adolescent experiences.

Approaches to the study of adolescent emotions. The method of direct observation can be employed with relatively good success in the study of the emotional reactions of young children. Considerable difficulty may

be encountered in attempts to evaluate the emotionally stimulated behavior of preadolescents and adolescents. Certain aspects of a child's emotional state can be noted and recorded by competent observers, including the situational stimuli that give rise to the child's behavior during an emotional experience: the duration of the emotion; the attempts to control the emotion on the part of the child, his parents, or his playmates; the child's behavior during the entire emotional experience; as well as any other significant factor of influence. Since the child usually is under continuous and close supervision throughout the day, he probably will not become aware or suspicious of any special observation of his behavior.

To discover the emotional behavior of adolescents presents a much more complicated situation. Direct observation no longer is a reliable study approach. As has been said earlier, the teen-ager is alert to, and sensitive about, close study of his behavior and is likely to resent the fact that he is being studied, especially when he is emotionally excited or disturbed. Since the adolescent considers adult observation of his actions to be an intrusion into his privacy, a recognition by him of the fact that his behavior is being observed and evaluated may arouse a display of angry resentment that replaces whatever other observed form of emotionalized behavior he had been expressing.

The investigator who attempts to study the emotional behavior of adolescents wisely utilizes other techniques, even though the latter may be less reliable than direct controlled observation. Data obtained from adolescent diaries and judicious use of questionnaires have been helpful. Similarly, the utilization of one-way vision screens for direct observation of adolescents' behavior in interview situations is proving fruitful to large numbers of college students and other observers who thus can study and record behavior and compare interpretations of reactions.

It is possible for a trained observer to conduct studies of adolescent emotional behavior by mingling with adolescent groups, thereby making records of the behavior reactions of numerous adolescents in the situation. To study adolescent emotions is so difficult a task that the results are not too reliable. Perhaps the "mingling" technique may yield data that are only relatively valuable. Yet it can give a little insight into the emotional life of adolescents in situations in which they are completely off guard.

A research specialist can go directly to the adolescents themselves and ask them to respond to questions that have been prepared in advance. This questionnaire technique was utilized by Wheeler² in his study of the variations in the development of normal adolescents. In an attempt

² O. A. Wheeler, "Variations in the Emotional Development of Normal Adolescents," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, vol. 1, pp. 1-12, 1931.

to find the frequency, intensity, and other variations of adolescent emotional experiences, he asked questions such as "What kind of religious experience (if any) did you have (a) during childhood, and (b) during adolescence?" and "Did you hero-worship someone of your own sex?" The answers showed a great range of difference in emotional expression, both in intensity and variety.

Results from another questionnaire study gave evidence that there is constant emotional development from ages 7 through 18, and that girls

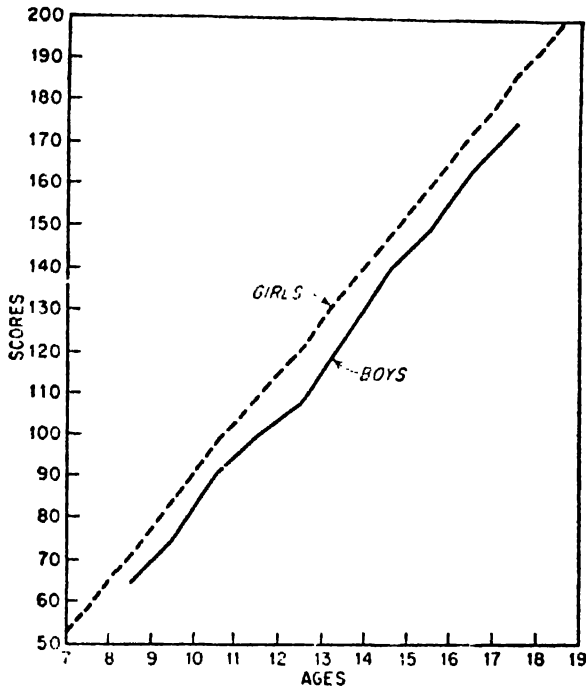


FIG. 36. Norms for growth in emotional age. (From P. H. Furbey, "A Revised Scale for Measuring Developmental Age in Boys," *Child Development Monographs*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1931; and Sister Celestine Sullivan, "A Scale for Measuring Developmental Age in Girls," *Studies in Psychology and Psychiatry*, vol. 3, no. 4, 1934.)

show greater emotional maturity than boys at all ages from 7 through 18. These results are shown graphically in Figure 36.

Characteristics of adolescent emotions. The child may express joy by squealing and dancing with delight, but the adolescent expresses his feelings and emotions in more subdued fashion. The latter is expected to be less demonstrative as he gives expression to his emotional appreciation. His gaining in knowledge and wisdom and his utilization of the apperceptive mass or the total background of experience condition adolescent attitudes. Even a single experience in a sequence of events may alter the

total behavior reaction thereafter. An adolescent's recognition of another teen-ager as his rival for peer status, for a date with the same girl, or for a place of honor in scholastic achievement may arouse anger, fear, hate, or jealousy when the competing rival is present. Or, if great joy has been experienced in a particular situation, any subsequent situation that is similar may arouse a pleasurable emotion. Interest, desire, and degree of thwarting are the chief components that largely determine the intensity, duration, and direction of emotional expression.

Both the child and the adolescent seek social approval. The intensity of interest is less in the child than in the adolescent. The child gradually learns that emotional outbursts bring forth disapproval; hence he changes his behavior to conform to the wishes of those elders whose approval he craves. During puberty a young person experiences a strong urge for approval of his peers. His attitudes are influenced by inner changes and by external social stimuli. He sometimes seems to lose control of his behavior in his eagerness to express himself. He is stirred from within to become overtly aggressive or submissive; he is stimulated from without to become affectionate or jealous, tolerant or intolerant, approving or disapproving.

The stimuli that give rise to the emotions during early adolescence actually are less important than they seem to him at the time. Heightened emotional experiences during early puberty may become a source of embarrassment to an adolescent. He may experience great emotional turmoil and become thoroughly ashamed of himself. He engages in constant battles with his elders and his peers, especially with his near-age siblings. For example, he is aroused emotionally by problems such as the following:

My parents seem to reject me. They act as though I had interfered with their life.

I have a stepfather who hates me to the point of perpetual malice.

Every time I say something my father passes a sarcastic remark. I am now afraid to say anything.

If my mother approves of my doing something, my father is sure to disapprove.

My father has become very nervous and jumpy; he is always starting arguments.

I am the youngest child and treated as though my opinions are insignificant.

I would like to have privacy in my home, but my letters are opened and my bureau drawers are looked through.

I cannot make my mother realize that I want just as much freedom as my brother has.

My mother finds faults in me that I believe I do not have.

My sister is 13 and I am 18. She is very jealous of privileges given to me that are denied her.

My younger brothers and sisters insist on staying around when I have a guest.

When I displease my parents, I am required to remain in my room for hours at a time.

When I am introduced to someone I do not like, I show my feelings at once.

Because of my good nature I am "walked on."

These are but a few of the emotion-arousing situations that adolescents face as they move slowly through the teen years. A study made by Meltzer of anger adjustments of a bright male student reveals some rather interesting data (see Table 9).

The young adolescent displays a wide range of emotions almost daily. At one moment he may exhibit a state of great joy; but as a result of a shift in conditions, of interference with his plans, or of other thwarting circumstances, he may be moved to great anger. An increasing consciousness of the self and of physical awkwardness combine to disturb him. He is called upon to become more active in social situations; he often is embarrassed by his inability to manage his arms and legs, and by other signs of the sudden growth to which he has not yet fully adjusted. He develops a feeling of inadequacy and self-distrust.

Young people do and should engage in socializing experiences. Adults, however, may disapprove if, for example, a girl giggles when she is experiencing joy, happiness, elation, or affection, or sheds tears as an expression of unpleasant emotions such as fear, anger, jealousy, or worry. Yet there may be some value for girls in these behavior reactions since they provide tension release that is denied boys who build up inner tensions that find no overt outlet. It has been suggested that there may be some relationship of female tension release and male tension inhibition to the longer life span of women as compared with that of men.

An adolescent boy's emotional response to a pleasurable experience often is by a show of what can be described as sheepish, embarrassed behavior; an unpleasant emotional experience may call forth strong imprecations, either audible or under his breath. During an emotional state a boy's facial muscles may twitch, he may shift his body weight from

Table 9. *Anger Chart of the Brightest Male Student*

<i>Cause</i>	<i>Impulse controlled</i>	<i>Impulse yielded to</i>	<i>Effect</i>
Large assignment in vocational education course	To make sarcastic remark to teacher		Defiance toward the course
Editorial in Stanford paper		Commented about it to colleague	Laughed about the incident
Examination	Tear up question	Sigh of anguish	Nervousness
Recalled forgotten appointment	Call up and apologize	Slight feeling of fear	Decision to try to remember better
Poor grade on examination	Razz instructor on type of exam	Made alibi	Rationalized
Awakened by noise	To throw vacuum sweeper downstairs	Cursed slightly, moved cover over head	Wished I could go some place and never be disturbed
Assignment of 140 pages discovered	To beat up an instructor	Swore	Trembling and excited feeling
More work than could complete	To throw book away		Feeling of hopelessness of studying any more
Argument	To sit on him or trample	Raised voice and put up defense	Nervousness and inability to study
Phone call	To cut wire	"Damn that phone"	
First whistle	To miss class and sleep	Reminded that I would miss breakfast	Realized I would be uncomfortable all morning

SOURCE: H. Meltzer, "Anger Adjustments in Relation to Intelligence and Achievement," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, vol. 50, pp. 63-82, 1937. Used by permission of *Journal of Genetic Psychology*.

one foot to another, he may twist a tie or an ear, or squirm. He may have difficulty in speaking distinctly, or he may display a general clumsiness of movement. Unpleasant emotions often are accompanied by negative attitudes such as glumness and refusal to participate in conversation. Although an emotionally stimulated girl may exhibit some of the characteristic responses of a boy, she is likely to be more outgoing in her behavior.

The temper tantrum of the young child usually is expressed in overt behavior that is relatively fleeting and easily observed by anyone in the child's presence. During the adolescent years exhibitions of temper tantrum behavior sometimes are classified as moods. If or when overt expression of an experienced emotion continues to be repressed, the mood condition becomes intensified. The adolescent appears to be gloomy; his moodiness is exhibited in his lack of interest in people, inability to make decisions, carelessness, and laziness. He tends to be preoccupied by his

own thoughts and feelings; he becomes gruff, surly, and rude to all who are near him or who seemingly thwart his wishes.

Causes of emotional disturbances during adolescence. Not only may adolescents give expression from time to time to one or another variety of emotionalized reaction, but they also differ in their emotional experiences and observable emotionalized behavior. These emotional differences depend largely upon their training and other environmental experiences in the home and the school, as these interact with certain innate potentialities. Attitudes and patterns of behavior that are formed during childhood years are very important.

The child who has been reared in an extremely permissive atmosphere may become accustomed to do what he wants when he wants to do it. Consequently, as an adolescent he may experience deep emotional states of anger or resentment when or if the larger social group appears to deny him the fulfillment of any of his personal drives to action. The spoiled "only" child is a common example of this kind of emotionalized situation. The kind of behavior in which the young person often engages to secure his rights frequently takes some form of tantrum behavior, depending upon his habitual behavior pattern. The adolescent who as a child was subjected to sensible behavior control has learned through his early training that living with others involves conforming to the rules of the group and displaying attitudes of give and take.

Among the factors that influence the emotional reactions of adolescents can be included health status, intelligence level, sex, day of week, time of day, order of birth, degree of school success, amount of social acceptance, and kinds of vocational interests. In addition, the potent emotion-arousing stimuli of the radio, television, motion picture, sex-pointed literature, and jazz music represent the kinds of exciting experience situations that bombard adolescents almost daily. It is not surprising, therefore, that less stable young people are impelled to engage in highly emotionalized and socially disapproved forms of behavior.

There is a significant relationship between health condition and emotional reaction. On any age level poor health tends to be a cause of heightened emotionality. Emotional disturbance often occurs more readily when a person is suffering from one or another form of ill-health than when he is free from physical ailment. A physically frail or sickly adolescent is physiologically set for the arousal of unpleasant emotional reactions. Stimuli that ordinarily might be ignored almost completely by the healthy young person become extremely annoying to the less robust boy or girl. Moreover, if or when a usually well-controlled child or adolescent develops an uncooperative attitude, is quick-tempered, or sulky, the cause of the emotionalized state may be associated with temporary illness.

Similarly, the experiencing even by the supposedly well-adjusted adolescent of situations or conditions that are not satisfying to his ego or that, temporarily at least, appear to interfere with his personal interests, ambitions, or drive toward the achievement of adult status, may constitute the emotion-arousing bases of more or less disturbed behavior and of feelings of thwarting or unhappiness. In a study made by Meltzer,³ the existence of the following inner conditions seemed to predispose toward the arousal of emotional responses: bored, disappointed, discouraged, disgusted, hungry, nervous, restless, sleepy, tired, and worried.

The influence upon adolescent emotional reactions of some of the "problem" situations in which young people find themselves is discussed more fully in another section of this book. We next shall direct our attention to specific areas of emotions experienced during adolescence.

SPECIFIC EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES DURING ADOLESCENCE

We know that definite changes take place in emotional development as the child passes through preadolescence and adolescence into adulthood. The young child's emotional manifestations cannot easily be classified as fear, anger, disgust, hate, affection, joy, pleasure, delight, envy, distrust, and jealousy. Adolescent affective experiences, however, can be classified more readily as falling into one or another emotional area. Emotions show themselves as the individual lives in various situations and comes into contact with other persons. Hence an adolescent's emotional behavior can be appraised with relative accuracy insofar as he develops a set of values, desires, and ideals; to the extent that his interest in, and attitudes toward, the acceptance of responsibilities assume a more definite mode; and to the degree that he responds to the points of view and ideals of others. Although the research work related to stimulus-response patterns of adolescent emotions has been limited in scope, the following discussion represents an attempt to analyze the behavior of adolescents as they experience different emotions in their growing-up process.

Fear

Early observation and experimentation in the field of emotional behavior led to the generalization that there may be only three unlearned emotions: *fear*, *rage*, and *love*. Concerning "natural" fear, for example, John B. Watson, as a result of extensive research with infants, concluded that fear is aroused naturally by very few forms of stimulation. A child does not fear the dark, fire, snakes, strangers, and similar emotion arousers

³ H. Meltzer, "Students' Adjustments in Anger," *Journal of Social Psychology*, vol. 4, p. 293, 1933.

without conditioning (exposure to learning situations). According to Watson, factors of insecurity, such as loud noises, loss of support, or falling a short distance, may elicit the fear response without previous conditioning.

Nature of adolescent fears. At all age levels the typical behavior response during fear is flight. Physical responses include perspiring, paling, panting, trembling, and becoming rigid. These physiological conditions appear to represent symptomatic preparation for fleeing from the fear-arousing situation, since either actual or symbolic flight from fear-some conditions appears to be a natural and satisfying mode of achieving emotional equilibrium.

The usual fear reactions of adolescents are similar to those of children. In fact, fears that are begun in childhood tend to continue into adolescence. Once a child responds with fear to a specific situation, he is likely during his later years to experience fear reactions in situations which are similar to those of his childhood. For young people especially, an element of the *unknown* in a situation has fear-arousing potential. For example, sudden noises or sights tend to be fear producers; inability to foresee the possible end results of activities in which one is interested is a strong stimulator of fear arousal. As an adolescent comes to discover, however, that particular sounds or sights are harmless and that certain situations are not dangerous, his fear responses to them gradually are modified and finally may cease.

According to Hurlock,¹ adolescent fears can be classified roughly into three general categories:

Fears of Material Objects. These include snakes, dogs, storms, strange noises, elevators, fire, water, trains, airplanes, etc.

Fears of Social Relationships. These include (1) meeting people; (2) being with people who are clever, large, important, sly, sarcastic, cruel, overbearing, haughty, or humorous; (3) being alone; (4) being in a crowd; (5) reciting in class or making a speech; (6) being at parties with the other sex; (7) being in groups that are predominantly made up of adults.

General Fears. These include poverty; death; serious illness of self or members of the family; being incapacitated by blindness, deafness, or paralysis; personal inadequacy with regard to sex, getting and holding a job, failure in school or business, popularity, examinations and grades, marriage, anything that would distress or annoy parents, and moral crises.

As was said earlier, fear is characterized by inner excitement with tendencies toward withdrawing or of avoiding situations. The subtleness of the reaction is increased with age. An adolescent may learn that by anticipating a possible fear-arousing stimulus he can run away from it in

¹By permission from *Adolescent Development*, rev. ed., E. B. Hurlock. Copyright, 1955. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, p. 79.

advance, thus avoiding emotional disturbance. This flight behavior sometimes is not noticed by his associates; yet it is basic to many personality difficulties. If a child is afraid to engage in a competitive activity, his attitude is understood and accepted by those about him; for an adolescent to retreat from an activity in which others expect him to participate may earn for him both peer and adult disapproval.

A study was conducted by Pressey and Pressey⁵ in which they presented a list of ninety fears to children, adolescents, and young adults, ranging from sixth-grade pupils through college seniors. The resulting data revealed some of the causes of the fears experienced by the members of the different age groups. The following items as fear stimulators were checked by 75 per cent of the sixth-grade children. The items are arranged in the order of their frequency from high to low:

murder	robbers	jail	knives	choking
holdups	accidents	burglars	dying	operation
poison	suffering	wrecks	injury	gun
fire	thieves	enemies	sickness	floods
death	danger	crimes	fight	suffocation

The items checked as fear-producing stimuli at the tenth-grade level are considerably reduced in number. Not more than four of the ninety were checked by more than one-half of the subjects in this age group. The items checked by at least 30 per cent of tenth-graders are listed below in their order of checking frequency:

fire	holdups	sins	injury	burglars
examinations	helplessness	disease	suffocation	work
murder	collision	operation	cheating	
accidents	tuberculosis	germs	appearance	
poison	money	crimes	lightning	

Either college seniors are secretive about their fears or the listed items no longer represent fear stimuli to them. Hence they checked only a few of the items. No more than nine of the ninety items were checked by 25 per cent of this maturity-level group. The items:

money	cash	self-consciousness
ability	examinations	work
appearance	clothes	family

A significant implication of the results of this study would seem to be that with increasing experience and degree of maturity, the bases of fears

⁵ S. L. Pressey and L. C. Pressey, "Development of Interest-attitude Tests," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, vol. 17, pp. 1-16, 1933. By permission of the American Psychological Association.

change from childhood fear of violence to socially presented fears during early adolescence, and toward threats to adequate socioeconomic status during later adolescence and adulthood.

Control of fear. The practice of self-control is important to the adolescent in all emotional areas. Even if complete elimination of fear might be considered desirable, it would be impossible to accomplish. As was evidenced by Pressey and Pressey's findings, the recognition of certain stimuli as fear producers changes with age, but at no maturity level was there indication of absence of any fear. Intelligently controlled fear has value. Fear can be a safeguard against harm to the extent that it encourages an attitude of cautiousness. Fear of consequences can help an adolescent restrain impulsive behavior until he becomes increasingly adept in coping with the many novel interpersonal relationships which he experiences during the growing-up years.

Fear of the loss of prestige, or fear of failure in the opinion of others, may lead to increased and improved activity, more careful preparation for study or work to be done, and the exercise of greater caution in the management of one's affairs than would result from indifference to the significance to himself of others' evaluation of his behavior. The desire for approval from those whom one respects is based upon a fear of possible adverse criticism if one does not perform at the level expected of him by them.

Disregard of cautious fear can cause mental or physical ill-health or loss of life. One characteristic of emotional maturity is the recognition of the value of intelligent fear or caution as a restraining influence, when one is tempted to engage in activities which possess elements of potential danger to oneself or to others. For example, upper-class college students in a metropolitan area are participating, as a phase of their teacher training experiences, in volunteer community agency activity. To get to some of the agencies the students need to travel through sections of the city that might arouse in these young people some fear for their safety. The college has taken the responsibility of avoiding possible harm to them by providing proper supervision for them during their travel. Thus disturbing fear is eliminated; yet wholesome fear under control is being given attention.

The beneficial effects of sensible fear are evidenced by its sociological value. To become an acceptable and respected member of a societal group one must sacrifice many personally satisfying modes of behavior. This is more easily accomplished when the adolescent fears loss of prestige or of the friendship of members of either sex whom he admires very much. If mental attitudes provide the directing stimuli, fear can act as a guide to the attainment of many social virtues.

In *Preinduction Health and Human Relations*, a manual published for

use in high schools and colleges, there is included a succinct presentation of the nature and control of fear. Several statements are presented below:"

Whenever people are able to realize that their particular problem is one everyone else experiences they can deal better with it and get perspective on it. Knowing that fear is everybody's problem helps to remove the fear of fear. . . .

Trying to repress fear—pretending it doesn't exist—solves nothing. On the contrary, a person may become paralyzed by fears he fails to meet and act upon.

Fear should be the signal for mobilizing one's body and mind for action whether one is afraid of an oncoming train, of playing at a piano recital or of the possible displeasure of one's boss. Action is action whether it takes the form of planning, organizing one's ideas, laying out a whole campaign for better relationships or practicing for a recital. But it is usually not enough merely to think about, plan and organize ways of meeting one's fears; one must act. The best campaign one can map out won't do much good on paper or in one's mind.

Acting on fears, rather than freezing up, is the self-disciplined, self-directed and self-determined way of meeting fear. To save himself, the person in danger of losing his life in a fire must think and must direct and discipline his actions. If he panics, he may die. But if he weighs alternatives for escape, perhaps takes a calculated risk, he is using fear productively, and is thinking and acting in his own behalf. . . .

Young people need to be aware of another facet of fear. Sometimes one experiences vague, general feelings of fear, possibly accompanied by some or all of the physical manifestations of severe fright . . . rapid respiration, palpitation of the heart, profuse sweating or upset stomach. Yet the individual does not know precisely what he fears, . . . he only knows the feeling of fear. He needs help. If he has been trying to repress his fears, he may experience the symptoms of anxiety and yet be unable to identify his problem. Generalized feelings of anxiety need to be treated by competent professional people.

Worry

Some of the most devastating fears are products of the imagination. Fear in the form of *worry* emanates from imaginary rather than real causes. Emotional reactions resulting from imagined terrifying situations are likely to produce more serious results than those that originate in actual fear-producing situations. The motivating factors of worry are always near at hand. All the individual needs to do is to call upon his imagination for the stimulus that will arouse a state of worriment.

To worry is a common emotional reaction; it usually is of longer

* E. E. Sweeney and R. E. Dickerson (eds.), *Preinduction Health and Human Relations*, American Social Hygiene Association, New York, 1953, pp. 51-52. Reprinted by permission of the American Social Hygiene Association, copyright, 1953.

duration than fear. Worry may be based upon past events that have not been personally satisfying; it may represent anticipatory emotionalism concerning future activity in which the individual desires strongly to achieve success. Worry may appear at any age period; it is likely to be characteristic of the adolescent years. Various investigations have been undertaken concerning the worries of older children, preadolescents, and adolescents. One such study was conducted by Pintner and Levy. A "worries" inventory consisting of fifty-three items was administered to 540 children in the fifth and sixth grades. The frequency of worries as found in their study is reported in Table 10.

Table 10. Items from the "Worries" Inventory Most Frequently Reported by Boys and Girls, in Order of Frequency

<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
Failing a test	Failing a test
Mother working too hard	Mother working too hard
Being blamed for something you did not do	Mother getting sick
Father working too hard	Being late for school
Having a poor report card	Getting sick
Being scolded	Father working too hard
Spoiling your good clothes	Being scolded
People telling lies about you	Being blamed for something you did not do
Getting sick	Doing wrong
Doing wrong	Father getting sick

SOURCE: R. Pintner and J. Levy, "Worries of School Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, vol. 56, pp. 67-76, 1940.

The worries of preadolescents center around their school activities and their home relationships. As they move toward their late teens their worries become centered in social relationships, including friendships with members of both sexes, suitable places for appropriate recreation, and health and general appearance.

In a study conducted by Frazier and Lisonbee worries experienced by teen-agers concerning their "facial appearance" were discovered through the administration of a questionnaire to 580 high school tenth-graders (309 girls and 271 boys). The items marked by at least 10 per cent of the students, together with the percentage of concern expressed by them, are presented in Table 11.

The authors investigated the worries of 658, 15- and 16-year-old high school students (352 girls and 306 boys) by giving them an opportunity to list their worries during the teen years according to the ten following areas: school life, home life, boy-girl relationships, recreation, friends, vocational choice, religion, health, clothes, and money. The results of the study are presented in Table 12.

These investigators found sex differences worthy of note. Both sexes

Table 11. Items of Self-description Checked by 10 Per Cent or More of 580 Tenth-grade Boys and Girls, with Amount of Expressed Concern

Boys			Girls		
Item of description	Per cent checking	Per cent of concern	Item of description	Per cent checking	Per cent of concern
Blackheads or pimples	57	51	Blackheads or pimples	57	82
Lack of beard...	34	2	Heavy eyebrows	24	11
Heavy eyebrows	27	1	Freckles	23	24
Scars, birthmarks, moles	20	13	Oily skin	22	52
Irregular teeth	17	39	Scars, birthmarks, moles	22	30
Heavy lips	14	5	Glasses	21	31
Protruding chin	13	6	High forehead	19	8
Ears stick out	13	6	Too round face	19	21
Oily skin...	12	27	Too homely	18	42
Freckles...	12		Dry skin	16	43
Heavy beard	11	13	Irregular teeth	16	42
Glasses	11	23	Thin lips	15	13
Dark skin	10	4	Low forehead	13	3
Receding chin	10	4	Too long nose	11	23
Gaps in teeth	10	26	Too big nose	11	44
Too long nose	10	8	Receding chin	10	13
Too thin face	10	15	Odd-shaped nose	10	23
Too large ears	10	8			

SOURCE: A. Frazier and L. K. Lisonber, "Adolescent Concern with Physique," *School Review*, vol. 38, p. 401, 1950.

tend to worry about similar matters, but women seem to worry more than men about their possible inability to attain the degree of success in their work to which they aspire. Men seem to worry more than women about such things as not working hard enough, growing old, and living in shabby homes. Other studies suggest that college freshmen worry about personal, academic, and social problems.

That emotional reactions change with age is well known. Worries are no exception. To illustrate this point reference can be made to the application of the 90 worries items of the interest-attitude test to more than 5,000 young people, from grade 6 through the college level. Certain conclusions concerning changes in worries seem to emerge from a study of the obtained data. These changes are presented graphically in Figure 37. Pressey and Robinson interpret the findings of this study as follows:⁷

Most obvious is the marked anxiety about physical dangers in the younger years and the way in which these are almost completely replaced by what

⁷ S. L. Pressey and F. P. Robinson, *Psychology and the New Education*, rev. ed., Harper & Brothers, New York, 1944, pp. 168-169.

Table 12. *Adolescent Worries in Various Life Areas*

<i>Life area</i>	<i>Male worries</i>	<i>Female worries</i>
School life	Homework Getting along with teachers Tests Marks Failure Reciting in class Grade for parents' sake College entrance Being accepted	Homework Getting along with teachers Tests Marks Failure Reciting in class Parents' attitude toward grade Being accepted College entrance
Home life	Arguments with sister or brother Arguments with parents Arguments between parents Strict parents Conflict with parents Arguments about dating Treated unfairly	Younger brothers get what they want Parental domination Parents object to going steady Conflicts with parent Fear of mother Conflicts on values Arguments in home
Boy-girl relationships	How to get a date Girls I like don't like me Girls cost too much How to be invited to parties Mother objects to my going steady How to have a girl go steady Inability to dance Does girl love me? Girls of another religion How to forget girl who jilted me	How to meet new friends Boys I like don't like me How to be popular Boys are too demanding I would like to go steady Loss of boy friend Behavior of boy friend Sexual relations to maintain Girls who try to steal boy friend How to get over love for boy How to refuse a date tactfully
Friends	Are they true friends? Friends may not like me To be worthy of good friends How to make friends To be popular	Are friends true friends? Not to let friends down To be popular How to be a leader in a group Feelings of inferiority
Vocational choice	State of indecision How to get a job	State of indecision How to get into show business
Religion	Should I marry out of my religion? Indecision Not attending religious services	Should I marry out of my religion? Doubt about religious values Fear parents will discover that I wish to change my religion
Health	How to grow more How to lose weight Pimples Disease	Thinness and smallness Fear of losing good health Disease Illness tendencies

might be called socio-economic worries by the end of college. But the sex differences must also be noted. The girls are apparently more timid about physical dangers such as fire. They show an earlier and (until the last two years of college) much greater concern about appearance and also about examinations. Presumably the earlier sex-social maturing of the girls is here

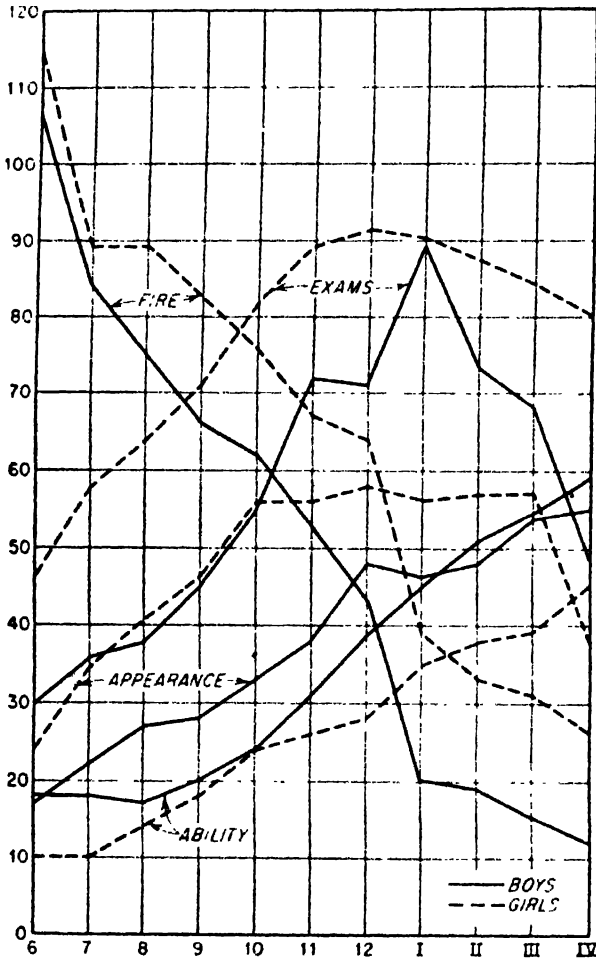


FIG. 37. Changes in worries with age, interest-attitude test. Number of crosses for each word are per 100 cases. (From S. L. Pressey and F. P. Robinson, *Psychology and the New Education*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1944, p. 168.)

evidenced. Perhaps the falling-off in these anxieties in the later years of college is a result of assurance (or acceptance) regarding these matters by that time. The boys worry more about ability and money.

Worry is transitory and disappears with the removal of the causal factors. Often there is a feeling of inadequacy that is associated with an

attitude of inferiority. If there is a belief that adjustment in the situation may be difficult or impossible, the worry is increased and prolonged. If an adolescent's worry is to be controlled, the person must take positive action in order that adequate adjustments may be made. He should take action, become informed, face the situation, and evaluate the cause of the worry. If it seems necessary, he should seek the cooperation of experienced adults to help him eliminate the cause of the worry and finally the worry itself.

Anger

An angry person usually displays aggressive behavior and tends to cast off, remove, or eliminate disturbing or thwarting stimuli. When he is thwarted, the child is likely to express his anger by screaming, kicking, stamping his feet, or pouting; the adolescent may express his anger through profanity, sarcasm, criticism, or extreme silence.

Nature of adolescent anger. The angry adolescent tends to avoid a direct attack upon the individual who arouses his anger; he may throw the first thing that comes into his hands, or turn to some form of strenuous exercise. Sometimes he mutters under his breath about the things that he will do when and if he gets a chance. He is mentally prepared to do many things that will show those at whom his anger is directed that he will not tolerate their attitude or behavior toward himself.

The temper tantrum of a small child usually takes the form of striking, crying, biting, kicking, tearing, or even holding the breath. If tantrum behavior is permitted to continue, it may become quite troublesome during adolescence. The overt expression of the adolescent's irrational emotional state is more subtle than that of the child. The tantrum state may be displayed through the extensive use of profanity in the presence of others, the "silent treatment," the use of extreme sarcasm directed with bitterness at the object of the tantrum, and sometimes the experiencing of deep self-pity and antisocial moods.

An adolescent may display tantrum behavior when his social plans are interrupted or interfered with, when his routines are changed, when he believes that he is not understood by adults, when siblings preempt his property, when things in general are not going right, when elders "boss" him unduly, or when he believes that he is being imposed upon or denied his lawful rights. The general causes of adolescent anger are rooted in social relationships. The angry state usually reflects a form of thwarting experience such as interference with self-assertion or habitual activity.

One of the earlier studies dealing with adolescent anger (Meltzer, 1933)* yielded data concerning causes of anger, especially among college

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 285-308.

students, and the relationship of the display of angry behavior and the day of the week. Meltzer's findings appear to have validity in that similar behavior still is characteristic of American youth. According to the data obtained by Meltzer, thwarting of self-assertion was the source of 86.32 per cent of anger arousal among his subjects. He found that of the students studied, more women responded to stimuli situations involving other persons than did the male students (64 per cent women, 36 per cent men). Contrariwise, the men tended to respond to thwartings associated with "defensive reactions to things" (47 per cent men, 26 per cent women).

Meltzer also reported his findings concerning anger responses according to the day of the week and the time of the day. These responses varied widely from day to day and among the respective groups reporting. However the "blue Monday" did not prove to be as filled with anger-provoking stimuli as might have been anticipated. The data indicate that the percentage for all groups was less on Monday than on Tuesday. For the New York women's group Friday became the day of greatest angry outbursts—greater than any other group on any day (see Table 13 for a comparison of data).

Table 13. Group Differences in Percentage of Anger Responses Occurring Each Day of the Week

Group	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Sun.
Sorority.....	18 64	19 49	15 25	13 55	13 55	9 33	10 16
Nonsorority	14 00	15 00	16 00	16 00	14 00	17 00	8 00
Oregon women	16 51	17 43	15 59	14 67	13 76	12 84	9 17
New York women	10 34	10 34	12 41	8 96	24 14	19 31	14 48
Fraternity	17 20	19 35	11 82	16 12	11 82	11 82	11 82
Nonfraternity.....	13 48	14 60	15 73	19 10	12 35	16 85	7 86
Men	15 38	17 03	13 76	17 58	12 08	14 28	9 88
Oregon men and women.	16 00	17 25	14 75	16 00	13 00	13 50	9 50

SOURCE: H. Meltzer, "Students' Adjustments in Anger," *Journal of Social Psychology*, vol. 4, p. 290, 1933.

Meltzer also found that some of the subjects were most susceptible just before mealtime, but others reported that midmorning, midafternoon, and the evening periods were the worst for them.

In the adolescent's struggle to achieve self-reliance and independence of action he experiences various types of thwarting or frustrating situations and conditions. He may be insecure, fearful, and uncertain concerning what he should do and how he should do it. Consequently, he is stimulated to respond to unsatisfying experiences in one of two ways: flight or fight. Whether a young person in a stressful situation retreats

from it (a fear response) or becomes aggressive (an anger response) depends in large measure upon the kind of behavior that had become habitual and relatively satisfying during his childhood years.

Control of anger. The close relationship that exists between affective stimuli and emotion arousal can be recognized easily as applying to anger. Remove the stimulus that causes a particular angry state and the emotion tends to disappear. An angry adolescent can be changed into a happy, self-respecting individual through the application of appropriate stimulation by those with whom he works and socializes. To ignore or to show disapproval of the angry behavior will not improve the situation. New and appropriate stimuli should be provided to help the young person regain his self-respect. He needs his ego bolstered and protected.

If the adolescent's disturbed state is to be alleviated, the adult needs to understand the background of the anger-arousing situation and the habit patterns of the young person involved. It usually is easier to cope with the anger of an adolescent if the motives or reasons underlying the behavior are known. Moreover, a period of waiting for the cooling-off process to function may be helpful if there is a justifiable reason for the anger state. Then provocations of the anger can be minimized or removed. Parents and teachers find the use of praise or commendation to be effective in assisting an adolescent to overcome his real or fancied hurt. Further arguments with the thwarted young person, or attempts to reason with him by directing attention to the cause of the anger, will increase rather than decrease it. A pleasant remark, preferably unrelated to the emotionalized state, may divert the wrath and reduce the tension.

Affection

Pleasant experiences build up emotional reactions that are classified as *affection*, *love*, or the *tender emotions*. As members of the family or family friends pick up, hold the baby, and play with him, they are giving him affectionate attention. The experience of receiving affectionate care and interest from others in his day-by-day living becomes one of the most important factors in the emotional development of the young child, and continues to be important throughout life.

Changes in affectionate behavior. During childhood pleasant emotions are associated not only with solicitous adults but also with pets and familiar objects, especially toys. As the individual grows into adolescence, the tender emotions are associated almost entirely with human beings, although some attachment to pets may continue.

The child usually showers his affection on anyone who extends it to him; the adolescent becomes discriminating in his selection of individuals to whom he gives his affection. Within the limits of available associates

the adolescent becomes attached to a select few. Girls pair off in twosomes; boys, after passing through the gang or large-group stage, tend to reduce the number of close friends to one or two, toward whom an attitude of strong attachment is displayed. The adolescent boy or girl is "choosy" about the age peers or older people with whom he is willing to associate and toward whom he evinces affectionate regard.

An adolescent, as does a child, needs to feel secure in the affection of another; to know that he is liked and wanted. He also needs to experience concern about the interests and welfare of others. This adolescent need can be satisfied by encouraging a young person during childhood to perform kindly acts. As a result, by the time he reaches adolescence, a co-operative attitude will be characteristic of his habitual behavior pattern. Affection is the dominant emotion that a child or an adolescent boy or girl experiences in a well-adjusted home. Even as a member of an affectionate family group, however, there are times when jealousy and varying degrees of resentment are exhibited if the adolescent believes that he is not receiving his rightful share of affectionate attention from his parents or others in the home.

The adolescent usually does not express his affections through uncontrolled demonstrations but rather by desiring to be with the loved one, by attending to the latter's every wish, by attempting to do whatever he can to make the other person happy, and by responding to everything the loved one says and does. An adolescent is stirred deeply by his love for another; the affections of a child may be somewhat lukewarm and fleeting. Since the adolescent experiences a need for the companionship of the present object of his strong affection, he feels insecure in the absence of the loved one; he devises numerous methods to "keep in touch" with him or her. He may visit, telephone, or send letters or telegrams in order that he may continue the close affectionate relationship.

Affection between the sexes. Adolescents want their friends of the opposite sex to show affection toward them, but they usually desire to follow accepted social customs in matters dealing with relations between the sexes. For example, a conventional kiss must not be given in the presence of others lest it cause embarrassment. When girls or boys ask questions concerning desirable dating behavior, they actually are attempting to discover appropriate methods of showing affection. The questions in this area asked by members of both sexes include the following:

How can a boy or girl overcome blushing?

If I do not like someone I cannot help showing my feelings. How can I remedy this?

What should one do if he has the feeling that others are laughing at him?

How does one get out of a good-night kiss?

How can you refuse a man a date?

Do you think necking is wrong?

Should a girl invite a boy to take her out?

Should a girl show a boy that she likes him?

How can I overcome my bashfulness in the presence of girls?

After you have broken off with a girl, how would you go about getting her back?

Can a boy of 19 be true to two girls?

Should I tell my friend the things I dislike in her?

How can I become a part of an in-group?

How can you compete with others and still remain their friends?

Is it necessary to break certain friendships as you acquire new friends?

Problems that cause emotional experiences center around the fact that the adolescent wants to be held in high regard by members of the opposite sex. The boy or girl does not always know what the proper behavior is to hold the affection of another and at the same time retain self-respect. What love means to adolescents can best be described in their own terms. The replies of five teen-agers are revealing.

Love is a mutual affection that grows until you can't see any other person.

Love is undefinable. I just don't live unless I see this person.

Love is a gradual thing. You must see this person night and day. Your thoughts become part of his life and thoughts.

Love is putting your heart and life in someone else's hand.

Love is a gradual process that fuses two hearts, making them one.

Jealousy

Jealousy is an emotional reaction that reflects a combination of anger, fear, and possible loss of affection. Jealousy results from emotion-arousing stimuli inherent in a social situation. If there is loss, or fear of loss, of the affection wanted from another, of a coveted honor, or of the attainment of any strongly desired goal, jealousy is aroused. For example, a high school senior may fail to be elected by his classmates to the position of class president, an honor which he had coveted and had worked hard to attain. He may become extremely jealous of the winner of the position and find it difficult to cooperate in class affairs. If a boy is forced to stand by while another dates the girl in whom he has become interested, both his pride and self-esteem may be wounded. Jealous reactions inevitably result when a young person is denied a privilege that

is granted to another. This is true whether it occurs in the home, the school, or any other societal group.

Jealousy shows itself in boy-girl relationships, especially as adolescents move from larger group activities to twosome dating. The emotional attitudes of the adolescent change from an interest in group activities to an interest in a particular person of the opposite sex who now has become the "best girl" or the "boy friend" respectively. In a study made by the authors concerning traits disliked in members of the opposite sex, it was found that among behavior qualities, boys disliked girls who have a tendency to flirt, talk about other dates, mingle with a fast crowd, sulk and pout, are catty, or show immature behavior; girls disliked boys who are boastful, display poor manners, are unfriendly, act conceited, act foolish at parties, are fresh, use bad language, talk too much, ridicule others, or are moody (see p. 222).

A girl becomes jealous when her "date" at a party appears to have forgotten her and devotes his attention to another girl. Likewise, a boy becomes extremely annoyed if his "girl" acts toward another boy at the party as though she enjoyed his company more than that of her "date." Behavior during these experiences varies with the degree of maturity of the young person involved. The girl may regress to infantile behavior, such as whining or crying, or she may decide to avoid future embarrassment by refusing to have dates with the boy; the boy may become sarcastic, make derogatory remarks about the individual whom he considers to be the intruder, or ridicule the latter when he is not present to defend himself. The emotionally immature boy may resort to bodily attack, as does the young child when his jealousy is aroused.

Curiosity

Learning through experience is stimulated by the motivating force of curiosity. The desire to explore the new and the different is very strong from early childhood through adolescence. The form that it takes varies with the satisfactions that are experienced through the growing years. His attempts to discover how things work or what makes them "tick" often get the child into a great deal of trouble. He may be able to take objects apart but he frequently damages them because of his inexperience and lack of knowledge about them, especially in his attempts to put them together again. Although he sometimes is punished for such activities, he persists in his attempts to satisfy his curiosity in one way or another.

During adolescence a young person's exploratory procedures are somewhat restrained since he now has learned that a good child does not destroy or damage objects but rather learns to take good care of them.

Curiosity continues to function in other ways, however. The pubertal changes that are occurring within him, for example, arouse a strong interest in his own physical development as related to that of members of the opposite sex.

Adolescents continue to be interested in the new and the different in their enlarging environment. They have abundant opportunities to satisfy this urge. Yet, to their consternation, many of their exploratory activities are planned minutely for them by adults. As a result of too great adult direction of their exploratory interests, some adolescents come into conflict with their elders, leave home, join the Armed Forces, become delinquent, or engage in socially disapproved sex behavior. Less aggressive and better-controlled young people plan parties or other social activities to satisfy their spirit of adventure and curiosity.

Chief among the newly aroused interests during this age period are those associated with sex. Many boys and girls are becoming informed at an early age regarding their physiological and psychological sexual development. There still remains, however, enough that is new for them in phases of growing up to stimulate their curiosity toward more complete knowledge concerning boy-girl relationships and adjustment (see Chapter 9 for a detailed discussion of this problem).

EFFECT OF EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES ON ADOLESCENT BEHAVIOR

Emotions are essential to the complete development of adolescent behavior patterns. When an adolescent is trained to do what is socially acceptable, he should be ready to assume independent control of his behavior. His self-directed decisions tend to be conditioned by his emotions, however. Since an adolescent's emotions exercise a potent influence upon his attitudes and behavior, unbridled emotional reactions may interfere seriously with a young person's power to use the freedom of decision making and of behavior that he craves and should be granted. Hence the achievement by the adolescent of habitual control of his emotions is essential to his enjoyment, adjustment, and success.

Emotions as behavior molders. Fear, anger, affection, and curiosity can be thought of as motivating forces. They can drive an individual toward constructive action; they may inhibit or slow down worthwhile activity or encourage participation in destructive forms of behavior. Therefore it becomes extremely important that an individual learns to control his actions during an emotional experience. For example, for a teacher to control his overt behavior during an emotional experience associated with pupil misbehavior means that the adult weighs carefully what he should do in the situation rather than to say the first thing that comes to mind. A teacher's or a parent's display of emotional control is of value not only

to the adult but also to the young people who are stimulated by adult example.

The adolescent who, during a state of anger, restrains himself from bursting forth in an emotional tirade is giving evidence that he has achieved a high degree of emotional maturity. Rather than to keep the emotional state penned up, however, he should attempt to release the emotional tension in an activity outlet that is socially and individually acceptable. Strong emotions of anger or fear may produce undesirable paralyzing behavior. If emotions are basic to the motivation of behavior, they should be controlled in such way as to serve the adolescent rather than to become his master.

An adolescent whose pattern of life is satisfactory, whose urges and desires meet with fulfillment, and whose interests and needs are met with satisfaction tends to enjoy life and to be emotionally mature. Contrariwise, if his urges, desires, interests, or needs are frustrated, his emotional experiences may lead to the development of instability or patterns of maladjustment. Many adolescent responses are representative of behavior of objective reasoning and judgment; yet there are times when emotional urges and drives almost completely influence youthful thinking and behavior. For best adjustment, enjoyment, and productivity, the emotions should influence behavior but should not control it.

Effects of emotions upon physical status. Excessive fears, including phobias, intense anger, prolonged and too deep affection, and similar emotional experiences, may have detrimental effects upon health. The normal process of digestion may be inhibited by changes occurring in the glandular secretions during states of fear, anger, anxiety, or worry. The mouth may become dry, the rate of heart beat, the blood pressure, and the action of the entire digestive system may change during emotional excitement. It does not follow, however, that all emotions affect digestion adversely. On the contrary, pleasant and relaxing emotional states act as aids to digestion; annoying or tension-producing emotional states interfere with the secretion of the correct amount of digestive juices, however. The cause of most stomach ulcers is not entirely organic; an ulcer condition often results from a prolonged emotional state of fear or worry. In such instances the cure usually depends in part upon the removal of the worry or fear that produced the glandular imbalance. Fortunately, relatively few adolescents suffer from stomach ulcers; their fears, worries, or affections usually are not sufficiently prolonged to cause digestive impairment, although stomach upsets, based upon emotional disturbance, are found frequently among adolescents. For instance, it is not unusual for an adolescent girl or boy to be unable to eat properly if he is emotionally stirred by a new love.

Emotional disturbances have been found to be the cause of many

speech difficulties with which adolescents are afflicted. When a speech difficulty appears without evidence of physical deformity in the speech organs, the cause usually can be explained in terms of pent-up emotions. It is believed that emotional strain may cause a person to stutter or stammer. When he is relaxed, his speech is relatively fluent; but with the introduction of emotion-arousing stimuli, he quickly exhibits deviate speech behavior.

Emotional bases of adolescent attitudes. A young person's appraisal of people and objects tends to reflect his emotional maturity. For the immature teen-ager, self-respect must be maintained at all cost. If he suffers humiliation because he has been mistreated in school by his teachers, or in the home by his parents, he may retreat into reticence or even flee from the situation altogether. Attitudes of timidity or aggressiveness often result from emotional tension or frustration experienced by adolescents in social settings. Consequently, inherent in an adolescent's evaluation of people, situations, or conditions are the emotional reactions that are associated with personal interrelationships.

The emotionalized attitudes of many adolescents are wholesome, outgoing, and subject to intellectual control. We quote again from *Preinduction Health and Human Relations*.⁹ Since this manual deals with the development and adjustment of adolescents and young adults, it may be noted that the term *person* as used in the following cited materials connotes, for the most part, *young person*.

The Emotionally Healthy Person

The emotionally healthy person has certain attitudes and characteristics that are discernible in the way he regards himself, other people and day-to-day situations.

He has a good opinion of himself. He neither denies nor overestimates his capacities and character. He sees room for self-improvement. This challenges rather than depresses him. His sense of humor makes him view himself objectively and permits him to be amused at his own foibles when others expose them. He sees the absurdity that often exists in human situations, yet does not despise others for the weakness or foolishness that creates such situations.

Such a person enjoys the company of other people and respects them whether he happens to like them or not. He refuses to permit prejudice to come between him and his fellowmen and refuses to sit in judgment on them. He may, and sometimes must, disapprove of what they do, but he feels no unhealthy compulsion to tell them so unless it is his clear duty to do so. He does not actively dislike people for their faults, knowing that one can "hate the sin and love the sinner."

Although the emotionally healthy person enjoys work, play and cooperative activities with others, he is not lonely when by himself. Because he is self-

⁹Sweeney and Dickerson, *op. cit.* pp. 46-47.

sufficient, he can use privacy and solitude for his hobbies and for reflection, planning and sorting things out in his own mind.

Others' opinions of him are important to him, but they do not throw him into panic and alarm if they are not uniformly approving. He weighs criticism as objectively as possible, tries to determine its validity and uses it in his efforts to improve himself. He does not dwell on criticisms nor resent the person who made them.

A person with good emotional health has a philosophy of life that helps him do his best at all times. Into this philosophy of life—not necessarily fully developed in a young person but nevertheless a guiding factor in his behavior—go his spiritual values and his attitudes towards himself, other people and society generally. His philosophy guides him in viewing the world around him, in evaluating current history, in planning his own future and in making the best possible contribution to his community and country.

Many adolescent problems are rooted in emotional experiences and stress conditions. In this chapter we have considered some of the basic and more general aspects of emotional development and adjustment during the growing-up years. Specific problems related to adolescent emotional status are discussed later in Chapters 14–17.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Define feelings. Show specifically how they differ from emotions.
2. In what ways do the emotions contribute to a fuller life?
3. Indicate how an understanding of emotional behavior may throw light upon some of the problems associated with sex.
4. Show how the approval of the teacher can become a motivating force in the life of an adolescent.
5. Name desirable incentives that may be used to arouse adolescents to action that will be beneficial to themselves.
6. What are some of the forces and influences that deny full development of an individual adolescent?
7. Illustrate how emotions become contagious in crowds.
8. Name at least three useful purposes to which you have put anger and fear.
9. Show how the emotional life of an adolescent is closely associated with his avocation.
10. Report a case from your personal experience that shows the effect of the emotions on the health of a person.
11. What attitude should a parent or teacher have toward an adolescent who constantly talks about what he intends to do in the future but seldom completes his present tasks?
12. Discuss the relationship between emotional life and industrial efficiency.
13. List the unpleasant experiences you have had during the three age periods reported in the chapter.

14. What stimuli easily aroused your emotions during adolescence?
15. In what ways were emotional control and social adjustment associated during your adolescent years?
16. Using the ten general categories, list the worries that you experienced during your teen-age years.

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Chapter 7

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

According to some lay persons, the term *personality* connotes, variously, physical attractiveness, charm, good nature, ease of manner, "outgoingness," or any other form of behavior or attitude that induces a favorable impression. One person can be heard commenting upon the fact that another has "personality," implying thereby that the one reacts pleasantly to the other. An adolescent is particularly prone to regard personality as a desirable characteristic to possess and as something to be sought in his associates, especially those of the opposite sex. The psychologist and the better-informed layman recognize the inaccuracy of such use of the term. Everyone possesses personality characteristics. Although one's so-called personality may be "good" or "bad," in that it either attracts or repels, the term itself defies accurate definition.

The personal attributes that earn social acceptance or rejection cannot be isolated easily. The aspects of an individual's personality that either arouse admiration or dislike often are subtle elements that can be detected with difficulty, if at all. By the utilization of a scientific rather than a popular approach to the interpretation of personality, it has been concluded that both hereditary factors and social experiences have significance in determining the kind of person an individual becomes. Personality is the resultant of those integrating forces that involve innate potentialities and habitual attitudes and behavior tendencies. Consequently, not only are an individual's manifested personality traits important, but even more significant is the type of integration that is taking place continuously.

THE DYNAMIC NATURE OF PERSONALITY

The primary purpose of this discussion is to consider the development of adolescent personality. Development trends during adolescence have their roots in earlier growth and developmental patterns and are relatively predictive of the kind of adult the maturing young person is likely to become. At this point, therefore, we shall consider the inherent and environmental bases of the dynamic changes that characterize an individual's personality from birth onward.

Personality as functional integration. The term *personality* cannot be defined easily or exactly. Neither can an individual's personal attributes be categorized as static entities. Certain potential tendencies begin to show themselves early in the life of a child; their overt manifestations, however, are conditioned by the various stimuli situations to which an individual progressively responds. One's personality, as expressed in his behavior at any developmental stage or in any situation, is dynamic; it provides the inner motivation through which is sought the satisfaction of personal and social needs, wants, interests, and ambitions. Hence, in its functioning, personality reflects the changes that are peculiar to a particular individual's physical, intellectual, and emotional pattern of development.

Significance of personality traits. The concept of personality as the integrated functional pattern of the whole person has value to the extent that it represents a kind of gestalt or general framework for the many facets of personality that are interrelated in their respective functioning. An attempt to evaluate an individual's personality requires the utilization of specific descriptive terms to discriminate between the significant constituents of his personality as compared to the personal characteristics of one or another individual. For example, a person is categorized as predominantly quick or slow in speed reactions, introvert or extrovert, honest or dishonest, cheerful or moody, industrious or lazy, excitable or phlegmatic. In fact, thousands of terms ordinarily are used to designate specific personality characteristics.

A particular aspect or "dimension" of personality that tends to manifest its functioning to a high degree of consistency in an individual's behavior is termed a *personality trait*. Psychologically interpreted, a personality trait typifies a characteristic reaction that represents a developed constitutional potentiality, e.g., tallness, speed of reaction, gait, or degree of excitability. In terms of social interrelationships, however, the significance to an individual of his predominant personality trait or traits is determined for the most part by the reactions of other persons to his display of trait-controlled behavior. When or if the manifestation of a particular trait or cluster of traits, such as personal integrity, is evaluated as "good" or "bad" or self-aggrandizing or selfless, it then probably can be regarded more significantly as an aspect of personality.

In any case, the dynamic nature of personality traits is evidenced by their possibility to change with changing conditions and situations. This fact holds especially for those traits that have social or ethical implications. Most adolescents, for example, are sensitive to the overt reactions of others toward themselves—their physical appearance, their emotionalized attitudes, and their habitual behavior patterns, as these reflect developing personality adjustments. Moreover, young people seek the

attention, if not always the approval, of their associates. Hence most teen-agers react to others in terms of the latter's reactions to them; as a result, certain behavior-controlling traits are strengthened, others consciously are weakened or changed insofar as habit patterns can be modified.

An individual's reputation among his associates may be related closely to the effect upon them of one or another aspect of what to them is regarded as his personality. The concept of personality, however, represents more than the mere combination of traits or personal characteristics or attributes. Rather does the term *personality* signify the dynamic interrelationship of all of an individual's physical, mental, and emotional potentialities as these interact with environmental forces. During the maturing years especially, the functioning of the many phases of personality organization becomes habituated. Insofar as an individual tends to respond to environmental stimuli in terms of habitual modes of behavior, his personality traits represent general personality trends.

Functional aspect of personality. To recapitulate the foregoing discussion, a personality trait operates as a dynamic behavior motivator; it has permanent aspects in that it may exert a controlling influence upon an individual during much or all of his life; it varies in degree or extent of dimensional significance. Personality trait differences are quantitative rather than qualitative. A comparative study of personal characteristics usually involves the utilization of a scale that begins at the near zero point and extends to the opposite extreme of near or total possession of the trait.

For example, degree of intellectual ability as measured by performance on an intelligence test may range from a low of 25 IQ, or lower, to a high of about 200 IQ. Similarly, the results of the administration of a test of "sociability" might range from a low of extremely inadequate social interrelationships to a high of exceptionally successful social adaptability and adjustment. Woodworth and Marquis' listing of the basic or primary trait dimensions with their quantitative extremes is presented on page 167.¹

Acceptance of the quantitative nature of specific personality traits is closely related to one's appreciation of possible trait organization and relative trait strength. Although traits describe rather than explain behavior, it is possible to differentiate conceptually between those traits that are relatively deep-rooted or fundamental aspects of personality and other traits that represent environmentally stimulated manifestations of the more fundamental personal attributes. As a result of a study conducted by Cattell, certain related, common traits appeared to arrange

¹R. S. Woodworth and D. G. Marquis, *Psychology*, 5th ed., Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1947, p. 92.

Primary Traits

1. Easygoing, genial, warm, generous
2. Intelligent, independent, reliable
3. Emotionally stable, realistic, steadfast
4. Dominant, ascendant, self-assertive
5. Placid, cheerful, sociable, talkative
6. Sensitive, tenderhearted, sympathetic
7. Trained and cultured mind, esthetic
8. Conscientious, responsible, painstaking
9. Adventurous, care free, kind
10. Vigorous, energetic, persistent, quick
11. Emotionally hypersensitive, high strung, excitable
12. Friendly, trustful

Opposites

- Inflexible, cold, timid, hostile, shy
- Foolish, unreflective, frivolous
- Neurotic, evasive, emotionally changeable
- Submissive, self-effacing
- Sorrowful, depressed, seclusive, agitated
- Hard-boiled, poised, frank, unemotional
- Boorish, uncultured
- Emotionally dependent, impulsive, irresponsible
- Inhibited, reserved, cautious, withdrawn
- Languid, slack, daydreaming
- Phlegmatic, tolerant
- Suspicious, hostile

themselves into fifty "nuclear clusters," representing twenty "sectors of the personality sphere." To illustrate qualitative extremes of possession of various traits, there is presented in Table 14 Cattell's listing of the twenty basic trait dimensions or sectors, including some of the nuclear clusters.

Certain qualities or traits tend to dominate an individual's behavior. Hence probable behavior in certain situations can be predicted with relative reliability since the various components function as a generalized whole. It cannot be predicted with certainty, however, that the trait will be displayed in every situation. An adolescent, for example, may be extremely cooperative with his teachers, but argumentative and ungracious in his attitudes and behavior toward the members of his family. The particular personality traits displayed in any given situation emanate from the deep-seated reaction pattern of the individual as it is motivated by the social stimuli that are inherent in the specific situation.

The general and specific nature of trait functioning can be illustrated by the many incidents experienced almost daily by most individuals. For example, a near relative or a close friend of a habitually honest and outspoken individual is suffering from what may be a fatal illness. The individual is asked by the sick person to tell him honestly what his chances of recovery may be. How honest an answer should be given? Should the patient's morale be bolstered by a tactful response, or should he be apprised of the seriousness of his illness? The kind of answer given depends upon various determining factors in the situation, e.g., the understanding by the person questioned of how the questioner is likely to react to the truth about his illness, and the former's willingness or ability to adapt his habitual truth-telling attitude to meet the exigencies of the situation. Again to illustrate, as a result of the pressure of too much work, or because of illness or of extreme thwarting, a generally cheerful and sociable person may become irritable, moody, and/or asocial.

*Table 14. Chart of Principal Surface-trait "Sectors,"
According to Cattell**

1. Fineness of character	vs. Moral defect, nonpersistence
<i>a.</i> Integrity, altruism	vs. Dishonesty, undependability
<i>b.</i> Conscientious effort	vs. Quitting, incoherence
2. Realism, emotional integration	vs. Neuroticism, evasion, infantilism
<i>a.</i> Realism, reliability	vs. Neuroticism, changeability
<i>b.</i> Practicalness, determination	vs. Daydreaming, evasiveness
<i>c.</i> Neuroticism, self-deception, emotional intemperateness	vs. Opposites of these
<i>d.</i> Infantile, demanding self-centeredness	vs. Emotional maturity, frustration tolerance
3. Balance, frankness, optimism	vs. Melancholy, agitation
<i>a.</i> Agitation, melancholy, obstinacy	vs. Placidity, social interest
<i>b.</i> Balance, frankness, sportsmanship	vs. Pessimism, secretiveness, immoderateness
4. Intelligence, disciplined mind, independ- ence	vs. Foolish, undependable unreflectiveness
<i>a.</i> Emotional maturity, clarity of mind	vs. Infantilism, dependence
<i>b.</i> Gentlemanly, disciplined thoughtful- ness	vs. Extroverted, foolish lack of will
<i>c.</i> Creativity, self-determination, intelli- gence	vs. Narrowness of interests, fogginess
<i>d.</i> Intelligence, penetration, general talent	vs. Lack of general ability
5. Egotism, assertion, stubbornness	vs. Modesty, self-effacement, adaptability
6. Boldness, independence, toughness	vs. Timidity, inhibition, sensitivity
7. Sociability	vs. Timidity, hostility, gloominess
8. General emotionality, high-strungness, instability	vs. Placidity, deliberateness, reserve
9. Gratefulness, friendliness, idealism	vs. Sadism, slanderousness, suspiciousness
10. Liveliness, instability, verbal expressive- ness	vs. Reserve, quiescence, naturalness
11. Imaginative intuition, curiosity, careless- ness	vs. Thrift, inflexible habits, smugness
12. Bohemian, disorderly	vs. Persevering, pedantic
13. Aesthetic, thoughtfulness, constructive- ness	vs. Absence of these
14. Physical strength, endurance, courage	vs. Physical inactivity, avoidance of danger
15. Amorousness, playfulness	vs. Propriety
16. Alcoholism, rebelliousness, carelessness	vs. Piety, reverence, thrift
17. Curiosity, wide interests	vs. Limited interests
18. Hypochondriacal, taciturn retroversion	vs. Eloquence, interest in future
19. Asceticism, eccentricity	vs. Comfort-loving conventionality
20. Inflexibility, wandering	vs. Adaptableness, ease of settling down

* The grouping of these characteristics is based on actual correlations from rating studies. The sectors which are immediately adjacent to each other are, likewise, as a general rule, positively correlated; clusters within a sector show significant positive correlations with each other. The table is modified from one in Cattell (1945).

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THE ADOLESCENT PERSONALITY

The term *adolescent personality* probably is a misnomer in that it seems to imply that all teen-agers display similar personality traits, or that any one adolescent's personality pattern remains relatively consistent during his growing-up years. Nothing could be further from the truth. To the adult who regards himself as the victim of inconsistent adolescent vagaries, sensitivities, rebellions, and intolerances, the more correct term would be *adolescent personalities*, with emphasis upon the chameleonlike changes in behavior and attitude that may seem to occur almost momentarily.

Although an adolescent's reactions often are unpredictable, this apparent inconsistency is evidence of the dynamic behavior motivators that are rooted in the physical, mental, and emotional phases of the growing-up process. Interpreted in terms of the meaning and purpose of adolescence, we can describe adolescent personality as a syndrome that represents the symptomatic aggregate not of a physical disease but rather of a mental and emotional struggle for the achievement of adult maturity.

Adolescent personality development. Personality development during adolescence can be expected to continue in the form that it has been following during the childhood years, but will be conditioned by more and more of the social influences that help the individual attain status in his peer group. Although individual differences appear at birth, they are not always recognized as such. The process of personality development begins with what the individual possesses in the way of heritage and continues to develop, even though the process is much more irregular and complex than is the development of specific skills and habits.

Self-awareness, self-realization, and self-assertion develop gradually. From a relatively vague recognition of an urge to fulfill certain physical needs, the child gradually comes to achieve understanding of the objects and persons in his environment that are associated with his developing feelings of comfort and discomfort. He enlarges his needs to include satisfying relationships with many environmental factors and to discover that he is a recipient of adult-dispensed attention. Thus he develops an awareness of self, and becomes self-assertive within the confines of his relatively narrow social environment.

Throughout adolescence the developing individual becomes increasingly cognizant of the impact upon himself and his expanding needs and urges of the customs and mores of his culture, its rules and regulations, and the accepted patterns of behavior that are peculiar to the group of which he is a member. He is confronted with the necessity of evaluating his behavior in terms of the social standards and ideals of his group. His personality is undergoing vital changes during this period. The success

of his activities depends upon his ability so to adjust himself and his urges and interests to group demands that he can become an active, accepted member of the group.

Fundamentally, the personality traits displayed during childhood do not change suddenly with the onset of puberty. The alert, cheerful, and cooperative 10-year-old can be expected to give evidence of similar behavior characteristics when he is 15 years old. The adolescent who as a child had learned to get what he wanted by "throwing a temper tantrum" probably will continue to employ tantrum behavior when or if his strong desires are thwarted. An individual's general pattern of personality organization is relatively consistent throughout the growing years. Yet personality differences appear to become more marked with the changing awareness of self that accompanies pubescent physical changes, combined with a growing recognition of the significance of cultural values.

Some general characteristics of adolescent personality. Although certain needs, wants, urges, and interests are common to the majority of adolescents, it should be emphasized that the overt expression of these behavior motivators differ from one young person to another. These differences are the resultants of societal or cultural influences upon developing personality patterns. Adolescents tend to be exceedingly active in their attempts to satisfy their wants and needs according to the standards of their group. In the words of Landis, "The adolescent-youth group wants what all people in our culture want: (1) recognition and status, (2) respect and social favor, (3) response and happy social interaction, (4) security and group acceptance, (5) experience and expression, (6) achievement and success, (7) happiness and freedom."²

As has been noted earlier, the expression of deeply rooted personality traits varies with environmental atmosphere. From childhood onward an individual's personality is shaped by culture-dominated influences. Probably at no other period in his life is he so susceptible to societal pressures as during the teen years. Again quoting from Landis, "In our own culture some of the major compulsives which explain the direction personality formation and individual wants take are (1) the competition-success pattern; (2) the desire for bigness, strength, growth, greatness; (3) individual freedom and personal expression; (4) the notion of progress, reform, improvement, and change; (5) epicureanism, the desire for pleasure, sensual enjoyment."³

Anyone who is closely associated with adolescents can recognize the extent to which all or most of these compulsions function to influence personality traits of youth. The expression of a culturally directed want

²By permission from *Adolescence and Youth*, by P. H. Landis, 2d ed. Copyright, 1952. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, p. 79.

³*Ibid.*

varies with individual personality patterning and differing value emphases. We shall comment briefly concerning the effect upon adolescent personality development of each of the listed compulsions.

The Competition-success Pattern. Most adolescents display a spirit of competitiveness but the area of competition is not the same for all. Some high school and college teachers display an attitude of believing that their students' major want should be competition for success in scholastic attainment. Although some young people meet their teachers' expectations in this regard, many adolescents are more concerned about striving for superior status in their peer group, especially with members of the opposite sex.

The Desire for Bigness, Strength, Growth, and Greatness. Competition is implicit, for example, in an adolescent boy's desire to excel in school sports. Thereby he can demonstrate his superior strength and power. The physically small, undeveloped lad who is denied the opportunity to compete in athletic activities with bigger, stronger boys, directs his efforts toward the achievement of greatness in other areas. He consciously may imitate the dress, manners, and other supposed personality characteristics of a small but admired friend or acquaintance, or of a small man who has achieved current or historic fame.

Individual Freedom and Personal Expression. One of the strongest of an adolescent's behavior drives is the urge for freedom of decision, action, and self-expression. The manner in which he displays this felt need depends partly upon his previous experiences and present adult example. An adolescent who as a child had developed attitudes of cooperation and of submission to adult authority may be so conditioned by his own temperament and his earlier training and experiences that he finds it difficult to give overt expression of his need for independence. Outwardly he may appear to be the same submissive, cooperative individual that he had been during his earlier years; inwardly, however, he gives vent to feelings of deep resentment and frustration, thereby undermining his mental health and discouraging the development of a constructive, outgoing personality.

The effect upon an independence-seeking adolescent of contacts with differing cultural standards is well illustrated by the experiences of the teen-age children of foreign-born parents. During their childhood these young people usually develop personality patterns of the family's close-knit subcultural neighborhood group. As secondary school students, however, they are exposed to the more permissive, self-determining influences of American democratic standards of behavior.

The struggles that the young person experiences as he attempts either to achieve a compromise between differing cultural mores or to disavow the old for the new may induce the development of aggressive and de-

fiant attitudes, especially toward his parents and their ideals. Further, he may fight for a place in his chosen cultural group without a realistic understanding of the group's standards. Hence he may engage in what he considers to be acceptable behavior but discovers that he is earning the strong disapproval of his new associates, rather than the acceptance which he had sought. Consequently, he becomes an insecure, confused young person who may be driven to satisfy through asocial acts his natural urge for freedom and self-expression.

Equally serious is the situation of a teen-age boy or girl who in the family circle has been and continues to be granted extreme freedom of behavior. If he has been encouraged by his parents and other relatives to develop a self-regarding personality to the extent that he is concerned almost entirely with the satisfaction of his own wants and urges, he is likely to suffer many deflating experiences when he attempts to dominate or defy the wishes of his own-age associates.

The Notion of Progress, Reform, Improvement, and Change. At one and the same time an adolescent may be a self-centered realist and a selfless idealist. A growing boy or girl may become very much concerned about human welfare. His sympathies go to geographically near or more distant groups that are regarded by him to be oppressed, to suffer economic lack, to deviate from acceptable behavior standards, or to give evidence of any form of underprivileged status. The idealistic boy or girl is motivated to change "this sorry scheme of things."

The direction of his emotionally stimulated urge to serve humanity depends upon the strength of environmental influences. Hence an adolescent variously wants to become a social worker, a physician, a missionary, a great statesman, a chaplain in a penitentiary, a philanthropist, a labor leader, or an adolescent-understanding teacher. Yet an adolescent who is filled with ardor to save or help the world may disregard almost completely the many opportunities for service that he could find in his immediate environment.

For example, the adolescent grumbles when he is asked to perform a family chore; he teases siblings or neighborhood children and torments cats or dogs; he selects the most comfortable chair in a room; he pushes his way into a crowded streetcar or dives for a seat in which he sprawls himself so that other passengers fall over his feet, to his vocalized annoyance; he plays tricks on his teacher and then resents deserved reproof. These are a few of the many evidences of adolescent thoughtlessness that unfortunately are condoned by some adults who, at the same time, may express amusement or ridicule of adolescent idealism. There are young people, however, who combine their idealistic dreams of service with realistic appreciation of the many ways in which they can and do help the members of their home, school, and community groups. These adoles-

cents gradually are developing personality traits that impel them as adults to become our humanitarians or our social and civic leaders.

The Desire for Pleasure and Sensual Enjoyment. An individual of any age needs "time out for play" and opportunities to satisfy his desire to gain emotional satisfaction from the contemplation of natural and man-created beauty or to derive pleasure from participation in relaxing activities. The adolescent is sensitive to the elements in his environment that stir him emotionally. He wants to satisfy his craving for that which he believes will release him temporarily from the pressures of work or study responsibilities, or that will free him from environmental restraints or personal adolescent worries.

The environmental influences by which the adolescent's interests and activities are motivated, and his own developing tastes and appreciations, condition him to derive pleasure from one or another form of emotionally satisfying activity. He may spend many hours in an art gallery; he may carry around with him and, at convenient times, lose himself in the writings of his favorite poet; he enjoys singing, dancing, and listening to music that stirs him emotionally. Usually an adolescent's preferred form of leisure-time activity reflects his general temperament. However, his degree of physical energy, his intellectual level, his emotion-stimulating needs, and the kinds of pleasurable activities in which he engages are representative of the interests of his cultural group.

One cannot fail to recognize the potent, sometimes subtle, influence upon adolescent personality of the interaction that constantly is taking place between individual desires and cultural factors. During the growing-up years the relative significance of inner motivation and of outer stimulation varies from person to person. It is impossible to predict with certainty that one type of cultural influence pattern provides the most favorable environment for personality development. Moreover, youthful potentialities and drive may differ so greatly among individuals who are reared in the same cultural environment that evolving personalities vary considerably.

Effect of adolescent goal-seeking. Changing adolescent interests and attitudes (see Chapter 8) can be regarded as both the causes and results of personality changes that occur during the teen-age years. Basically, these personality changes are effected as innate needs, wants, and urges find expression in developing interests and attitudes. The kind and strength of an adolescent's interest are dependent upon the nature of the goal toward which he is striving. The degree of successful goal achievement that the young person experiences exercises a powerful influence upon his attitudes and consequently upon the evolving pattern of his personality. The seven adolescent wants, as listed by Landis,⁴ represent

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 79.

the major areas of goal-striving that, in varying degrees of potency, influence the thoughts and acts of all or most young people.

Vocational ambition is a specific adolescent goal that is included in Landis' list only by implication. Most children tend to think and talk about what they are going to do when they grow up. Childhood vocational ambitions usually are fleeting, temporary interests, however, and are motivated by changing personal wants or by admired adult example.

The child's vocational ambitions usually are unrealistic in that they reflect a desire to possess something in which he is interested at the moment, or to be like someone who seems to him to be very important. At various times a boy may decide to become a candy store owner, a fireman, a policeman, a rich businessman, a veterinarian, or a famous public figure. He may want to follow his father's vocational activities. A 7-year-old youngster, for example, insisted that he is going to drive a bus when he is a man; his father deals in the buying and selling of buses. When the child was asked if he were going to sell his father's buses, he was vehement in his assertion that he would keep all of them because he wants to have more buses than anyone else in the world.

Little girls dream about their future. A young "mother" of many dolls is going to have a lot of babies; especially is this the ambition of an only child or one who has only one brother or sister. Various, girls also may want to be a teacher, a nurse, a motion-picture star, a singer, an airplane hostess; girls tend to be interested in vocations that represent service or glamour.

A childhood vocational interest may become so much a part of a youngster's developing personality that it persists and reaches adult fulfillment. Usually children's attitudes toward adult vocational choice are ephemeral and change with experience. Adolescent interests in this area of goal-striving are likely to be more meaningful; they reflect to a greater degree the direction being taken by certain aspects of the developing personality. Yet changing ambitions are characteristic of the adolescent years as well as of childhood. For example, the authors asked 175 college students (mostly first-semester juniors) to list in order their remembered vocational interests from the age of about 15 to 19. Since the responders were preparing to become teachers, it can be assumed that all or many of them had made their final vocational choice. That teaching had not been a persistent ambition during their growing-up years, however, is evidenced by the results of their introspective reports as presented in Table 15.

These young men and women probably were motivated by various factors to decide upon teaching as a vocation. The extent to which they will achieve success in this field is closely related to their respective personality traits as these function in teaching-learning situations, in college

Table 15. Aspirations and Goals about which Adolescents Dream during the Ages of 15 to 19

<i>Female aspirations</i>	<i>Male aspirations</i>
Teacher	Teacher
Marriage	Writer
Writer	Musician
Fashion designer	Lawyer
Nurse	Chemist
Social worker	Dentist
Actress	Athlete
Doctor	Policeman
Lawyer	Doctor
Musician	Social worker
Artist	Ballplayer (major league)
Interpreter	Engineer
Secretary	Airplane pilot
Ballet dancer	Detective
Psychologist	Radio announcer
Athlete	Artist

classrooms during their training period, and later in their own school activities.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT DURING ADOLESCENCE

As has been said repeatedly, no individual of any age acquires in a vacuum whatever he comes to possess in the way of specific interests, attitudes, and behavior patterns. To consider in detail at this point the adolescent's interactions with his social milieu might seem to be repetitious. Yet there are certain aspects of adolescent social development that can be regarded as fundamental influences upon a young person's maturing personal characteristics.

Developing social awareness. The neonate is not a social being; he is a physical organism. He responds to his environment only to the extent that it can satisfy his primary needs: food, shelter, sleep, elimination, and some all-body activity. Yet by the end of the neonatal period the very young child displays simple beginnings of social awareness. The other human beings in his environment, of course, are associated with the satisfaction of his physical needs. He is completely but unconsciously self-centered. As is proper, he takes from others but gives nothing except himself in the form of a helpless infant dependent for survival upon the loving care provided by parents or other adults.

The young child's natural growth and maturation are accompanied by increasing recognition of the relationships between the "me" and the "you" that cannot be ignored. Social development has begun and con-

tinues to progress through the preadult years. Throughout his life an individual's personality is affected constructively or adversely by the impact upon his personal potentials by which he is surrounded.

Too often the isolate, the hermit, or the socially nonconforming radical has become what he is because of the detrimental effects upon his developing personality of social pressures. Contrariwise, the experiencing of favorable, constructive social relationships can motivate an individual to develop outgoing, cooperative, useful, and personally and socially satisfying qualities. Hence, except for the first weeks of his life, an individual's personality reflects his interrelations with human beings. Probably at no age period, however, is a person more sensitive to the success or lack of success of his intersocial relationships than he is during the teen years.

Adolescent need for social acceptance. Whatever may be the wants, interests, and ambitions experienced by the adolescent that constitute the bases of his developing personality, one characteristic appears to be outstanding. He wants to be liked by his peers. The goal toward which he strives especially is acceptance of himself by the members of the group that he strongly admires and in which he believes that he best can achieve self-realization. The young person is helped in this goal-seeking struggle by gaining some understanding of the degree of interdependence that exists between his own personality characteristics and those of his chosen associates. He observes their behavior and tries to emulate it. Regardless of whether their attitudes and conduct are approved by parents or other adults, he attempts to model his behavior according to what he considers to represent the standards of the peer group.

In terms of the "fashion of the times," adolescents usually want to improve their personal assets. They tend to devote an increasing amount of time and attention to such matters as personal grooming, style of dress, and manners, often to the dismay of their elders. They read books on etiquette and seek advice from sympathetic adults concerning proper social behavior, especially in relation to dating procedures. They believe that their drive for popularity can be satisfied by emphasizing these aspects of personality.

They not only are interested in their own appearance and outward behavior but also in the conduct of their family and in the appearance of their home. A high school girl, for example, was embarrassed when she was asked about her father's vocational activity. Young people want to be proud of what their parents have done or are doing. Moreover, they soon learn which personal or family characteristics are approved by their peers and which are not. Young people attempt to "reform" their families as well as themselves in terms of what they consider to represent peer social demands.

As has been suggested repeatedly in previous discussions, an adolescent constantly is striving for status. He wants to be recognized as a person rather than as an undistinguished member of a herd; yet he does not wish to be too different from others of his group in those aspects of his behavior and attitude that are characteristic of his group in comparison with other adolescent or societal units. Hence he may seem to rebel against what he terms conventionality but, at the same time, he is likely to conform to group standards.

The means utilized by an adolescent to effect a compromise between the two desired goals—individuality and social conformity—exercise a potent influence upon his changing traits. The kind of person he eventually becomes reflects his adolescent goal-seeking experiences in the home, in the school, on his first job, and among his community associates. Although a young person appears to be most concerned about his relationships with his peers, he also wants to direct adult attention to himself.

Much of what seems to be defiance of all adult authority or intolerance of adult-approved standards (especially those of parents, teachers, or employers) is an expression of an adolescent's struggle to achieve status among his elders. The still immature young person may not yet have become sensitive to differences among adult attitudes toward himself. Some teen-agers, however, seem able to recognize rather quickly whether adults respect them as individuals or regard them merely as representatives of an age-inferior group.

A young adolescent, for example, resents adult reference to himself as a "child." During the early high school years a boy's and a girl's ego is bolstered when they are referred to by their teachers as "Mister" and "Miss" respectively. As they approach adult status, however, their increasing self-security tends to reduce their urge to have their growing-up status recognized, particularly by adults with whom they have achieved a satisfying relationship. To illustrate, a college instructor had been careful not to use the first names of the members of a class group of juniors, although this was a common practice among some of the instructors. Toward the end of the semester the students expressed their regret that the formal mode of address had been followed. They claimed that the fine rapport established in the class and the instructor's sincere attitude of friendly understanding of their differing personalities should have been accompanied by the use of their first names, which represented them in a more personal fashion than did their family names. They further asked their instructor to use the given names of the members of the next class as soon as instructor and student *accepted one another as individuals* rather than as instructor and students.

In another adult and older adolescent situation, however, the adolescent,

who was a student-teacher in a high school class, resented the classroom teacher's referring to her by her first name in the presence of the young students, since the members of the class followed the teacher's example. In the college classroom situation referred to, the students felt that they had achieved adult-respected status, with resulting personality expansion; in the high school situation, contrariwise, the teacher-trainee evaluated the older adult's attitude as representative of a feeling of superiority that was aimed at deflating late adolescence personality status.

The foregoing illustrations of adolescent reactions to their human interrelationships—peer and adult—have significance in that they exemplify the many relatively subtle elements that combine to affect personal and social changes during the in-between years. Although some of the fundamental personality traits formed during childhood tend to persist, the stresses and strains that are likely to accompany adolescent goal-satisfying struggles are stimulating factors of personality change. There is some investigatory evidence of the nature of trait changes.

For example, a study of changes in adolescent personal-social development was conducted by Kühlen and Lee.⁵ The mode of procedure was to have sixth-, ninth-, and twelfth-grade pupils evaluate, according to a given list, the personality characteristics displayed by their respective classmates. The findings of the study (see Table 16) give indication for the groups studied of significant changes in behavior, attitudes, and interest from grades 6 through 12. A comparison of the relative percentages presents evidence not only of differences for all ages between the sexes in some characteristics but also shows sex and age trends in trait manifestations.

It would be interesting to compare the results of this study with a follow-up comparison of the responses of the sixth-grade subjects when they reached the twelfth-grade level. This would necessitate keeping the entire sixth-grade group together for six years, a situation that is difficult to achieve with our mobile school population.

Adolescent groupings and social-class status. During early adolescence the same-sex "gang" organizations of later childhood become two-sex social groups or "crowds." Membership in a peer group satisfies an adolescent's urge to belong, helps him learn to get along with others of his kind and to develop an attitude of loyalty toward them, enables him to adapt himself to his new relationships with the members of the opposite sex, and may offer him an opportunity to exercise potential leadership ability within the group. The many advantages that accrue to adolescents through their formation of close-knit social groups are offset to the extent that several such school or neighborhood groups become snobbish, exclu-

⁵ R. G. Kühlen and B. J. Lee, "Personality Characteristics and Social Acceptability in Adolescence," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, vol. 34, pp. 321-340, 1943.

Table 16. Changes in Personal Characteristics during Adolescence
(Percentage of each group for each characteristic)

Characteristics	Boys			Girls		
	Grade	Grade	Grade	Grade	Grade	Grade
	6	9	12	6	9	12
Restless	50	50	42	30	21	23
Talkative	50	48	58	33	32	37
Active in games	57	51	53	43	32	28
Enjoys jokes	58	57	64	37	40	39
Friendly	50	51	56	53	60	55
Sociable	51	47	48	49	62	52
Initiates games and activities	36	31	44	36	41	27
Enjoys a fight	61	51	52	22	21	26
Willing to take a chance	43	53	65	37	42	34
Neat and clean	41	52	50	66	61	61
Likes opposite sex	30	36	53	27	40	55
Enjoys joke on self	37	43	57	27	48	45
Acts older than age	22	28	52	39	45	47
Seeks attention	39	38	40	27	26	28
Popular with others	41	52	65	48	52	49
Cheerful and happy	50	58	60	53	60	50
Good-looking	33	38	36	38	50	39
Enthusiastic	47	53	60	48	52	53
Bosses others	25	43	30	42	37	35

SOURCE: By permission from *Adolescent Development*, by E. B. Hurlock. Copyright, 1949, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, condensed from R. G. Kuhlen and B. J. Lee, "Personality Characteristics and Social Acceptability in Adolescence," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, vol. 34, p. 328, 1943.

sive "cliques" that vie with one another in socially unacceptable ways to gain social prestige.

In Chapter 2 we referred to the fact that in the United States there is considerable social mobility. Yet in some communities there still exist definite social-class barriers that exercise a potent effect upon adolescent social attitudes and activities. A notable example of "class" differentiation is reported by Hollingshead.⁶ For the purpose of this study the families of 16-year-old adolescents living in a small Middle Western community were classified according to economic status into five, almost mutually exclusive, groupings. The adolescents of families in Group I represented the "elite"; most of those of Group V (85 per cent) were regarded as "grubbies," or socially nonacceptable by young people in the higher "classes"; no one in Groups I or II was regarded as a "grubbie," although

⁶ A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1949.

about 1 per cent of Group III and 20 per cent of Group IV were so categorized by their peers. There were good children in each social group.

The possible relationship between social stratification and individual mental ability, school achievement and continuous vocational plans, and social participation is shown in Figure 38. A careful study of the presented data will alert the reader to the inequalities that are experienced by young people living in a community of the type represented by Elmtown.

In some respects the study dealt with an extreme situation. Yet even in larger, less stratified communities, circumstances over which an adolescent has no control can cause him to be rejected or tolerated by associates whose approval he seeks and in whose social activities he strongly desires to participate.

Some adolescents, as well as adults, are not so particularly interested in large-group social activities. Although they desire social acceptance, they are content to engage in study, work, or recreational programs either alone or with a few close associates. These individuals are not isolates. If they are expected to take part in larger group social activities, they are willing and able to do so gracefully and effectively, even though they might prefer to devote their time to what would seem to them to be more worth while. Hence the authors believe that parents and teachers should not attempt to force a young person against his will to become "one of the crowd."

Other teen-agers who are not members of any peer social group simulate a behavior attitude of self-sufficiency which is not an expression of real desire or interest. They are eager to be a member of one or another group but feel that they are neither acceptable nor accepted by other young people. They believe that they are physically unattractive; their clothes seem to them to be unsuitable; they think that they lack poise, charm, or the ability to engage in social "chitchat"; they are sensitive about any adverse criticism, real or fancied, that is aimed at them by adults or other adolescents. These adolescents are isolates.

A young person who seemingly is rejected by his peers should receive help from his elders. Teachers especially need to be alert to the social inadequacies of these students and attempt to improve their social relationships with other schoolmates. Through the construction of a sociogram based upon young people's responses concerning their "preferred" classmates, a teacher can discover the apparent isolates in his class. This technique needs careful administration; otherwise, sensitive teen-agers can become extremely distressed if they discover that they are not among the "popular" members of the class. Ingenious school people

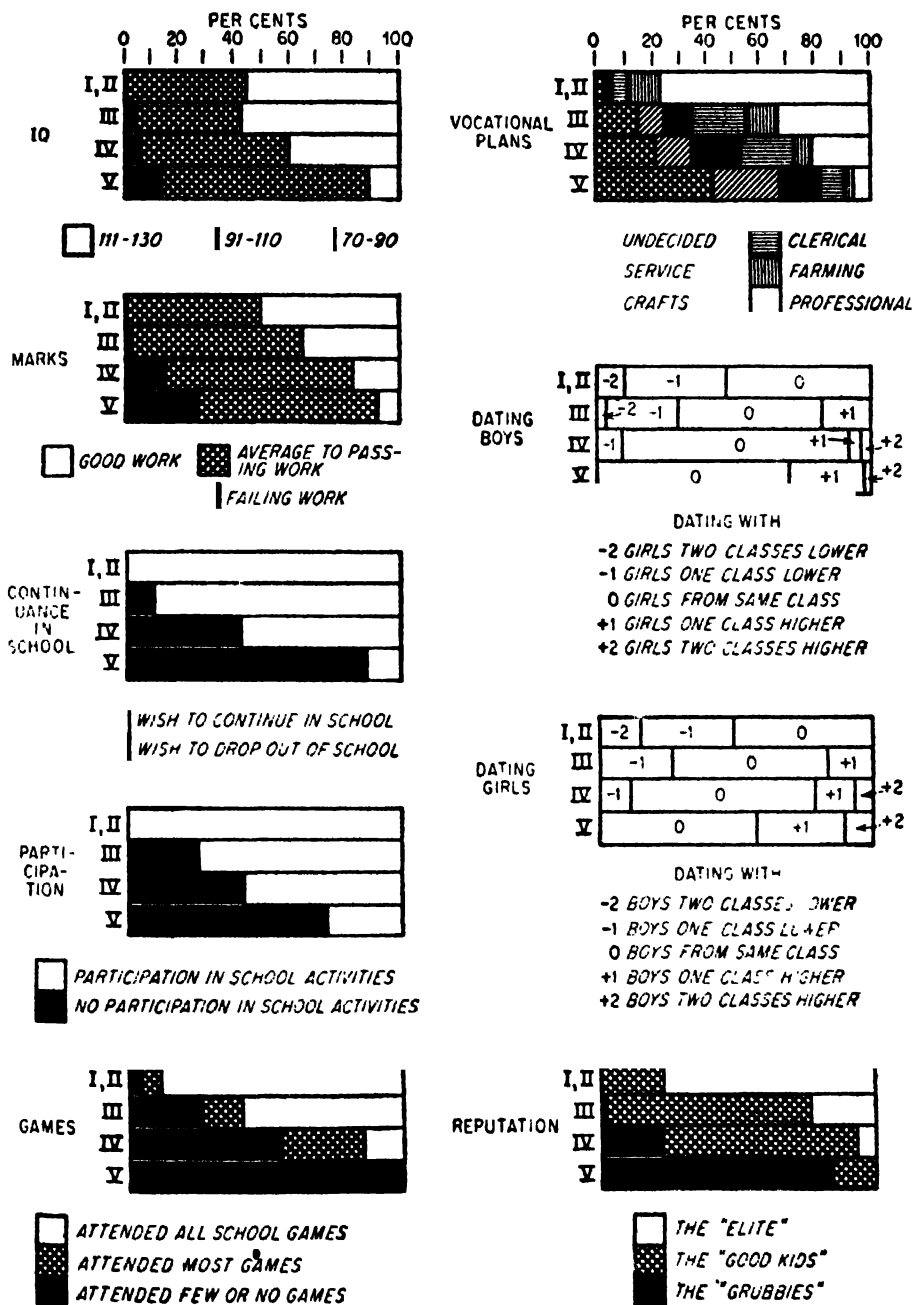


FIG. 38. Influence of social class upon attitudes and activities. (Based on figures in and reprinted by permission from A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1949, pp. 172-216; reproduced in L. Cole, *Psychology of Adolescence*, 4th ed., Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1954, p. 290.)

can plan various types of socializing activities and encourage the participation in them of withdrawing, socially insecure young people.

Some of the most serious adolescent problems have their roots in feelings of social insecurity. Young people ask many questions concerning their intersocial relationships. Some of these questions are included in a later discussion that deals with the social adjustments of adolescents (see Chapter 17). It must be remembered, however, that social acceptance is related closely with personal adjustment. Hence an adolescent's developing personality can be regarded as both the cause and the result of the social interactions he experiences during the maturing years.

PERSONALITY PATTERNING

It is not unusual for an adolescent to invent what he considers to be a personality-describing nickname for a peer associate or an adult, especially a teacher. The "private" name supposedly represents an outstanding personality characteristic of the individual to whom it is applied. In terms of the adolescent's experiences with the one so named, it may be complimentary or disparaging. In any case, the applying of a nickname by a young person constitutes an emotionalized impression of the type of person the other seems to be. This youthful play of the imagination finds its counterpart in serious psychological attempts to classify various personality manifestations according to type.

Attempts to "type" adolescent personality. We have stressed consistently the integrative relationship that exists among the various dynamic aspects of human development. Certain personality trends appear to motivate the display of what can be considered an adolescent's characteristic behavior patterns. If we accept the "nuclear cluster" organizational concept of similar or related traits, it is possible to assume that one fundamental trait cluster can function so effectively that it overshadows the significance of other possessed traits. Consequently, the dominant cluster or group of traits may appear to motivate behavior reactions to the point that it becomes descriptive of the total personality.

Various attempts have been made to "type" personality according to one or another group of traits or characteristics. In Chapter 4 reference was made to Kretschmer's and Sheldon's comparisons between body build and personality. Endocrinologists have associated the display of certain personality characteristics with the ductless glands, i.e., degree of balance or imbalance.⁷ Some of the supposed effects upon personality of glandular imbalance are:

⁷W. B. Cannon, *Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear, and Rage*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1929; L. Berman, *The Glands Regulating Personality*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1921; A. T. Cameron, *Recent Advances in Endocrinology*, J. & A. Churchill, Ltd., London, 1933.

Hyperthyroid—overambitious and domineering

Hypothyroid—lazy and intellectually dull

Pituitary type—good humored, patient, considerate, docile, diffident, tolerant of physical and mental pain

Adrenal cortex (cortin)—the prematurely developed; in females leading to adiposity and beards

Parathyroid (calcium metabolism)—the explosive type; showing aggressive conduct

Gonads, hyperactive—the more aggressive personality

Gonads, hypoactive—the less aggressive personality, interested in art, literature, and music

Psychologists are loath to accept completely the conclusions of earlier endocrinologists, however. Although an overactive thyroid may cause a person to be domineering and overambitious, for example, not all domineering or overambitious people are suffering from thyroid imbalance. A personality characteristic thus explained in terms of the functioning status of a ductless gland actually may be more closely associated with environmental influences or other causative factors.

Attempts have been made to classify individuals into "types" in terms of their accustomed modes of reactions to people, things, and conditions. An interesting theory propounded by Jung¹ is based upon differences among people in the ability to "relate" oneself to others. According to Jung, two significant personality classifications are *extroversion* and *introversion*. The extrovert is outgoing, interested in people, and socially adaptable; the introvert tends to be interested in his own feelings and reactions, and to be retiring and shy in his social relationships.

Various lists have been promulgated to indicate the specific characteristics that are associated with extroversion and introversion respectively. One finds, however, that an individual may exhibit so-called extrovert behavior in one situation but, under different circumstances, give evidence of introversion. Hence most people are described as *ambiverts*, possessing both introverted and extroverted characteristics. Since adolescents are so sensitive to attitudes displayed by others toward themselves, they are likely to respond to the social atmosphere either by outgoing or withdrawing behavior. Moreover, to cover their feelings of insecurity or fear, some young people consciously attempt to appear friendly and unembarrassed in social situations.

Since an adolescent's behavior characteristics are affected by many factors within and outside himself, it rarely is possible to classify his personality according to a particular type. An adolescent's reputation stems from the kind of personality traits to which he gives expression in

¹C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types* (H. G. Baynes, trans.), Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1923.

the presence of his associates. Differences in personal values among the members of his various groups, as well as individual attitudes toward, or interests in, the young person concerned, may influence their evaluation of his personal characteristics to the extent that his reputation may vary from group to group or person to person.

A common illustration of this variation is found in differences in attitude among teachers toward the same high school student. A boy who excels in mathematics but who is poor in English probably will be cooperative and outgoing in his mathematics class but retiring and apparently lazy in his English class. Consequently, his reputation among the teachers and classmates of the respective classes will be very different. Similarly, a young person's dress and grooming, habitual mannerisms, behavior toward the opposite sex, opinions, artistic appreciations, and other aspects of personality expression are evaluated by his peers and elders according to their own personal standards and ideals as well as by their insight concerning his behavior motivations.

One or another nuclear cluster of personality traits may seem to be more characteristic of some adolescents than of others. To the extent that a particular young person gives evidence of the persistent display of cluster-related traits, he can be considered to belong to that particular type group. To illustrate, upon the completion of nineteen adolescent case studies, Havighurst and Taba considered that, on the basis of similarities, the members of the group studied could be classified into the following different subgroups or types described respectively as*

The Self-directive Person

The Adaptive Person

The Submissive Person

The Defiant Person

The Unadjusted Person

Although these groupings of their 16-year-old subjects were reached empirically, the investigators' conclusions were not formulated until the data were analyzed and reanalyzed, similarities among certain subjects carefully observed and grouped together, and common characteristics of each subgroup described. According to Havighurst and Taba,¹⁰ they "then drew up, for each subgroup or type, a profile of personality and character factors which characterized each member of that type, but no others, and which, at the same time, included those factors which are generally conceded to be most important in describing an individual." The resulting personality profiles are presented in Table 17, page 186.

The utilization of type analysis such as described in the foregoing has

* Reprinted with permission from R. J. Havighurst and H. Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality*, 1949, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, p. 117.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

value if and when one is dealing with a particular group of young people whom one can study intensively in specific situations, thereby gaining insight into the background history, motivational patterns, and interrelationships of the individuals concerned. One needs to be wary, however, in applying the profiles in any attempts to type young people in terms of observed behavior in one or a few situations only.

THE EVALUATION OF ADOLESCENT PERSONALITY

It is difficult to achieve a completely adequate evaluation of an adolescent's developing personality. The continuously changing subtle interactions among the many phases of the total personality pattern may so affect a young person's attitudes and behavior that his reactions appear to differ almost from one week to another. Any attempted evaluation of a young person, therefore, can be expected to yield reliable data concerning him only insofar as it represents what he is like at the time of the evaluation. Prediction is uncertain except for deep-rooted, persistent personality trends that may be characteristic of the individual throughout most of his life.

Varieties of evaluation. In Chapter 3 were considered the various approaches to the study of adolescence and some of the difficulties encountered in attempts to evaluate accurately the components that comprise the integrated whole personality. We also described briefly some of the generally utilized techniques of evaluation such as observation, interviewing, standardized testing materials, individual self-expression, experimentation, and the case study.

To avoid repetition, the discussion at this point will be confined to a consideration of various standardized and informal instruments of personality measurement. The purpose to be served by the administration of an evaluating instrument may be either (1) to discover the degree of possession of one or more traits or dimensional aspects of personality, or (2) to gain insight concerning the functioning in a given situation of the total integrated personality pattern.

Areas of dimensional evaluation. The commonly measured personality aspects or dimensions are physical condition, general intelligence and specific aptitude, quality of study achievement, personal interests and attitudes, and emotional status. Although all these areas of measurement represent dimensional aspects of personality development, the term *personality evaluation* generally is limited in usage to refer specifically to interests, attitudes, and emotional status. Since an adolescent's physical and mental status and his achievement level may exercise a potent effect upon his total personality, we shall give attention to these areas before we discuss the evaluation of the so-called personality attributes.

Table 17. *Personality Profiles of Adolescents*

Area	Instruments or methods	Personality type			
		Self-directive	Adaptive	Submissive	Defiant
Social personality	Observation Sociometric tests Interest inventory Ess. ys	Ambitious Conscientious Orderly Persistent Introspective	Outgoing Confident Positive, favorable reactions to environment	Timid Does not initiate action Stubborn Avoids conflict	Openly hostile Self-defensive Blames society for failure
Character reputation	Reputation instruments	High Higher on H and R than on F	High Higher on F than on H and R	Average to high Higher on H and R than on F	Very low Higher on MC than on other traits
Moral beliefs and principles	Student beliefs Life problems Essays	Variable High uncertainty	High Little uncertainty Adopts current standards	High Some uncertainty	Low
Family environment	FR Questionnaire Interviews and reports on family Interest inventory Mooney Problem Check List	Strict family training Some conflict with family	Permissive family training No conflict with family	Severe family training No conflict with family	Family training inconsistent, provides no basis for constructive character formation Conflict with family Early neglect
					Discontented Complaining Not openly hostile
					Low to average
					Low to average
					Variable family training Conflict with family

Social adjustment with age mates	Sociometric tests Interviews Observation	Leader Active in school affairs Awkward in social skills	Very popular Active in school affairs Social skills well developed Popular with opposite sex	Follower Nonentity Awkward in social skills	Unpopular Hostile to school activities Quarrelsome	Unpopular Hostile or indifferent to school activities
Intellectual ability	Intelligence tests	Average to high	Average to high	Low to average Self-doubt high	Low to high	Low to high
School achievement	Academic grades	High, or higher than IQ would imply	Fair to high	Fair Seldom high	Low, or lower than IQ would imply	Low, or lower than IQ would imply
Personal adjustment	Interviews Personality inventory Interest inventory Thematic Apperception Rorschach Mooney Problem Check List	Self-doubt Self-critical Some anxiety, but well controlled Concern about moral problems Average aggressiveness Moves away from people Lack of warmth in human relations Gains security through achievement	High on all adjustment measures Self-assured No signs of anxiety Unaggressive Moves toward people	Self-doubt Self-critical Submissive to authority Unaggressive	Hostile to authority Aggressive impulses Inadequately socialized Moves against people	Aggressive impulses Feelings of insecurity

source: Reprinted with permission from R. J. Havighurst and H. Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality*, 1949, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, pp. 118-119.

Measurement of physical, intellectual, and achievement status. Since physical constitution and health status exercise a powerful effect upon the total pattern of personality integration, an adolescent's physical condition is of primary importance. An apparent deviation from habitually expressed interests, or an emotionally or socially disturbing experience, may stem from a real or imagined physical defect. Hence a thorough yearly physical examination should become an established practice from childhood onward. Periodic health checkups are needed especially during pubescence and early adolescence, since the physical and physiological changes characteristic of these growth periods may affect seriously the health status of a young person. Tests of physical fitness should be administered by a physician. Parents, teachers, and other adults, however, should be able to interpret height and weight charts and the results of physical performance tests.

Degree of mental acuity and of the possession of a special aptitude are basic factors of the direction of an adolescent's personality development. Various approaches to the measurement of intellectual capacity are presented in Chapter 5. No more will be said here than to emphasize the fact that if test results are to be reliable and meaningful, the test must be administered carefully according to specific testing directions and the obtained results interpreted intelligently according to standardized norms of performance.

The utilization of relatively reliable and valid aptitude tests has value as a means of helping an adolescent discover any special ability that he may possess. In terms of his displayed potential he then can be guided toward participation in appropriate educational and vocational areas of activity. The trial-error-success approach to educational and vocational exploration is costly and often inadequate.

Vocational tests are intended to serve one of two purposes. A vocational aptitude or prognostic test is an evaluating device administered to discover potential ability in an area of performance for participation in which there has been no training. A vocational achievement or success-attainment test, on the other hand, is utilized to determine the degree to which a potential aptitude has been developed through training. Vocational tests usually include items that measure both mentally stimulated or informational materials and manipulatory performance.

The results of these tests are not infallible. The fact that an adolescent appears to possess a test-determined aptitude cannot ensure his attainment of success in the particular vocational activity. Personality factors other than the possession of a specific aptitude are influential in determining an adolescent's eventual vocational selection and successful accomplishment in his chosen field. Nevertheless, vocational tests have some value as aids to adolescent occupational adjustment. Recently constructed

measuring instruments in this area include the Differential Aptitude Test (DAT), developed by the Psychological Corporation, and various classification instruments devised for use in the armed services, such as the Army General Classification Test (AGCT) and the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT).

Achievement tests and scales have been constructed to serve one or more of the following functions: (1) to discover the level of achievement attained by an adolescent or a group of adolescents; (2) to discover the degree of readiness of the adolescent to enter into another area of learning (Test for High School Entrants); and (3) to diagnose the specific learning difficulties of an adolescent in a particular field of learning.

The present trend is away from specific achievement tests in isolated areas of learning toward survey or general achievement batteries and comprehensive examinations. Many of these batteries, or comprehensive examinations, are geared toward evaluating achievement progress on the secondary school level. Included among these are the Cooperative General Achievement Test (CGAT), the Iowa Tests of Educational Development (ITED), the Bristow-Crow-Crow Advanced Battery, for grades 7 through 9, and the Tests of General Educational Development, prepared by the United States Armed Forces Institute (USAFI-GED). The growing interest in comprehensive examinations reflects an educational trend toward effecting greater integration in the teaching-learning process.

Measurement of personality traits. Personality tests or inventories include more or less standardized measuring instruments that are designed to evaluate an individual's personal qualities, interests, attitudes and behavior patterns apart from physical constitution, general intelligence, specific aptitude, and achievement or performance. Through the administration of personality tests is attempted the measurement of such qualities as cooperativeness, perseverance, honesty, sincerity, social adaptability, attitudes toward customs or beliefs, initiative, responsibility, introversion or extroversion, ascendancy or submissiveness, and emotional stability or neurotic tendencies.

Rating Scales and Inventories. These tests are devised (1) to enable an individual to rate himself concerning his interests, attitudes, emotional states, temperament, and other aspects of his personality, or (2) to help teachers, employers, psychologists, or other interested persons to evaluate an adolescent's status in one or more personality characteristics. Most rating scales and inventories are paper-and-pencil questionnaires. There are many such instruments available today, representing varying degrees of validity and reliability.

Many of the earlier questionnaires were so devised that the respective

items were answered by a *Yes* or *No*. Some inventories allow for three categories in the answer: *Yes*, *No*, *?*. Examples of such tests are the Bell inventory and the Bernreuter Personality Inventory. By the administration of six different keys to the same answers, the Bernreuter inventory attempts to measure six different aspects of personality: social dominance, introversion-extroversion, emotional maturity, emotional security, self-sufficiency, and security. Some recently constructed personality tests employ ingenious evaluating approaches. Their results are not yet reliable, however, since they still are in the experimental stage of construction.

For many years the Brooklyn College department of education has been using a personality report form for evaluating the personality traits of its students. The form has undergone numerous refinements. The most recent adaptation (spring, 1955) consists of five major categories. A copy of the form, with directions for its use by instructors, is presented on page 191.

Interest Inventories. These consist of systematically arranged series of questions designed to discover the kind and intensity of an individual's major likes and dislikes among specifically listed activities and attitudes. These inventories are of value in the study of an adolescent's personality qualities, even though their results are not indicative of persistent or stable interests. Probably one of the most useful instruments is Strong's interest inventories (men and women). Other significant interest inventories are:

- Allport Study of Values, Revised
- Kuder Preference Record—Personal
- Kuder Preference Record—Vocational
- SRA Employee Inventory
- Thurstone Interest Schedule

Evaluation of personality integration. As we know, the total personality is more than the sum of its traits. Hence the summation of all the data gained from the measurement of personality components or traits does not equal the composite whole; nor does it represent an adequate evaluation of an adolescent's total personality. The interactions of those traits which make for personality integration cannot be discovered through the administration of the paper-and-pencil type of trait measurement. Consequently, certain forms of evaluation called *projective techniques* have been developed to permit the individual to display in an integrated fashion his habitual attitudes, aspirations, ideas, aggressions, fears, or worries.

During the administration of a projective technique the individual is presented with relatively unstructured situations, to which he reacts freely with a variety of possible responses. It is believed that, as he

Personality Report

Student's name

Print last

First

Date of birth

Course _____

Instructor

Date ____

Please encircle the number on the scale which most nearly represents your judgment regarding the student. If you encircle a 1 or a 2, indicate where improvement is needed by underlining the item or items under the characteristic so marked.

	Con- spicu- ously poor	Below aver- age	Aver- age	Su- perior	Out- stand- ing	No judg- ment
I. <i>Appearance</i> grooming, posture, expressiveness	1	2	3	4	5	0
II. <i>Responsibility</i> assumption of responsibility for own im- provement,* assumption of responsibility in the classroom, trustworthiness	1	2	3	4	5	0
III. <i>Social adjustment</i> poise, consideration for others, friendliness	1	2	3	4	5	0
IV. <i>Emotional stability</i> acceptance of criticism, maturity	1	2	3	4	5	0
V. <i>Professional promise</i> enthusiasm, initiative, leadership, coopera- tion	1	2	3	4	5	0

* Re quality of written English, spelling, punctuation, etc., the teacher is expected to call the attention of the student to need for improvement; if the student fails to improve, such failure would be noted explicitly under this item.

Particular strengths:

Particular weaknesses:

Other comments:

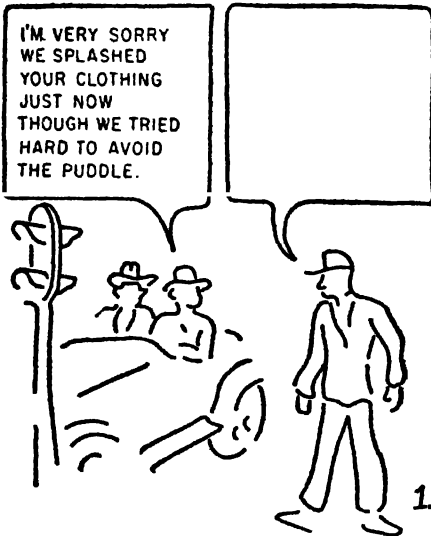
Note: Other documents in the student's folder will serve to supplement this report.

Instructor's signature

describes or explains the situation, he is giving overt expression to inner attitudes and ideas that are representative of his personality pattern. Among the various types of projective techniques are the verbal techniques; drawing and painting; play and dramatic techniques; the Rorschach ink-blot technique; and pictorial techniques.

Verbal Techniques. A technique that is used to discover an individual's thoughts, ideas, and specific emotional states is the word-association test, sometimes called a "free-association test." One form of this test consists of a list of words, to each of which the subject is asked to respond with the first word that comes to his mind. The time of reaction to each word is recorded, since both the response itself and the length of time between the stimulus and the response are considered significant indicators of amount of emotional tension.

In another form of the verbal technique the subject is presented with incomplete sentences either in oral or written form. The words or phrases selected by him to complete the sentences would seem to serve as clues to his attitudes, opinions, or emotional states; he also might reveal significant aspects of his relations with his peer associates, his breadth of understanding, or his social beliefs.



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An interesting approach to the study of emotionalized attitudes is exemplified in the Rosensweig Picture Association Study for Assessing Reactions to Frustration. The test consists of a series of comic-strip type pictures. Each picture depicts a realistic, frustrating situation, to which the subject responds by writing in an empty "balloon"

included in the picture. The subject is instructed to write down "the first reply which comes to mind," and to "avoid being humorous."

It is assumed that consciously or unconsciously the subject will identify himself with the frustrated individual in each of the pictures. Consequently, the written response will reflect the testee's habitual expressions of aggressive behavior in response to differing frustration-arousing stimuli.

Psychologists are experimenting with the so-called lie detector, an adaptation of the verbal technique. By means of a mechanical device

consisting of instruments that measure intensity of visceral emotional reactions, the investigator determines the effect upon the subject's emotional state of specific question-answer combinations. It is hoped that the action of the lie detector can be sufficiently refined to yield accurate indication of the degree of truth or falsity of the subject's responses to emotion-arousing questions.

Self-expression through Drawing and Painting. Children and adolescents increasingly are being encouraged to give expression to their interests, creative abilities, and inner tensions through mediums such as finger painting, drawing, water-color, or oil painting. Resulting procedures can be diagnostically evaluated to discover a young person's conceptual appreciation of persons or things in his environment, his imaginative power, or his emotional attitudes. To the extent that an adolescent projects his personality into his "creative" production, insight can be achieved concerning apparent emotional disturbance. The interpretation of obtained data is extremely subjective, however, and should not be undertaken by anyone except those who have been trained in the use of this type of evaluative technique.

Play and Dramatic Techniques. The techniques of play therapy and sociodrama were explained earlier. Here comment will be directed to the value of these techniques as mediums of personality interpretation. Attitudes displayed by a subject either in a free-play situation or in self-expressing role playing may offer clues concerning the emotional difficulties suffered by the individual, thereby serving as a basis for possible rehabilitation. These techniques can be used effectively with adolescents. As a young person enacts one or another role on a stage, or as he participates in artificially constructed situations, he is likely to project his inner feelings and attitudes into the role or roles he is playing. The interpretation of the displayed behavior is subjective, however, and may or may not be valid.

The Rorschach Technique. This projective technique, known as the Ink Blot Test, is an excellent device to discover personality traits of adolescents or adults. The test consists of ten cards containing ink blots of various shapes similar to the sample given in Figure 39. Five of the



FIG. 39. Ink-blot sample similar to those used in the Rorschach test.

ink blots are in shades of black and gray; the other five contain two or more colors. The subject is asked to look at each card and then to report to the examiner what he *sees* in the whole blot, or in any one or more segments of it. The subject is given a second showing of the cards, and asked to point out as exactly as he can the area or areas which



FIG. 40. Thematic Apperception Test illustration. (Reprinted by permission of the publishers from Henry A. Murray, *Explorations in Personality*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1938, p. 538.)

represent the various objects or situations that he had seen in the first showing. Although interpretation of the results is based upon established norms, these are not yet sufficiently reliable for scientifically accurate conclusions concerning a subject's personality pattern.

The Thematic Apperception Test. A projective technique much used by clinicians to evaluate personality by means of picture presentation is the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). The test material consists of twenty cards, nineteen of which represent a situation involving one or

more persons who are pictured against a relatively vague background, and one blank card. The test administrator gives the subject a picture about which the latter is to tell a story, as the former writes what is being said. This procedure continues until a story has been told for each of the nineteen cards. Then the subject is handed the blank card and asked to imagine a picture that appears on it and to tell a story about it. The picture that appears on one of the cards is presented in Figure 40.

The utilization of the TAT, as well as of other projective techniques that currently are administered to evaluate the functioning of an individual's total personality, gives evidence of their future promise as evaluating techniques. Since they still are in an experimental stage, however, caution needs to be exercised in their administration and interpretation. The techniques themselves are continuing to be improved and clinicians are gaining greater insight concerning the significance of testee responses. Eventually their utilization may come to have considerable value in helping adults guide adolescent personality development and adjustment.

Whether it ever will be possible to categorize the personality components of every individual adolescent is a moot question. Probably the best that we, as adults, can accomplish is to reflect in our own personality those qualities and attributes that we want adolescents to develop; then we can be alert to ways in which youthful attitudes and behavior seem to deviate from an acceptable norm, and attempt to help the adolescent make whatever personality changes seem desirable.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Analyze some adolescent personality traits and show specifically to what extent they can be traced to biological and to social inheritance.
2. Indicate the relationship between superior mental ability and personality adjustment and maladjustment.
3. Explain the statement: "Personality is given to one by another."
4. Show by reference to adolescents of your acquaintance that no two are likely to have identical personalities.
5. In seeking a friend of the same sex, what do adolescents believe to be the important personality qualities?
6. Describe your behavior as an adolescent in the presence of other adolescents you were meeting for the first time.
7. What do you consider to be your greatest personality weakness?
8. Describe your behavior when you deliberately attempt to impress other persons.
9. Show how change of environment affects an adolescent's personality.
10. Justify the statement: "A psychologist needs to be acquainted with the principles and techniques of personality measurement."

11. Indicate why the results of personality tests should be used with discrimination.
12. Explain why personality is difficult to evaluate.
13. What are some limitations of psychodrama as a technique of personality evaluation?
14. In what way may intelligence tests reflect the personality qualities of an adolescent?
15. Indicate how projective techniques differ from other standardized testing procedures.
16. What are the chief assets of projective techniques as techniques of personality evaluation? What are their weaknesses?
17. Discuss the use of play and dramatic techniques in the measurement of personality.
18. Differentiate between the Rorschach and the TAT techniques of personality evaluation.

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PART THREE

ADOLESCENT BEHAVIOR MOTIVATIONS

Chapter 8

IMPORTANCE OF INTERESTS AND ATTITUDES

The terms *interest* and *attitude* often are used together to express an individual's pattern of reactions toward himself, his physical environment, his associates, and the situations in which he may find himself. Interests and attitudes have much in common. Except as certain potentials can be considered to be inherited characteristics, a person's interests and attitudes develop from early childhood onward as a result of experience.

Interests and attitudes are personal. Although one or another group may seem to possess similar interests and to give evidence of likeness in attitude toward this or that factor of environmental experiences, each member of the group can be regarded as evincing his own particular interest in, or attitude toward, a person, thing, or condition. His interest or attitude may be influenced, of course, to some degree by his association with other members of the group.

There are differences as well as likenesses, however, between the connotations of these terms. An interest can be interpreted roughly as a motivating force that stimulates an individual to participate in one activity rather than in another. As a result of influences outside himself, he may engage in certain behavior in which he personally is not interested. A situation of this kind may reflect a habitual attitude on the part of the individual to be willing to satisfy the interests of others rather than his own. Left to himself, he might act very differently.

The term *attitude* refers to a person's feeling toward other people, conditions, or situations. Attitudes are specific and born of experience. They are personal and tend to reflect themselves in the individual's relations with his fellows. Certain attitudes become so habituated that they influence much of an individual's behavior.

A motivating interest that has resulted in successful achievement in a particular situation may become the basis of a pleasant attitude toward the elements that constitute the situation. Lack of success in attempts to realize a felt interest may lead to the development of unpleasant attitudes, biases, or prejudices toward the people or things comprising the situation that resulted in failure to achieve. Moreover, a strong attitude may give rise to an equally strong motivating interest. One difference between interest and attitude, however, must be kept in mind. Given an oppor-

tunity to express an interest, an individual usually is conscious of his interest in expressing it; contrariwise, an individual's attitude may be consciously recognized by himself, or he may be unaware of the real attitude that influences his behavior. With this brief interpretation of what constitutes an interest or an attitude, we shall proceed to discuss those interests and attitudes that seem to be characteristic of adolescents.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERESTS THROUGH CHILDHOOD

From his early years an individual's interests are affected by his physical condition, his mental and emotional status, and the social environment in which he has been reared. Hence adolescent interests do not appear full-born with the beginning of puberty. Rather are they built upon interests that are peculiar to the childhood years.

A person's interests constantly undergo changes. Toward the later years of adolescence and the beginning of adulthood some interests become relatively fixed. The adult then, if asked what his special interests are, can list those which have become habitual aspects of his personality.

Interests during early childhood. Of necessity, the young child's interests center around the home and family associates and activities. He evinces an interest in discovering the purpose or meaning of his surroundings in relation to himself. His activating interests are likely to follow patterns set by family members or his playmates.

Both little boys and girls are interested in playing with simple toys provided for them. Yet even at this early age there are differences among children's interests. Some children prefer playing with toys in which other children may be disinterested. The same holds for games. Most children enjoy playing with marbles, looking at picture books, and engaging in play activities that reflect home or neighborhood life. Some children, however, show little or no interest in these activities.

Physical, mental, and emotional differences among children not only influence the amount of interest they exhibit in one or another activity but also affect the way in which they express the interest. Moreover, unless differing interests between the sexes are encouraged by adults, little boys and girls appear to have relatively similar interests during these early years.

Interests during later childhood. During the elementary school years a child's interests broaden and take on a more definite pattern. His former almost complete concern with self and the fulfillment of personal wants changes somewhat to include interest in other people, including his teachers and schoolmates. He wants to learn about places, people, and conditions outside his immediate environment. He gradually develops a greater interest in organized play activities with others of his age group.

His earlier sporadic interest in hoarding favorite toys takes on a more definite form of collecting one or another type of article such as stamps, political campaign buttons, dolls, pictures, bits of string, or any other type of collectable article that may strike his fancy. The child of this age level also becomes interested in participating in creative activity. Magician sets, airplanes, or other construction mediums may challenge his ability to produce something that will attract the attention of his peers or elders.

The elementary school child usually becomes interested in listening to the radio, watching television, or reading stories and comics appropriate to his mental level. Certain differences between the interests of boys and girls begin to show themselves in the choice of these areas of interest. Both boys and girls like action, but boys seem to enjoy the portrayal of more strenuous activity than do girls.

This is the age of interest in "gang" activities among boys and of "best pal" interest among girls. Some insight can be gained concerning children's interests by listening to their conversations. Topics may center around their daily activities; radio, television and motion-picture programs, books and comics, and their likes and dislikes. Many older children are interested in discussing with their pals their feelings and opinions—the beginnings of a developing philosophy of life.

During this period each of the two sexes is interested in activities that exclude the other. At present there seems to be a growing trend among older boys and girls to participate together in dancing, group dates, and other activities that generally are associated with the interests of adolescents. The degree of maturity displayed in children's interests reflects in good part the level of their social development.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ADOLESCENT INTERESTS

As was suggested earlier, adolescent interests are rooted in those developed during childhood. As childhood interests change with age, so do the ones of the adolescent. Like the child, the adolescent is interested primarily in himself and his own welfare. At the same time there is an expansion of his former intense interest in family and immediate environment to include the welfare and activities of many other persons and groups.

Development of interests. Interests developed during childhood, such as play, creativity, radio, television, motion pictures, reading, socializing, gaining knowledge, and planning for the future, are characteristic of the adolescent but vary in form and intensity. Adolescent interests as well as those of children are influenced by factors such as physical and mental ability, emotional attitudes, and environmental or social status. Interests

serve as tension reducers during this period of change from the status of childhood to that of adulthood. They also help prepare the teen-ager for his gradual assumption of adult responsibilities.

Adolescence may be a difficult period of adjustment for some young people, although an evaluation by earlier psychologists of adolescence as a period of "continual stress or strain" no longer is generally accepted. There are certain interests that are common to most adolescents. Some young people evince interests that deviate to a greater or lesser degree from so-called "normal" interests. Such deviation need not be undesirable, however. In any case, if any adolescent interest is thwarted, problems of adjustment may result. To the extent that a situation of this kind arises in the life of an emotionally insecure adolescent, stress, strain, or conflict may result. In the main, however, adolescent interests are healthful and forward-looking.

In the following pages will be discussed briefly some common adolescent interests. As these are described, the reader will come to recognize the fact that during this age period the interests of the two sexes may show greater differences respectively than are evidenced during childhood. Physical, mental, and social status become greater determiners of the extent to which interests can be realized. The interests of the younger adolescent represent a gradual change from those of childhood; the interests of the older adolescent often are similar to those of the young adult. In this fact can be found one reason for the difficulty of determining at what point in an individual's life he has changed from adolescence to adult status.

SPECIFIC ADOLESCENT INTERESTS

Some psychologists classify adolescent interests in terms of three categories: personal, social, and vocational. For discussion purposes there are merits in this classification. It is difficult, however, to place a particular interest in one category only. The expressing of an interest has personal and social implications; to a lesser degree it may influence a young person's vocational choice.

This discussion of adolescent interests follows no set pattern of presentation. Adolescent interests will be treated in such a way as to indicate their value—personal, social, or vocational—to the adolescent.

Physical attributes, grooming, voice, and dress. The onset of adolescence usually is accompanied by a changed attitude toward personal appearance and an increased interest in one's own and others' physical characteristics. Boys and girls alike develop a new awareness of their body size and proportions, body odors, hair and skin, and voice quality. Boys and girls differ, however, in their reactions to their physical appearance.

Differences in growth status and physical condition. The young adolescent boy whose physical and general appearance still is that of a child often suffers great mortification as he compares his appearance with that of boys who have begun to mature physically. Moreover, his short stature and relative lack of strength may deny him participation in the games played by huskier boys.

The young adolescent boy who "shoots up" quickly may experience the problem of being rejected by his own-age but smaller group, as well as by older boys whose equal he is in height and weight. Because of the general unevenness of physical growth, the boy who develops early may seem to be all hands and feet. Since he has not yet learned how to manage his body, he may be awkward in his movements and stumble and drop things. He becomes the prey of good-natured or less kindly bantering by his peers.

The boy's desire to be accepted by his group may seem to him to be thwarted to the extent that he suffers from body odors peculiar to the adolescent stage of development. He also may pass through a growing period during which he is afflicted by acne or skin blemishes. In some cases the severity of skin disorders may cause embarrassment to the boy during much of his adolescent period.

Like the boy, the adolescent girl develops great interest in physical appearance. The small girl usually is not too much bothered by her short stature, but unevenness of physical growth may cause her considerable anguish. Especially is she conscious of the size of her hands and feet, which during early adolescence may be large in comparison to other body parts.

Grooming. Good grooming becomes increasingly important to the adolescent boy. Whereas to him, as a child, bathing and "washing behind the ears" were nuisances, the boy now exhibits an increasing interest in cleanliness. Hairdo also is important. He experiments with various styles of haircuts and is likely to become a devotee of hair oils and pomades.

Girls like to spend many hours in the bathroom. They too dislike body odors and are consistent users of sweet-scented bath salts and talcum powders. They also are extremely interested in their hair, complexion, and nails. A girl tends to shampoo her hair often and to experiment with one hairdo after another. Straight hair seems to be a major affliction. Hence a girl may spend considerable time and money in attempts to adapt her hair style to what she considers to be the latest mode for her age group.

Although a girl may have skin blemishes, she is likely to have fewer than boys. Her facial appearance and the state of her complexion may become an absorbing interest. Unless she is guided intelligently, her use of cosmetics may represent quantity rather than quality of application.

Both boys and girls develop an interest in the appearance of their fingernails. Boys usually are satisfied if their nails are well trimmed and clean. Girls, on the other hand, may express their interest in their appearance by wearing abnormally long nails and by experimenting with various shades of nail polish.

Voice. Voice tone and quality become exceedingly important to adolescents. The free shouting and laughter of childhood days give way to greater control of the vocal organs. The boy is interested in developing a deep, manly voice. The period of voice change is a difficult time for him. Although voice change is not so noticeable in the adolescent girl, she consciously attempts to adopt an adult voice tone and quality. Except in off moments, she strives to achieve feminine modulation of tone and dignified smiling instead of loud speech and uncontrolled laughter. So interested may the girl become in her voice pattern that she adopts an affected form of speech that is based upon what she considers to be the voice and speech pattern of her currently favored actress.

Dress. Adolescents usually are extremely clothes conscious. Young adolescents like bright colors and unusual combinations. Later they develop an interest in more subdued colors and more conventional dress. Girls generally are interested in the wearing of costume jewelry. At first, these ornaments tend to be bright in color, worn on every occasion, and large in quantity. As the girl nears adulthood there is greater selectivity in the kind and amount of jewelry worn.

In all matters concerning appearance and clothes, adolescents are extremely interested in the appropriateness of their appearance as judged by the standards of their peer groups. It was believed formerly that the members of each sex were most interested in the effect of their appearance upon the other sex. At present it would seem that young people's interest in this respect includes the achievement of self-satisfaction in appearance and the approval of the members of their group, regardless of sex. They also wish to please their elders, but adult approval usually is of least importance to them.

Conversation and writing. Adolescent conversation gradually becomes better organized than that of children. Both boys and girls are interested in expressing their opinions about many things. Common topics of conversation include individual or group interests such as sports, school activities, dates, books read, radio, television, motion-picture and musical programs experienced, personal achievements, future plans, and evaluations of persons, situations, or conditions known to the speakers.

Adolescents seem to enjoy engaging in debates or arguments with other members of their group. They like to "talk one another down." Often it would seem as though the less adolescents know about a topic, the more heated are their arguments. In later adolescence, however, discussions

appear to be more serious, with a greater emphasis upon factual knowledge.

It is generally agreed that both sexes tend to talk about schoolwork and common experiences. Boys seem to be interested in matters dealing with sports, fraternities, dates, mechanics, and government and politics. Adolescent boys enjoy telling stories, and sometimes questionable jokes, and engaging in more or less good-natured banter.

Girls' conversations include the discussion of topics such as dates, clothes, books, motion pictures, other girls, school activities, parties, family affairs, and personal interests. Modern girls, however, are evincing an increasing interest in subjects that at one time were associated with the conversational interests of adolescent boys.

Upper-term high school and college boys and an increasing number of girls participate in group discussions that can be referred to as "bull sessions." These are excellent mediums for the expression of personal interests in, and attitudes toward, all sorts of things, people, and conditions. It is here that the adolescent can begin to develop an idealistic or a realistic philosophy concerning life values.

The writing of adolescents is more or less motivated by school requirements. If adolescents are given a chance to write freely, inner thoughts, interests, and attitudes are transferred to paper. Boys as well as girls may try their hand at versification. Topics usually selected by boys include sports, mechanics, and personal opinions about political and governmental affairs, although other topics may challenge their interest. Girls are interested in writing about themselves and their experiences, and their friends and family.

During early adolescence both boys and girls show interest in the writing of autobiographies, which may or may not be completely truthful accounts of their experiences. The ages between 14 and 16 are the diary-keeping years. If a boy keeps a diary, it usually is written in the form of a log, reporting incidents and experiences in chronological order. A girl's diary is much more personal. Although she too may list incidents and experiences, her diary is likely to include expressions of her attitudes toward her dates or associates and her hopes and ambitions.

Study. An adolescent's urge for independence, his growing awareness of himself as a person, and the increase in the number and intensity of his interests exert a powerful effect upon his attitude toward study and work. The high school and college student's study interests comprise an area of consideration that well could fill the pages of an entire book. Hence no more than a few significant points can be mentioned here.

As a result of his intellectual status, his previous study experiences, and the study attitudes of school friends, an adolescent begins his study in one or another area of subject matter with preconceived ideas con-

cerning his chances of successful achievement. Consequently, his interest in attempts at mastering the subject is dependent in part upon the attitude that he has developed toward it. Moreover, a student may have a definite interest in one area of study in which he performs diligently. The study of other subjects may seem to him to represent no more than a waste of time.

A young friend of the authors is a college sophomore whose career interest is journalism. He spends much time and effort and has earned creditable success in his writing classes and in his work as the editor of the college newspaper. He is bored by required subjects such as history, foreign languages, science, and mathematics. Recently he complained to the dean of the college that he is very much dissatisfied because he is not getting from his college work what he believes he wants and needs. The dean then suggested that this 20-year-old boy try to get a job in a newspaper office and continue his college studies at night. This suggestion met with the boy's interest and he now is attempting to organize a plan of activities that will include work in his field of interest and continued study toward the attainment of a college degree—another interest goal.

One of the most difficult phases of teaching is the motivation of apathetic students toward the development of interest through successful study achievement. There is a present trend toward adapting learning methods and materials to learner interests. One difficulty, however, is the extent to which teaching should follow the path of immediate and probably changing learner interests, or be aimed at fulfilling more fundamental and permanent interests of individuals in terms of their ability to become successful learners.

Work. Adolescents like to work if the work is of their own choosing and represents a felt interest. A boy or girl may resent the doing of household chores. Hence parents often respond to an adolescent's interest in money to acquire things which he wants by paying their child for performing household tasks that should be his responsibility as a family member. At the same time, many young people are very much interested in part-time jobs which will provide for them the luxuries that the family budget cannot include. Their interest in the purpose of the work is so keen that they do a good job.

It is only as the adolescent reaches the stage of adult responsibility for his own welfare and that of others that he is willing to work at a job in which he has no particular interest. Even then the adolescent is more likely to achieve success in his work if his interest in the activity is great.

Social activities. The normal adolescent is interested in parties, dates, dances, or any other form of social activity in which he can engage with his peers. Interest in parties is not characteristic solely of the adolescent period. From early childhood onward, birthdays, special holidays, or

other special events are celebrated by a party. Even during the early years most children's parties comprise a get-together of members of both sexes, although during these years girls usually are more interested than boys in party activities. The girls enjoy the games as well as the food; boys may tolerate playing games with little girls, but are enthusiastic about plenty of good eats.

During the junior high school years parties become popular with boys as well as with girls. The development of interest in members of the opposite sex brings about an interest in these gatherings as a means of adjusting to this new relationship. Since girls mature more quickly than boys, the former tend to prefer to have parties with older boys rather than with those of their own-age groups. This discrimination on an age basis is likely to decrease with later adolescence.

Young people do not like formal parties. They like to gather together to have fun—play games, talk, and eat “goodies” which they themselves have selected and helped prepare. The party situation also aids the boys and girls to discover members of the other sex who have interests similar to their own and whom they find attractive.

Members of the opposite sex who meet at parties as well as in connection with school activities soon become the objects of “dating.” At first young people go out in groups or on double dates. As two young people become increasingly interested in each other, they may engage in “two-some” recreational or social activities.

The date is one of the primary interests of young people. It may afford an adolescent his or her greatest thrill. Failure to date may be regarded as a tragedy. Parental attitudes, lack of self-confidence, or supposedly unattractive appearance may deny an adolescent the satisfaction of one of his greatest interests. A situation of this kind is experienced more often by girls than by boys and requires intelligent help from adult associates.

Many high schools and colleges are meeting their responsibility to provide opportunities for boys and girls to participate in social activities. In some high schools there are classes in social as well as group dancing, in which boys and girls together receive instruction. School parties also are planned for the boys and girls. By participation in such school activities the timid, insecure adolescent can be helped to develop social poise and self-confidence.

One difficulty encountered by the school, however, is the fact that adolescent girls tend to be interested in “older men” as their dancing partners or for dates of any kind. Some adolescent boys, on the other hand, seem to be afraid of girls of their own age and are more at ease in a social situation with slightly older girls or with women. As adolescents become more mature, age differences appear to be less important. Interest then comes to center in the appearance, attitudes, and conversational

ability of the member of the opposite sex with whom the older adolescent or young adult shares social activities. In an attempt to discover differing social interests at ages 13 and 14 and 16 and 17, a study was conducted in which college students were invited to indicate their social interests at these respective ages.

The social interests of adolescents were discovered by asking college juniors, through introspection, to indicate preferred social activities, as they remembered them, for the stated age periods. The twelve most frequently named interests for each age were listed. The items, as they appear in Tables 18 and 19, were then given to other college students for the purpose of ranking in "the order of your greatest interest when you were at each age listed." Involved in the study were 160 college students (100 women, 60 men). The rank order of the items is given separately for men and women.

Table 18. Social Interests at Ages 13-14 as Ranked by 160 College Juniors

<i>Rank</i>		<i>Social interest</i>
<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	
7	5	Attending parties (school and neighborhood)
8	4	Attending social gatherings
3	1	Finding a place in peer group
5	3	Being neat in appearance
2	9	Participating in sports activities
9	6	Wearing attractive clothes
10	7	Participating in dancing
6	10	Collecting items of interest
1	2	Having a best friend of the same sex
4	8	Attending motion pictures
11	11	Smoking cigarettes
12	12	Writing poetry

There appears to be some difference between the sexes in the extent of social interest as ranked by these students. For example, the item "Participating in Sports Activities" is ranked higher by the men for both age groups. The rank order of two items is reversed between the sexes, thus indicating a difference of interest in these items, e.g., "Participating in Dancing," and "Collecting Items of Interest." Apparently girls aged 13-14 have greater interest in dancing than do boys; boys have a greater interest in collecting than do girls.

The differences in rank of items seem to become less as both move into older age groups. The items in which the spread of difference is

Table 19. Social Interests at Ages 16-17 as Ranked by 160 College Juniors

Rank		Social interest
Men	Women	
1	1	Developing social skills
4	3	Attending parties
8	5	Becoming a member of a social club
7	9	Attending dances
3	2	Being concerned about dress and appearance
2	8	Participating in sports
9	6	Having twosome dates
5	4	Impressing members of the opposite sex
11	10	Attending picnics
10	12	Attending motion pictures
12	11	Choosing a mate
6	7	Becoming independent of parents

more than one rank. Difference are "Participating in Sports Activities" referred to earlier, "Becoming a Member of a Social Club," and "Having Twosome Dates." Girls appear to have stronger interest in these social activities during ages 16-17 than do boys.

Recreational interests. The kinds of recreational interests developed by adolescents and the leisure-time activities in which they are likely to engage are determined to a great extent by available opportunities. The adolescent whose family enjoys a better-than-average socioeconomic status can develop interests and fulfill them to an extent that is almost, if not entirely, impossible for the adolescent whose parents are among the underprivileged.

Recreational and social interests and activities are closely allied. In both areas of interests adolescents differ in what they wish to do with their leisure time from what gave them pleasure during childhood. Also, recreational interests take on new forms from early adolescence to early adulthood.

Recreational activity or play can be thought of as activity in which an individual engages solely for the pleasure he experiences therefrom. This is true of most child play. For the adolescent recreation may possess elements of cultural or educational value. In both instances, however, the reason for participation is the interest of the growing person in a form of leisure-time activity.

Games and Sports. Adolescents are keenly interested in organized games. Both boys and girls engage in team activity. The bright as well as the dull find here a common interest. Participation in athletics is one of

the most desired forms of activity to most teen-age boys and to some girls. The average high school or college provides for student participation in organized games such as basketball, football, and baseball.

Team play possesses interest factors not only for the participant but also for those who watch the game and root enthusiastically for their team. Too, in team play young people learn the value of group cooperation. In the past, strenuous play was limited almost entirely to boys; at present, however, girls also are engaging in basketball and baseball games, but the rules for girls' teams are aimed to prevent some of the "roughness" that may be characteristic of the play of boys.

There is much discussion concerning the value of interschool competition, especially on the high school level. Studies may be neglected by the team members unless the school maintains a relatively high standard of scholarship as a requirement for playing. School interest in winning a game may run so high that an undue amount of time and energy is expended on practice. Often only a few members of the student body participate actively. As a result, some high schools place emphasis on the formation of many school teams that compete among themselves. This practice encourages many adolescents to satisfy their interest in play activity and to achieve muscular development.

During the early and middle years of adolescence there is great interest in participation in games and sports. Older adolescents, except for the relatively few who have become school or community heroes because of their superior achievement in athletics, shift their interest from sports to other social and recreational activities such as dating, dancing, or watching big-league games.

Radio, Television, and Motion Pictures. Adolescents are no less interested in radio, television, and motion-picture programs than they were as children, but they become much more discriminating. Girls tend to continue their interest in romantic plays, but they want the programs to be realistic and well presented. Boys of junior high school age prefer mystery stories to the wild West shows that thrilled them as children. Older adolescents of both sexes seem to be most interested in programs that present comedy, popular song and dance, and historic, romantic, and general drama. They also show some interest in programs dealing with political events and international affairs.

In homes where there are television sets, children are avid watchers of programs dealing with their interests. Attendance at motion-picture theaters has decreased somewhat for all age groups since the advent of television. Adolescents, however, still seem to prefer the motion pictures. This is largely because of an interest connected with going there with a member of the other sex, thus engaging in a social activity away from the home. One adolescent girl expressed her attitude in these words,

"Television is fine. Some of the programs are very interesting, but everyone has to keep quiet. I like to talk."

Reading. Interest in reading for enjoyment is strong for both sexes during adolescence. Unless other activities interfere, young people spend many hours reading their favorite newspapers, magazines, and books. The type of reading material preferred differs in terms of degree of intelligence, sex, and family status.

Interest in comics begun during childhood appears to persist during adolescence. Both boys and girls enjoy reading newspapers. To the extent that they are motivated in school to keep up with daily world happenings, both boys and girls evince interest in newspaper reports of national and world politics and of social conditions. Of greater interest to boys, however, are the sports pages, and to girls the woman's page and reviews of motion pictures. Crime news and advertisements have some appeal.

Magazines are popular, but the type read depends upon the intellectual status, age, and sex of the adolescent. The duller adolescent, especially if his financial allowance is limited, likes the cheaper, more popular magazine; the more intelligent boys and girls generally read those magazines that can be found in the home, with a few additions of their own choice. In general, adolescent boys prefer magazines that deal with science and mechanics, adventure, and the lives of heroic men. Although girls may show some interest in periodicals read by boys, they continue throughout adolescence to prefer magazines containing romantic stories and adult fiction, and, in some cases, home-interest magazines.

Probably because of their greater availability, adolescents tend to read more magazines than books. The public libraries, however, offer splendid reading opportunities for young people. Hence many adolescents are constant patrons of their local library. In book choice, boys and girls usually follow their magazine reading interests. Girls give evidence of greater interest in the reading of poetry than do boys. During this age period girls also show interest in long stories, while boys prefer shorter articles or stories. There are some boys, however, who are intensely interested in long adventure stories or biographies.

Unfortunately, too many adolescents lack interest in the writings of authors included among the school's required reading. The study of literature on the high school and college level is aimed at the development of good reading interests among young people. If the school's purpose fails, one reason for the failure probably can be found in inadequate teacher motivation and nonstimulating teaching methods.

Vocational selection. The child's interest in glamorous vocational activities may persist with modifications well into adolescence. The boy gradually shifts from interest in adventuresome fields of activity to a desire

to become a brilliant and successful professional worker. As the girl loses her interest in becoming a motion-picture star, she is likely to turn her attention to humanitarian vocations. Young people tend to be extremely altruistic. They are eager to be of service. A boy whose pet dog becomes ill or dies decides to become a veterinarian. A girl who helps a sick member of her family believes that she should become a nurse.

The vocational interests of most adolescent boys are unrealistic. By the time they reach middle adolescence they are motivated in their career selection by the prestige of a vocational field rather than by its service opportunities. Some boys dream about gaining great fortunes, either through business activities or by discovering hidden treasures. They give little attention to their own abilities or to the requirements of their chosen field. During their later adolescent years boys become more interested in selecting an occupational field that will give them financial security, accompanied by prestige if possible, but not necessarily.

The problems associated with the selection of a vocation are not so serious for adolescent girls as for boys. For most girls the primary interest is eventual marriage to a man who can support her and their children. Modern girls recognize the fact that marriage may not come as soon as they might wish. Hence they need to fill the years before marriage with one or another form of work activity. Those who can afford to do so go to college and prepare themselves for one or another professional career. Girls on a lower socioeconomic level must prepare themselves for entering the world of work, either upon graduation from high school or by the time they reach the age of 17. Choices are limited for these girls. Their chief interest usually is related to the already crowded secretarial field. They then may have to become industrial workers, seeking release from these activities through marriage.

Vocational interests of adolescents may be influenced by the occupational activities of members of the family or older friends who have achieved success in their field. They also may be affected by the attitudes of members of their peer group. Parental interests may differ from those of their children. This poses a problem of adjustment. Available opportunities also may constitute a factor to be considered by the adolescent as he attempts to discover his vocational interest and perhaps to achieve it.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADOLESCENT ATTITUDES

An individual is known by his expressed attitudes. These are individual and personal, and relate to the way a person thinks or behaves in situations. The feeling tones that accompany each experience constitute the quality components out of which attitudes are constructed. As an individual is stimulated by an idea, an activity, an object, or another person,

he makes certain responses in the form of approval or disapproval, i.e., he is kindly or unkindly, friendly or unfriendly, critical or uncritical, tolerant or intolerant. The previous experiences of an individual determine in large part the acceptance or rejection that is aroused within him by the forces and influences in the total situation.

The nature of attitude. Every human experience is accompanied by feeling tones and affective responses. Sensations possess feeling aspects of pleasantness or unpleasantness, satisfyingness or annoyance. The summation of these experiences constitutes a feeling tone or affective experience. These human qualities or attitudes influence an individual's thoughts, interests, and behavior. Joy and sorrow result from the habit patterns that are built day by day out of an individual's many experiences.

Attitudes constitute values that relate to self and are quite subjective. An individual is concerned about the things that are of special interest to him or that affect him directly. One person will experience concern about a different set of problems, a different possession, a different situation, a different person, or a different condition than will another. Each individual evaluates and appraises situations or issues in terms of his degree of interest in, and attitude toward, them.

Behavior, then, is determined by attitudes and affective qualities. Attitudes become dynamic forces in human behavior. They give mental set to experience. In a conflict situation, the more intense is the desire, the stronger is the accompanying attitude. An individual's attitudes do not necessarily remain constant toward a person or situation. Nevertheless, a young person has a predominant attitude toward his work, other people, authority, parents, or world conditions. Fortunately, however, these attitudes change under conditions that seem to be beneficial to the adolescent.

The power of attitudes. Attitudes can exert a potent influence upon an adolescent. His attitudes are developing moment by moment. Some of them are formed without direction; others are the result of careful planning by a person—or persons—who desires to encourage the development of certain wholesome attitudes in others. One function of teaching is that of stimulating young people toward the acquisition of attitudes that are individually and socially desirable. Much of personal development and citizenship training is a matter of attitude formation.

Adolescents are great imitators of attitudes; these are caught as they are taught. Adolescents learn many of their attitudes from their parents, their teachers, and their other associates. Consequently, teen-agers tend to develop similar attitudes without always realizing that they are doing so. If the adolescent can learn to be of service to others, he gains in personality characteristics that are essential to winning appreciation from others.

The influence of unconscious attitudes. Adolescents do many things without an awareness of the forces that prompt their behavior. Much of their inner conflict is attributable to these unconscious attitudes. The force of these attitudes is not fully appreciated by adolescents because they are not aware of the effect of their behavior upon others; they do not recognize the fact that their motives may appear different to others than they had intended them to be. Attitudes of selfishness, insincerity, domination, or self-interest exhibited by an adolescent may not be known to him, but only to others. Grandmothers and in-laws usually are sincere in their belief that the advice given by them is unbiased and aimed at the total good of everyone concerned. They usually are unaware that their advice is resented and looked upon as coming from an intruder.

Unsocial attitudes should remain dormant in the unconscious. Hates, prejudices, and resentments are best left in an inactive state. It seems wise for an adolescent so to order his behavior that his attitudes are wholesome and aimed at socially desirable goals. The skilled and proficient worker builds into his habit patterns many attitudes that become a part of his everyday living. It is in retrospect that an adolescent appreciates the satisfactions that were his during his former experiences.

Attitudes as directive forces. An adolescent's thinking is influenced as his interests are considered in relationship to the environment. His behavior, in turn, is affected by the dynamic nature of sensory and perceptual experiences as they give rise to dominating ideas. The changes occurring among the ideas and thought processes, as these are experienced from time to time, are based upon the fact that one idea is in focus at one moment, a different one at another. The dominance of one idea over another is a selective process that is motivated by an individual's attitudes or feeling tones at the moment.

The directing influence of an attitude or an interest is apparent in an adolescent's responses to any given situation. If an individual is mentally ready to obtain information on a particular topic, he is likely to tie to or "read into" what is being said much more quickly than is the person whose mental set is different. For example, you have prepared a tasty drink containing fruit juices. As it is being praised by the guests, the question is asked, "Did you use lemon concentrate?" You may answer "Yes," since you believed that the question referred to the fact that you had used unadulterated fresh lemon and lime juice; but the individual who asked the question has in mind the frozen or canned juice called a "concentrate."

Opinion and attitudes. Expressed words often convey opinions rather than reflect deep-seated attitudes. A spoken or written expression may or may not reveal the actual beliefs or feelings of an individual. Attitudes revealed through behavior are more reliable in evaluating reactions or

thinking in situations or issues. Deep-seated attitudes are less likely to be affected by verbal expression than they are by actual circumstances that may exist at the moment.

In many situations an adolescent's expressed attitudes and his actual behavior are not in agreement. It is more important for him to live his "Excuse me" or "I am sorry" than it is that he merely verbalize those words. It is better to be tolerant than merely to discuss the importance of tolerance. Proper attitudes toward other people can be inculcated into an adolescent's behavior so that greater understanding of people different from himself can be achieved.

Adolescents usually express definite attitudes toward issues. When action is required, however, they may respond by behavior that is quite different from that expressed verbally toward the issue. If the behavior of one adolescent is approved by most members of a group, another adolescent who otherwise may disapprove the behavior also may express his approval of it. Yet when he is with another set of friends, he may criticize the faults of the individual whom he was ready and willing to praise earlier. This illustrates the influence of others on the expressed attitudes or opinions held by adolescents at any one time.

Since an adolescent is not always aware of all his attitudes, it may be difficult for him to distinguish clearly between an attitude and an opinion. Expressed opinions often are at variance with deep-seated attitudes, partly because individuals rationalize their beliefs. Hence an adolescent may appear to be tolerant toward others when their activities do not adversely affect his life. Attitudes reveal themselves in situations in which an individual's interests are at stake.

Characteristic adolescent attitudes. Although children, adolescents, and adults are more alike physically and psychologically than they are different, there are many variations or differences among individuals and within the individual himself. All adolescents seem to want to assert a rightfully developing attitude of independence and release from earlier accepted adult control. They are neither children nor adults. The more they recognize their anomalous position, the more likely they are to indulge in one or more of the vagaries that are characteristic of the adolescent period of development. The teen-ager may seem to defy adult authority in spite of, or perhaps because of, a realization of his insecurity.

A boy may become unduly aggressive; he may act as though his parents' chief function is to serve him and to cater to his wants; he may tend to wear sloppy or overconspicuous clothes; he may assume a superior attitude toward younger children as well as toward adults; at the same time, in various ways he may attempt to impress his peer groups, both boys and girls. An adolescent boy may become moody and unduly sensitive to the attitudes displayed toward him by others in his group, or he

may develop a boisterous, self-assured attitude that serves as a coverup of his inner feelings of insecurity.

For a teen-age boy to "lose face" among his peers is a major tragedy. Adults are not always aware of the things that may be tragic incidents. For example, a baby girl was born into a family of an 18-year-old boy. The lad loved his baby sister and was very proud of her. In fact, her cute ways became the subject of many talks between him and his pals. His mother made the mistake, however, of expecting this boy to take the baby for a daily airing in her carriage. Much as he liked her, this was going too far for the sensitive adolescent. What would his pals think of his being a nursemaid?

This boy was too well trained to disobey his mother's request, but, as he laughingly said later, he could have throttled the child. The fact that his friends admired the baby he was wheeling along the streets did not lessen his embarrassment. Perhaps indirectly this incident caused him later to major in pediatrics and place emphasis in his professional career upon child care and parental attitudes toward children.

The behavior of growing girls is as unpredictable as that of their brothers, if not more so. They also struggle for self-realization, usually in more subtle ways than boys. Since a girl tends to mature earlier than a boy, she is likely to become sensitive sooner to changing relations between the sexes. Her tentative attempts to attract boys' attention may take various forms such as coyness, affected mannerisms and speech, day-dreaming, apparent indifference to boys or rudeness in their presence, extremes of dress, make-up, and hairdo, or even encouragement of, and participation in, more or less serious petting activities.

Attitude problems of adolescents. The adolescent's attitudes are rooted in his personal constitution. His physical constitution becomes to him an important element in his relationships with others. His behavior is affected by such factors as his physical size, uniformity of physical features, health, and degree of emotional stability and energy. These are significant to him because of the way in which they may influence the attitudes of others toward him. Socially undesirable attitudes may be traced to an overemphasis upon any one or more of the afore-mentioned conditions.

The behavior of elders that interferes with an adolescent's freedom may stimulate antagonisms within him. The teen-ager believes that adults are intolerant of adolescent wishes, interests, and behavior. The adolescent considers himself to be open-minded; yet he has many deep biases based upon his desires and felt needs. He often is motivated by an attitude of self-sufficiency or a belief in his rightness. Adults too have their own biases toward their work, family experiences, and other factors that affect their life. The kind of attitudes displayed by adults in the presence

of adolescents may cause the latter to develop either desirable attitudes or attitudes of bitterness or of personal futility.

Overaggressive teen-agers often are permitted to behave in such ways as to develop habits that interfere with their present and later interpersonal relationships. Some adolescents become demanding for the fulfillment of their desires. They are likely to increase these selfish demands as they grow and develop unless someone assists them in redirecting self-aggrandizing motives. This clearly becomes the duty of parents and teachers. Parents often are torn between what they think is their duty and what they believe may be expected of them. Teachers are becoming more responsive to social pressure in their dealings with adolescents.

In general, an adolescent's attitudes are outgoing. He often is driven by an urge to reform the world. Although his attitudes toward a child or an older person may be one of impatience, the teen-ager has a kindly feeling toward children as a group and pity or sympathy for those who are many years his senior. His attitudes toward his own group, however, are conditioned by his immediate relationship with them. He may be resentful of those who possess superior advantages or who seem to receive more attention than he does. Also, he may exhibit an attitude of superiority toward other young people who appear to be less able or less successful than he is.

Overt expressions of attitudes toward the opposite sex. It is an observable phenomenon that as boys and girls approach the adolescent period, they begin to develop as individuals and to display attitudes toward members of the opposite sex that gradually come to differ markedly from their earlier childhood interpersonal relationships. These changing social attitudes result partly from newly awakened interests and urges that are rooted in physical and physiological growth changes. Adolescent social attitudes are influenced also by social pressures that affect themselves as well as their peer and older associates.

Adolescent attitudes toward themselves and their peer associates give evidence of subtle differences that are not completely understood by them and that change with increase in age. Girls may become shy in the presence of their former boy pals. They may "moon" over the pictures of popular motion-picture actors or television stars. Little cliques of preadolescent girls may display silly, giggling attitudes in the presence of boys, or may seem to evince an attitude of superiority to boys of their own age.

The preadolescent boy suddenly seems to lose interest in girls of his own age. With his boy pals, he tends to engage in games and other activities from which girls are excluded. Both boy and girl behavior represents a kind of "battle of the sexes," which is rooted in a developing but not

fully recognized awareness of one another that results from the glandular changes that are taking place within them. As the child approaches puberty, he comes to realize that his attitude toward the members of the other sex is different from what it was during childhood. His newer social approaches are uncertain unless his parents have prepared him for his changing social status and situations.

In their evaluation of, or their attitudes toward, the members of the opposite sex, girls are supposed to stress the possession of good looks, brawn rather than brains, and a "smooth line." Boys are expected by adults to fall for a "cute trick," extremes of dress and make-up, a minimum of intelligence, and a tendency to be "free and easy." Perhaps adults are mistaken. The data that follow give insight into the personal characteristics of boys and girls that are admired or disliked by members of the opposite sex.

In order to discover more clearly the attitudes of teen-agers, a study was made concerning what young people consider to be desirable and undesirable qualities in their opposite-sex associates. About 4,900 young people (2,500 girls, 2,360 boys), representing a cross section of junior high school and senior high school students in New York City and environs, were asked to write answers to the following questions:¹

1. What are the personality characteristics that you admire in girls (boys)?
2. What traits do you dislike in girls (boys)?
3. What do you do to increase your popularity with the girls (boys) whom you know?

Resulting data were organized according to the age of the adolescents responding: the younger group, ages 12 through 14; the older adolescents, ages 16 through 18. Most of the younger teen-agers emphasized physical characteristics and overt behavior. The more mature teen-agers stressed attitudes and behavior associated with inner motivations and character traits. There were certain qualities, however, that were considered desirable by most teen-agers. The characteristics of girls admired by boys and of boys admired by girls are presented in Table 20. The items are listed in the order of frequency of expressed interest by the teen-agers responding. Personality traits of boys disliked by girls and traits of girls disliked by boys are presented in Table 21. The attempts made by each sex to impress members of the other sex are presented in Table 22.

Younger girls dislike boys who want to kiss and "paw" them. Many of the younger boys like girls who have a good figure and with whom they

¹The teachers who submitted these questions to their students are enrolled in the graduate guidance and counseling program at Brooklyn College.

can have fun, but dislike girls who are fresh and try to act older than they are. A few of the younger boys say that they do not like anything about girls or that they usually are nuisances. Girls like boys who are older than themselves. They like boys who are willing to meet a girl's parents and who like sports and hard work. They dislike hot-tempered, rude boys, and those who take a girl to a party and then pay no attention to her.

*Table 20. Personality Traits Admired by Members of the Opposite Sex**

<i>Personality traits of girls admired by boys</i>	<i>Personality traits of boys admired by girls</i>
Good personality	Good personality
Good-looking beautiful face, dress, and figure	Good looking not necessarily handsome
Look nice in a bathing suit	Good character
Neatness and cleanliness	Neatness
Helpful to others	Clean and appropriate dress
Consideration for others	Intelligent
Appropriate dress	Good conversationalist
Dependable	Consideration for a girl's wishes
Good talker	Respect for girls not fresh
Good listener	Willingness to take a girl on dates
Friendliness	Boy to be older than girl
Ability to dance	Good manners
Good manners	Good natured
Acts her age	Smart in school
Courtesy	Clean-shaved and hair cut
Politeness	Clean-minded
No show-off	Kind, generous, tall
Interest in hobbies of boys	Acts his age
Modest but not shy	Has a sense of humor
Act grown-up, not like a baby	Not too shy
Clean-minded	Honest and fair
Able to take a joke	Respect for rights of girl
	Punctuality
	Not to try to be a big shot
	Able to get along with others
	Has self-control
	The way he kisses
	Good listener

Boys in their later teens seem to admire girls who are even-tempered, lively, less intelligent than the boy (but not stupid), a good listener, modest, and sincere. Many of the older boys object to a girl's excessive use of make-up and the wearing of slacks or sweaters that exaggerate her figure. Some of the boys prefer a girl to wear her hair long rather than too short.

* Tables 20-22 and the accompanying interpretation copyrighted by L. D. Crow, 1955.

Table 21. Personality Traits Disliked by Members of the Opposite Sex

<i>Traits of girls disliked by boys</i>	<i>Traits of boys disliked by girls</i>
Sloppiness of appearance	Sloppiness of appearance
Overweight or underweight	Boastfulness
Tendency to flirt or "two-time"	Act like big shots
Talk too much	Display poor manners
Extremes of dress	Stinginess
Little regard for money	Being conceited
Too much interest in self	Poorly groomed
Lack of punctuality	Laziness
Snobbishness	Foolish behavior at parties
Talk about other dates	Exhibit fresh behavior
Too much make-up	Shyness
Sulking and pouting	Smoking excessively
Being conceited	Using bad language
Bites nails	Discourtesy to elders
Smokes and drinks	Talks too much
Giggling or talebearer	Wants to be center of attention
Inability to dance	Moodiness
Immature behavior	Sponging off other boys
Mingling with a fast crowd	Asking for date at last minute

Table 22. Attempts Made by Boys and Girls to Increase Their Popularity with Members of the Opposite Sex

<i>Attempts made by boys to impress girls</i>	<i>Attempts made by girls to impress boys</i>
Develop good taste in dress	Become careful about appearance
Participate in school activities	Try to be friendly
Avoid annoying habits in school	Develop sincerity
Be considerate of the other person	Be popular with girls also
Develop similar interests	Try not to be catty
Become lively	Not go to expensive places on a date
Be as friendly as possible	Be a good conversationalist
Eliminate all annoying habits	Go in for school activities
Always be dependable	Avoid ridicule of others
Be polite to everyone	Have respect for elders

Many of the older adolescents (both boys and girls) stress as desirable the possession of qualities such as "good character," consideration for older people, mature behavior self-respect, and ambition. Some girls say that they do not want boys to spend money on them unless the boy has earned the money. Although they do not say specifically that they like only young people who have the same religious affiliation as themselves, they do seem to approve of a young person's having some religious convictions.

The results of this study reveal the sound thinking, high ideals, and

wholesome attitudes of many adolescents. Whether or not their expressed likes or dislikes actually are the motivating forces that influence their own choice of girl or boy associates, they at least give evidence of knowing what should be admired. Several sets of individual responses are cited below.

Traits or qualities admired in boys by 14-year-old girls.

(A) To be quite frank the first thing I look for is looks. Then I make sure that the boy is not a lemon. I like a boy who can protect me. I also like a boy who is possessive. The boy should be mature and well mannered. I hate cry babies. I like boys who know when to kid around and when to be serious. I like a boy who does not whistle at another girl when I'm around. I like a boy to be well-groomed.

(B) I like a boy who has good manners and isn't a show off; a boy who acts his age and not like a baby; a boy who knows how to get along with people; a boy who would not leave me flat when he sees another girl; a boy who isn't a sloppy dresser, eater, etc.

(C) Before I like a boy I look for many things. Above all, he must have a pleasing personality. That is, he should be clean and neat, courteous, kind and considerate. He should show respect for me and he should be truthful. He should be a nice dresser. I don't actually care if he's good looking or not, but of course it helps, and he should not be too forward. He should be sensible and not silly.

(D) The kind of boy I admire is a boy who is clean, neat and respected. I would like the boy to be a little taller than I am and a little smarter. The boy must also have a good sense of humor and must stick up for me. He should have good manners, not be too shy, and have a good disposition. I also admire a boy who can tell the truth, is not dull, and knows how to dance.

Traits or qualities admired in girls by 14-year-old boys.

(A) I like a girl who acts like a girl and not like a tom boy. A girl who is pretty and talks nice, and a girl who doesn't hang around with a bunch of boys or tough girls.

(B) I admire a girl's appearance, or whether she is neat or whether she is untidy. I would like her to be of average intelligence. I don't like girls who put on too much make-up or who giggle or pass notes around the classroom. I would not like her to look like something from a nightmare.

Traits admired in boys by 17-year-old girls.

(A) I like a boy with intelligence, someone who knows how to talk about other things than movies and baseball, etc. I also like good looks even though they are only skin deep. The reason why I like good looks is that first impressions are very important and you notice a person's looks before anything else. I like a boy who is thoughtful and considerate.

(B) At present I like all the traits my boy friend has. He's considerate, polite, ambitious, intelligent, punctual, kind, thoughtful, complimentary, just

affectionate enough, and he has a wonderful personality which allows him to mix with all groups of any ages. To top it off, he's dark and handsome.

(C) First he must be kind and considerate of me. When I go out with a boy I want him to keep up his end of the conversation. He does not have to take me to a big night club to show me a good time. We can have a good time at the movies if he is a pleasant fellow. He should be easy to get along with and be willing to earn the money he spends on a girl. He must be good looking, be a good dancer, well-bred, smarter than myself, have a sense of humor and be able to take teasing.

(D) The boy of my dreams must have a good personality, be lots of fun to be with but not loud or embarrassing in any way. Most boys feel that being loud and having a good personality are synonymous. They are wrong, since people are most usually attracted to someone who is quiet and a good listener. I like a boy who is firm and stands up for what he thinks is right. I like a boy who can easily mingle with any crowd, young or old, without feeling frustrated. Most of all I like a boy who is considerate of his date and the people he is with. I must look up to the boy I like. Therefore, he must have a sense of responsibility and be able to fulfill his obligations.

Traits admired in girls by 17-year-old boys.

(A) I like a friendly smile. I like a good dresser at the right time. I like a girl with plenty of common sense at parties and dates. I like a girl to be a good dancer, a lot of fun, and to have a good sense of humor at the right time. I like a girl who does not stand on ceremony and can make the most of everything. I like a girl to have a nice form.

(B) I like girls to be neat, on time for appointments, to have a man's mechanical mind, to be able to "rough it," to be free and easy, to be able to carry on an intelligent conversation, to be adaptable to all social positions into which we may go, to be musically inclined, and to be a good dancer.

Traits disliked in boys by 17-year-old girls.

I hate a boy who is a flirt and makes passes at other girls when out on a date. I dislike insincerity. Even though I am not punctual I dislike a boy who is late for a date. I dislike a boy who uses a line to his advantage, who likes to impress you with money, who reads only comics and is proud of the fact, who is cheap, who loves to be pampered, who forgets that you are around but makes it quite obvious that he wants attention. I dislike a boy who is a poor dancer, who constantly brags, who will flirt with every girl he sees while with you. I dislike a boy who does not shave or who is a flashy dresser or who is conceited. I dislike a boy who is cheap, quiet, moody, sensitive, unreliable, dishonest, or who lies, drinks excessively or uses profane language.

Traits disliked in girls by 17-year-old boys.

I dislike a girl who talks too much, who dresses sloppy, who thinks she is cute and isn't. I dislike a girl who gossips. I hate a girl who thinks she is "it." I hate loud mouths. I hate smokers. I hate girls who are always going to sleep. I dislike girls who talk too much. I dislike girls who talk about their last date

when they are out with you. I dislike girls who like nothing but dancing, or girls who do not dance and girls who forget that they are your date.²

Adolescent interests and behavior in relation to parents. Whether a growing boy or an adolescent girl causes parents greater concern is a moot question. Since the girl usually is expected to be more amenable to parental direction than the boy, the teen-age girl may find her problem of growing up different from that of the boy, but not easier. Her forms of adolescent rebellion are likely to be centered in the family. Home customs and conditions sometimes receive teen-age girl disapproval. She may be "ashamed" of her parents' mannerisms, speech patterns, and dress modes. Furniture arrangement or old-fashioned furnishings may "make it impossible" for her to take her friends into the home. The presence of younger children in the home, especially when they engage in teasing their older sister, can be a cause of youthful frustration unless parents are able to cope with the situation.

A teen-age girl seems to tend more than a boy toward the development of intense but short-lived fads and fancies. Joan, the 15-year-old daughter of socially and economically middle-class parents, was fortunate enough to have her own room. She decided that her room was entirely too conventional. Her mother wisely agreed to permit Joan to redecorate the room if the girl herself did the work and kept the cost low. Joan gleefully accepted the challenge. She spent months planning, painting, and rearranging. The results? The room was a startling study in severe black and white: black walls and floor, white furniture, inexpensive white draperies and bedspread. No hint of any other color was permitted. Never before had Joan been so careful about keeping her clothing in closets and dresser drawers. Nothing must interfere with her color scheme. For another month the room was the object of great admiration among her girl companions, some of whom received permission to follow her example.

During this period Joan's mother commented upon the fact that Joan's interest in the ultramodern would wane. The mother was right. Before a year had passed, the girl began to be annoyed by her earlier "childish" ideas, and the room was again redecorated. This time it oozed dainty, lacy femininity.

Many examples might be cited similar to the foregoing. Manners, dress, hairdo, and objects of adoration keep changing as the adolescent attempts in one way after another to assert himself as a person with all the rights and privileges that are owed him by adults. Parents need to understand their teen-age children, and, at the same time with kindly firmness, guide adolescent vagaries. No rigid rules can be constructed whereby all par-

²L. D. Crow, "Personality Traits Admired by Adolescents," *The Clearing House*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 25-26, September 1954.

ents can be expected to influence all adolescent attitudes and behavior. The mental and emotional characteristics of both parents and adolescents enter the situation.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES

Attitude qualities are not found in isolation. Attitudes in relation to an individual have emanated from his biological drives, his mental sets, his state of readiness, his verbal responses, his muscular adjustment, or his generalized behavior. These are interrelated in various ways and serve to color opinion. The attitudes possessed by a particular person reflect in large part the kinds of environment that have had an impact upon the individual.

Attitudes toward the behavior of others. Social behavior is understood by considering the attitudes aroused in a group or crowd which conform to the characteristic behavior of the particular group. Thus, in order to understand adolescent attitudes it is necessary to know something concerning the differences in views and values which characterize the different subcultures in which adolescents mature.

Each adolescent has a readiness to respond to the presence of people, regardless of who they are. Each has a set attitude to conform to the behavior expected of him by others. Certain attitudes prevail in many social situations concerning problems such as courtesy of the road or respect for the rights of others. This readiness promotes certain behavior actions and inhibits others. In fact, attitudes toward cooperation, courtesy, or dignity determine the nature of an adolescent's behavior.

Attitudes are contagious and, as they appear in the behavior of others, are likely also to be displayed by adolescents. Suggestion stimulates attitudes that have social values. Social attitudes should be started early so that by the time an individual becomes a teen-ager, he already has developed wholesome attitudes toward others, regardless of race, color, or creed.

The growing person discovers the values of life through associating with others. A baseball game is enjoyed partly because an individual's friends enjoy it; picnics are selected activities partly because others have had fun at them; a play, a toy, an automobile, or anything that can be mentioned is enjoyed to some extent because others have had satisfying emotional experiences in connection with it. The adolescent who matures among people who display wholesome personal attitudes enjoys a richness of living that is worthy of imitation.

Even though a high school student has had no personal experiences with a teacher, he is likely to regard him favorably if or when other students report that he is "tops." It is not until the student himself becomes

a member of the teacher's class, however, that an individual attitude is formed. Although the adolescent is mentally set to like the teacher, he must discover for himself that the adult knows his subject matter, understands that adolescents are not children, has high but fair standards of learner accomplishment, and evaluates learner achievement justly and intelligently. Through experiences of this kind good adolescent attitudes toward teachers are developed.

Racial and national attitudes. The development of suitable attitudes toward racial, national, and religious groups is one of the great needs of today. The one-world ideal hinges upon the ability of civilization to eliminate bias, prejudice, and intolerance. In discussing "Attitude Development for International Understanding," one of the authors suggested:³

Educational objectives are expanding in their meaning to include considerations that now extend well beyond the national boundaries of any one nation. Hence, attention must be given to developing adolescent orientation toward national attitudes as well as toward international responsibilities. Gone are the days when any nation could live unto itself alone. World conditions today require that the education of teachers include not only an understanding of individual learners but also an appreciation of the attitudes and customs of people everywhere.

A nation has individuality as much as does a child. The interests, habits, and customs peculiar to itself constitute the rightful heritage of a particular polity. An individual should be encouraged to develop his potential abilities to the fullest. Likewise should a nation be given a chance to promote its own customs, cultures, and mores for the purpose of becoming a successful unit in the family of nations. The pattern of human relationships that is being developed in any one nation must become a living part of the ideational background of all young people of that country. To this end both national and international indoctrination should go hand in hand toward the achievement of the larger ideal of international understanding, respect, and peace.

All should be alerted to an understanding of international needs and to an appreciation of the interrelationships that exist among and between nations. As we attempt to inculcate democratic attitudes and ideals, however, we must not make the mistake of believing that we should pattern our procedures upon the models set by other countries, and especially we must *not* attempt to impose our form of democratic living upon any other nation. Each nation should be permitted its own individuality, and be given freedom in the educational processes that may be utilized to maintain it. Interference from another nation should not be tolerated by any nation if the purpose of such interference is aimed at changing drastically those traditions which characterize it as a nation. Let teachers be educated, therefore, so that through their attitudes and behavior they will help their students develop a respect for the rights of nations just as we ask respect for the rights of individuals within a

³L. D. Crow, "Attitude Development for International Understanding," *The American School Board Journal*, pp. 25-26, December, 1953.

nation. International understanding must rest upon mutual appreciation of the rights and responsibilities that are practiced by teachers and students in all lands.

Important traits are exhibited by teachers who have shown that they have a fundamental understanding of human values in the area of national and international relationships. *The internationally-minded teacher shows through his attitude and behavior that:*

1. He can work with individuals as individuals and assist them in the development of an understanding of the larger society in which they live.
2. He is mindful of his status in his family, in his city, in his state, and in his nation, but at the same time he can be world-minded.
3. He has an appreciation of individuals without regard to race, color, or religion.
4. He is concerned with the culture and the problems of all national groups, wherever they may be.
5. He believes that desirable influences should be shared by all people.
6. He wishes to achieve these goals without involving himself or his learners in any undesirable foreign entanglements.
7. He has patience, courage, and a deep faith in people and their motives.
8. His purpose is to help individuals develop the capacity to live together in harmony in a world united.
9. He is aware that desirable human relationships must be developed from within; they cannot be purchased in any form that is ready for use.

In a consideration of "No Matter Where They Live," one of the authors further elaborates:⁴

International understanding and world-mindedness are becoming increasingly necessary aspects of our daily living. We are in need of a faith in people that will include individuals from all lands, the development of sincere interest in people as persons without reference to nationality. The value of such an attitude was demonstrated by the writer's experiences with Japanese educators during a year's assignment (1950-51) as visiting expert in Japanese teacher education.

Emphasizing Mutual Rights

These Japanese reflect the attitudes of peoples of all nations concerning the friendly relations that should exist among all individuals. There is evidence that they have gained much from the orientation given by the American consultants. The attempt to inculcate self-discipline based upon decision making by each child is most gratifying. Development of this freedom of expression is enabling the child to make the kinds of decision that will benefit him as well as others.

These professors gained some of the know-how of training learners to think

⁴L. D. Crow, "No Matter Where They Live," *Phi Delta Kappan*, vol. 35, no. 8, pp. 333-335, May, 1954.

in terms of their own welfare and that of other members of the group. The value of freedom of behavior that also gives consideration to the rights of other members of the group was emphasized.

Japanese educators are attempting to provide learning conditions conducive to desirable child development. For example, fear as a means of discipline is being minimized. A wholesome respect for good manners, good morals and the rights of others is stressed. Group values are sought by instilling attitudes of respect toward others while at the same time developing a desire to improve mentally and emotionally.

Special attention is being given to the problem of attitude development. The schools and parent-teacher groups are working together in an attempt to instill desirable learner attitudes toward the home, the school, friends, employers and employees. Educators realize that individual attitudes are constantly developing and that parents and teachers should stimulate young people toward the development of attitudes that are individually and socially desirable. Correct behavior in home and in school is encouraged.

Influence Can Be Endless

The young are great imitators of adult behavior. Consequently, the former tend to acquire the attitudes of the elders with whom they associate. It has been gratifying, as shown in their letters to me, to learn that the Japanese educators with whom I worked have not lost the fine attitudes they were developing while I was in Japan. Perhaps most important is the fact that they are trying consciously to inculcate similar attitudes among their college students. Since these students are the future teachers in Japan, the influence can be endless.

I believe that my Japanese friends have come to realize that teacher example, even on the college level, plays a dominant role in individual development. Consequently, attitudes displayed will influence greatly the attainment of the goal of friendship among the people of the world. Through precept and example teachers can exhibit desirable attitudes toward other nations and nationals. A teacher's eventual effectiveness and worth perhaps depend mostly upon the extent of his influence upon his learners.

I sincerely hope that my Japanese co-workers have become convinced that:

1. Teachers should develop an appreciation of the problems basic to international friendship.
2. Men and women responsible for the education of youth should make conscious efforts to attain the goal of better understanding among the people of respective nations.
3. International friendships rest upon mutual appreciation of *rights* and *responsibilities* as practiced by the teachers, students and other responsible leaders of all nations.
4. Respect for one another, combined with a sincere attempt to bridge superficial differences, can do much to spread that ideal of international co-operation expressing itself in personal friendliness and mutual give and take. When one pushes aside superficialities and prejudices, people are people, no matter where they live.

The role of attitudes in behavior motivation. Attitudes are basic behavior motivators. In this chapter the authors have attempted to present an overview of the kind of attitudes exhibited by adolescents and the ways in which attitudinal tendencies influence the various phases of teen-age personal and social adjustments. To clarify the discussion, descriptions, explanations, and illustrations have included home, school, vocational, and social experiences.

The reader will find that in the remaining chapters of Part III, as well as in all of Part IV, an adolescent's attitude constitutes the foundation upon which is built the kind of personality he eventually achieves. From this point onward attention will be directed toward the functioning of attitudes as behavior motivators and as adjustment or maladjustment inducers.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Differentiate between interest and attitude.
2. Cite an instance in your experience in which one of your strong interests led to the arousal of an equally strong attitude toward certain people or situations.
3. Compare your radio, television, motion-picture, and reading interests as a child, as a young adolescent, and at present. Discuss likenesses and differences.
4. Recall five of your interests as a child (exclude those mentioned in Question 3) and the ways in which you expressed them. List these activities. Then, next to each, indicate (*a*) the activity through which you attempted to satisfy the same interests when you were 15 years old, and (*b*) how these interests are expressed at present.
5. What likenesses do you find to exist between your present interests and those of a close friend of the opposite sex? What differences?
6. Select five of your classmates and list what seem to you to be their two strongest interests. How did you arrive at your conclusions?
7. Make a similar evaluation of the interests of your parents or of two other adults. What differences, if any, do you find between the interests of your own-age group and those of older adults? Explain.
8. Give instances of teacher motivation of your study interest in a subject area which you already had started to dislike.
9. Why do most college students seem to be interested in the study of psychology? Why do some students dislike mathematics?
10. If you have made your vocational plans and are preparing for entrance into a specific occupation, how did you arrive at your decision?
11. As you review in retrospect your early adolescent attitudes, which of them now appear to you to have been relatively unconscious at that time?
12. To what extent have you become aware of the attitudes that now influence your relationships with other persons? Be specific.
13. Try to analyze your opinion concerning the place of women in the

world of work. How have you arrived at your present opinion? By what factors has your opinion been influenced?

14. What were your attitudes during adolescence toward adult authority? What are they now? Give reasons for any changes in this respect.

15. What are the personality characteristics that you now like (dislike) in members of the opposite sex? How have your present attitudes changed from what they were as a child? As a young adolescent?

16. What is your opinion of present attempts to develop an attitude of world-mindedness among young people?

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Chapter 9

SEX BEHAVIOR OF ADOLESCENTS

Adolescent sexual adjustment constitutes a personal and social problem that begins early in adolescence and continues as a potent force during this period. Often there is conflict between adult standards and evolved adolescent codes of behavior pertaining to dating, petting, mate selection, courtship, and premarital or extramarital sexual intercourse. The achievement by young people of culturally acceptable attitudes toward their developing sex urges is a major problem not only for the adolescents themselves but for parents, school personnel, religious leaders, and workers in social and welfare agencies. The current increase of delinquency among young teen-agers, including sex experimentation and rape, is alerting thoughtful adults and adolescents to the needs of boys and girls during their growing-up years to be helped toward an understanding of the role of sex in an individual's life and the development of wholesome patterns of sex-stimulated behavior.

Chapter 4 dealt with the physical and physiological aspects of sexual growth and maturational processes during adolescence. We now shall consider, in terms of recent research findings, the development of adolescent sex-stimulated attitudes and behavior in relation to societal sex restrictions and taboos.

SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS OF SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT

The sex drive eventually becomes a powerful behavior motivating force in the life of most people. It usually develops gradually, from little or no manifestation of its presence during childhood to full maturation by the age of 18. Adolescents differ from one another in the rate and intensity of sexual development, however, and in the effect upon them of the emotional concomitants of the sex urge.

Importance of attitudes and knowledge. Many adults are coming to believe that there is an urgent need to provide adequate sex education for children and adolescents. There is no general agreement, however, concerning the best method of educational approach. Some parents are unable to meet the problems of sex guidance with the same objectivity and frankness that they employ in other areas of child training. Basic to this

parental attitude may be such factors as (1) uncertainty concerning the when, what, and how of appropriate education at the various developmental levels, (2) conflict between personal standards and socially condoned practices, and (3) parent-experienced sexual maladjustments.

It would seem that whatever is done in this area of education should start early in the home and continue throughout the adolescent years. Since the success of the training during adolescence rests upon what is done during the early years, it becomes important that wholesome attitudes toward sex be developed during childhood. Sometimes adults unconsciously embarrass children and young adolescents by seeming to shroud in mystery, or by subjecting to ribald jest, those aspects of sex that in themselves are suitable topics of discussion in the presence of young people. As a result of such adult behavior, a young person's attitude toward sex can be conditioned adversely long before he begins to mature physically and to experience sexual urges or desires.

No phase of human development represents an isolated process. Hence it can be understood readily that developing attitudes and behavior associated with sexual maturation tend to be influenced greatly by the direction taken by other aspects of development. It has been found that there is a significant relationship between constructive and emotionally non-disturbing sexual development during adolescence and wholesome childhood attitudes and behavior patterns. These include healthful habits of body care, energy-filled work and play activities, cheerful assumption of appropriate home and school responsibilities, friendly and cooperative relations with peer associates, and complete confidence in parents' interest in a child's problems and ability to help solve them.

As a result of unfavorable childhood experiences, many boys and girls bring with them into their prepubescent years a meager or negative background of preparation with which to meet adjustment problems associated with adolescent sexual development. The child who has been reared by rigid parents usually is fearful, shy, submissive, and perhaps bound by unrealistic convention.

Even though a child has been helped to develop socially cooperative attitudes and behavior habits, he may have received from his elders little or no adequate information concerning physical structure and sexual functions, or, still worse, have gathered from other young people a confusing mass of misinformation. Most children are curious about their origin, the relationship between their parents, and other matters that deal with sex. Their desire to become informed concerning them, especially during the later years of childhood, may represent a phase of the developing process. Hence when or if the overt signs of the onset of puberty appear without the young person's being properly prepared for these new experiences, the resulting shock or fear may interfere seriously with

his power to adjust objectively and without emotional turmoil to his changing physiological and psychological status.

Every pubescent or young adolescent experiences changing emotional reactions as accompaniments of the physical and glandular processes of growth and maturation. In common parlance, he is being inducted into the "mysteries of sex." Probably at no other time in his life does an individual need more help toward achieving a sensible and objective attitude in relationship to himself than he does at this stage of his development.

Many adolescents attempt to solve their own problems in this area of experience. A few adolescents, however, seek advice and help from adults. Unless the young adolescent has built up a close, understanding relationship with his parents, he is likely to take his questions concerning his new sex status to persons outside the home. Sympathetic religious leaders, teachers, and counselors often are chosen as the confidants of confused adolescents with problems in this area. Hence constructive personal guidance of this kind should be made available to young people by churches and secondary schools.

Changing heterosexual relationships. A normal or natural trend appears to operate from babyhood through adolescence in respect to a growing and maturing individual's attitudes toward members of the opposite sex. Scheinfeld's graphic presentation of the seven stages of boy-girl relationships (Figure 41) traces the heterosexual developmental steps from the infant's almost complete absorption with himself, through levels of changing and sex-differing attitudes, to the older adolescent's or young adult's displayed readiness for marriage.

Although the various pictured attitudes represent expected patterns of sexual development, we must remember that these periodic displays on the part of boys and girls of other-sex accepting, rejecting, and seeking are significant only to the extent that they are general trends that may not be characteristic of the heterosexually stimulated behavior of individual young people.

Most girls mature sexually earlier than boys. Consequently, young adolescent girls may annoy or amuse same-age boys by what the latter often refer to as "silly-girl giggling and nonsense." A girl who has older and younger brothers, however, may be extremely objective in her relations with boys, even during the supposed giggly, self-conscious pubescent stage of development. Similarly, a boy who has older and younger brothers and sisters may give little or no evidence of antagonism or aversion toward, or overgreat concern about, girls at any developmental stage. An only child who continuously has been "protected" by overanxious parents from association with members of the opposite sex not only may fail to exhibit varying heterosexually stimulated behavior

INFANCY-BABYHOOD
BOY AND GIRL INTERESTED
ONLY IN THEMSELVES



EARLY CHILDHOOD
SEEK COMPANIONSHIP
OF OTHER CHILDREN,
REGARDLESS OF SEX



ABOUT AGE EIGHT
BOYS PREFER TO
PLAY WITH BOYS,
GIRLS WITH GIRLS



AGES 10 TO 12
ANTAGONISM SHOWN
BETWEEN SEX GROUPS



AGES 13 TO 14
GIRLS BECOME INTERESTED
IN BOYS, TRY TO ATTRACT
THEIR ATTENTION,
BOYS ALOOF



AGES 14 TO 16
BOY GROUP ALSO SHOWS
INTEREST IN GIRLS,
SOME INDIVIDUALS BEGIN
TO PAIR OFF



AGES 16 TO 17, ON
"GOING OUT IN COUPLES"
BECOMES GENERAL



FIG. 41. The seven stages in boy-girl relationships. (Courtesy of A. Scheinfeld, *Women and Men*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1943. Used by permission.)

during the developmental years but, even with the approach of adulthood, may be shy and withdrawing in the presence of members of the opposite sex and, consciously or unconsciously, attempt to repress natural sex urges.

The general pattern of the development of heterosexual interest is relatively consistent for the majority of young people. Yet childhood experiences, environmental conditions, and cultural influences play major roles in determining the way in which, and the extent to which, an adolescent's overt behavior gives evidence of the functioning of his developing sex-stimulated urges and drives. For example, before adolescents "find" themselves in relation to peer members of the other sex, they may project their developing emotionalized feelings in the direction of an adult member of the same sex, often an admired and sympathetic teacher. The girl's "love" for an older woman is designated as a "crush"; a boy's extreme admiration for a man becomes a case of hero worship.

Homosexual relations with the older person rarely are desired or sought. The adolescent is likely to imitate the dress, mannerisms, and general behavior of the idealized adult. A girl may become so involved in her emotional regard for her crush that she follows her around the school, writes letters to her, telephones her at home and in various other ways makes a nuisance of herself, becomes extremely shy in the woman's presence, or is sensitive to any real or fancied slight or lack of attention on the part of the adult.

Adolescent crushes and hero worship appear to serve as natural outlets for newly experienced emotional needs. Situational factors may encourage the display of crush behavior, e.g., a girls' school staffed by women teachers only. Moreover, in some girls' schools every student must have for herself a crush about whose admirable and lovable qualities she boasts to her schoolmates. Adolescent idealization and daydreaming thus are satisfied in an emotion-releasing situation.

If a few women are added to the instructional staff of an all-boy school, the hero worship usually directed by the boys toward admired men teachers is diverted to the women, especially if the latter are relatively young, attractive, and friendly. The attitude of the boys toward their women teachers may resemble somewhat that of a crush. Similarly, a small minority of men instructors in a girls' school may serve as a stimulator of early heterosexual feelings.

In a coeducational secondary school, staffed by a faculty that includes a relatively even representation of both sexes, crushes and extreme hero worship rarely constitute serious problems of adolescent development. Moreover, if and when boys and girls are provided many opportunities to participate together in energy-releasing and pleasurable school-spon-

sored work and recreational projects, these activities serve as excellent mediums for the development of wholesome heterosexual relationships.

It is not unusual for a boy or girl to direct his or her first heterosexually-pointed interests toward an older member of the opposite sex. Since a girl matures sexually earlier than a boy of the same chronological age, she seeks the attention of older men. The object of her affection may be a glamorous motion-picture or television star; she collects pictures of him, and may spend many hours in gazing at them while she day-dreams about thrilling situations in which she is the heroine and he is the hero. It is a well-known fact that much of the fan mail received by successful young male entertainers is written by starry-eyed young adolescents.

A girl may develop a strong emotional attachment for an older man such as a close friend of the family. More frequently, however, she tends to lavish her "love" upon a male high school teacher. She may manifest her feelings in various ways: preparing her home assignments meticulously, lingering after class to ask questions or otherwise to focus his attention upon herself, gazing at him dreamily during class periods, becoming shy in his presence, or otherwise paralleling behavior that characterize crushes on women teachers. One difference is that adoration of an unmarried male teacher may take the form of regarding him as a possible mate when the girl is old enough to marry; if the man is married, the girl may experience deep jealousy of the wife who, in the young adolescent's opinion, is not worthy of her great honor. The situation becomes almost unbearable if the girl meets the woman and is forced to watch the latter's possessive attitude toward her husband.

The young adolescent boy, consciously or unconsciously recognizing the greater maturity of his age-level girl schoolmates, usually is awkward and unsure in their presence and resents their seemingly cruel and superior attitude toward him. He seeks the attention of older women, often an admired young teacher who bolsters his self-esteem by her apparently sympathetic and understanding attitude toward him. He may think of himself as a knight in shining armor, whose life is dedicated to protecting his fair lady from any danger that may beset her. The boy may be shy in her presence or consciously avoid focusing her attention upon himself lest his schoolmates get wrong ideas about her or him. Yet he will fight with any other boy who speaks disparagingly about her or who annoys her in any way.

A young and relatively inexperienced teacher of either sex who becomes the object of same-sex or opposite-sex adolescent adoration often finds it difficult to handle the situation in such way that these early sex-stimulated emotional attachments can be changed to objective, friendly, teacher-pupil relationships. Unless the teacher's approach is tactful and

motivated by a sincere interest in the young person involved, there is danger that the latter may experience serious emotional conflict. Strong feelings of resentment toward the adult who apparently has rejected him, combined with loss of self-respect and of needed security in the affection of another, may cause the still immature boy or girl to seek the satisfaction of his growing sex urge through forms of activity that may be harmful to himself and others.

For most young adolescents the focusing of emotionalized reactions upon an adult is a passing phase of their sexual development during which they are getting ready for normal heterosexual relationships. Hence teachers need not become too concerned about youthful crushes, especially if the school provides opportunities for the boys and girls to engage together in work and recreational activities. Serious problems then arise only in the cases of young people who, for one or another reason, appear to be unable to adjust to same-age, opposite-sex relationships. An adolescent who cannot achieve satisfying peer-age heterosexual associations may continue, even on the college level, to identify himself or herself with a sympathetic instructor. If the adult is unmarried and the age difference is not too great, sex attraction for the other on the part of each may lead to a temporary romantic attachment or eventual marriage.

If a male married instructor becomes emotionally involved with a girl student who lacks peer-age boy admirers, the man may engage in extra-marital sex relations with the girl, divorce his wife to marry her, or extricate himself from the situation with little or no consideration for the serious effects of his rejection of her upon the girl's already maladjusted emotional status. Situations of this kind are not limited to college campuses; young girls in the business world often experience similar involvements with married male employers or supervisors.

Sooner or later an adolescent's sexual drive impels him or her to seek the attention of more nearly peer-age members of the opposite sex. The age at which the so-called "boy-" or "girl-crazy" period is reached varies with individual rate of physical development and differences in stimuli situations. By the time most young people are about 16, their earlier emotionalized interest in older adults is transferred to their other-sex peer associates. For some adolescents the adult crush or hero worship stage is of short duration or practically nonexistent. A few young people pass quickly from this period to that of boy-girl attraction. In many instances the transition from one stage to the other represents a gradual process, with some conflict between loyalties.

A situation of this kind can be illustrated by citing excerpts from the diary of a high school girl who now, as a college senior, realizes that her own adolescent experiences will help her become more understanding of

the young people whom she is preparing to teach. The diary describes Mary's outstanding experiences during her four years in high school. In her first term Mary acquired two chums, Irene and Maud. These three girls were known throughout their high school years as "The Three Musketeers," a name given them by one of their first-term teachers, Mrs. Pine, "a wonderful teacher who has a 7-year-old son, is lots of fun, and can *she* dress!"

Other comments concerning Mrs. Pine during the first term follow: "We tease Mrs. Pine about her handwriting and her use of the map for covering assignments"; "I wonder if we will ever tell Mrs. Pine about the many pranks we planned and never did." Although Mary was not in Mrs. Pine's class during the second term, she had this to say: "I do see Pine [note the omission of Mrs.]. I hope to work for her next term, and hope to have her as my teacher again. This term she permitted Irene and me to take charge of two of her classes at the end of the term and we loved it! We told her about the medical room (cutting classes) and we learned her husband's business. He must make a lot of money to keep her in the clothes she wears!"

The following term Mary and another girl worked in Mrs. Pine's office and reported: "After midterm she gave us lovely gifts. She is just about the nicest teacher that I ever had. I intend to work for her next term. Maybe if I am lucky next term I will have her for -----." Toward the end of the year the following entry appeared: "Last week Mrs. Pine gave me beautiful scatter pins. They were extremely lovely and I was terribly thrilled. I guess the little girl got the better of the big girl in me when she gave them to me for I couldn't restrain myself from giving her a hug. The gift alone wasn't what pleased me so much. It was the thought behind it. She is one of the few teachers who have respect for their students as individuals and people, besides being mere simians getting an education from superiors."

During her second term Mary referred briefly to boys: "My love life this term was fairly interesting, but as this is just a school log and not a love diary, I will just mention names but not give details. There were Arthur, Don, Len, Jack, (Cyril and Henry of the Army, of course) and many other fellows from the teen center." According to Mary, in her fourth term and nearly age 16: "The term was highlighted by many social events but I will only mention that it was the term when the Sweet Sixteen parties started and I met Arnold." She continued to be Mrs. Pine's secretary and she again received a "lovely" gift. Her fifth term was interesting: "None of the teachers was too bad, really swell." The outstanding features were Arista installation, Mrs. Pine's class, and of course the social life.

Concerning the subject of which Mrs. Pine was the teacher, Mary

wrote: "All I can say is that she is making me work like a dog and I love it. I guess the reason for having to work so hard was that so many people knew of our personal contact. She warned me that I would have to put in a lot of effort, and so I did. In class, relations were strained at first. I felt that she was constantly looking at me, and *most of the time she was!* However, after a time, most of the strain melted away. I settled down to enjoy one of the most interesting, best-taught course at _____ high school. (I want to add that she was fair and showed no partiality.)"

Mary's social life was becoming important: "Of course my entire social life revolved around Arnold (quite a musician). I thought that I was in love with him but at this time [end of term] I know better."

Mary then proceeds to describe her feelings toward Arnold during their friendship. She had met him at a party where she "made a play for him and succeeded." He took her home. "Although I dated other boys, I saw him more than anyone else." After several disagreements, one that was caused by his attempting to kiss her without permission, Mary reports that "before I knew it we were going steady." Yet Mary continued to have and to suppress doubts about him. "During all this, there were constant arguments. Basically, his mother was behind all this. To say the least, she was highly neurotic."

While Mary was in the country that summer Arnold visited her almost every weekend. She admitted to herself that he had many admirable qualities. "Nevertheless, I made certain discoveries. Firstly, he was a liar. . . . Secondly, he was 'Scotch,' and lastly, he was a 'mamma's boy.' Maybe I could have overcome this if I felt that he was for me, but suddenly I knew that he wasn't. . . . I let him down gradually: [fewer letters, etc.] and finally I did the cowardly thing—told him over the phone. There were attempts at reconciliation on his part, but I nipped them in the bud. I was not ready for changing the jewelry on the left hand. I have no regrets. I made a little mistake and maybe that will help me to know not to make a *big* one later. P.S. It is just as well that it is over. I could never have gotten him to understand *Paradise Lost* anyhow. I'm afraid that when it comes to Milton, Arnold will just have to stick to Berle. I'm half-kidding and half-serious, of course. But our interests were so far apart."

With these words of wisdom 16-year-old Mary ended her fifth-term school log. She skipped the sixth term and devoted no more than a page and a half to her seventh- and eighth-term experiences, with little, if anything, except not too flattering thumbnail sketches of her teachers and her continuance of "Secretary—three guesses for whom." She ends:

"Well, that's the school picture. Nothing really fascinating. There must be more but I really am in a negative mood. I'll let this go for awhile. I feel like going off on a tangent." Mary then attempts, in

retrospect, to analyze her emotional reactions toward her favorite teacher and her serious boy-girl experiences.

I feel down in the dumps today, no particular reason. I'm going to try to analyze as a whole some of my actions in high school. Perhaps for the first time in this diary I'm going to look at myself with complete objectivity. Firstly, I'll discuss the name that tended to come up more often than any other in this log—Mrs. Pine. My attitude toward her sometimes frightened me. When I first met her in the first term, I was awed by her. As a teacher she was a new experience. Her methods fascinated me and my hero worship started. I honestly believe now that she was responsible for my changing my course.

From the first term on, where she was, I was. I went abnormally out of my way to be helpful. By about the fourth term everyone mentally associated one with the other, I loved thinking of her as my second mother. Even at home I never spoke about anyone else, so that my parents became annoyed. I remember that one night my mother said in a sort of jest that I worshiped the ground Mrs. Pine walked on. I was angry because it was the truth but I did not think it was so obvious. Anyhow, it bothered me until my mother said that no one ever went through high school without a hero. So I guess I'm just normal. Yet I felt that something was wrong. I was so devoted to her that I felt affection for no one else. Don't misunderstand me, there was nothing sexual at all.

After I met Arnold and thought I was in love with him, I put him and Mrs. Pine in the same category. I asked myself if I had to choose not to see one of them ever again, which would it be? I was that mixed up. However, now I know that my feeling for Mrs. Pine was just a severe case of hero worship which mellowed as I matured. I hope that it will disappear and we will just remain friends. Maybe someday in the future I'll show this to her, but not until I'm married.¹

Mary's commentary, as a 17-year-old high school graduate, concerning her attitude toward Mrs. Pine and Arnold is indicative of the serious thought which older adolescents give to their interpersonal relations. The reader may be interested in the aftermath of Mary's experiences with Mrs. Pine and Arnold. During her freshman year in college Mary visited and exchanged letters with her former teacher. Now as a college senior, she admits that she does not see Mrs. Pine and writes to her only occasionally. As she said to one of the authors, "You know how it is. I still admire her, but I have so many other interests that she has become and will remain a pleasant memory." Arnold is married and has a child. He is a year or two older than Mary. Hence he was graduated from high school while they were friends and, as a result of Mary's influence, entered college but soon left. What has happened since then is a long story that

¹ These diary excerpts have been included with the permission of a Brooklyn College student. Identifying names and other material have been changed.

has reaffirmed Mary's earlier decision that they had little, if anything, in common.

Another aspect of Mary's adolescent development showed itself through the diary—her attitudes toward her girl associates. Apparently she continued to be a member of a close-knit threesome, with an occasional fourth or fifth added to the group, although there was no evidence of snobbish exclusiveness. Another point that is worth considering is her reference to the fact that she was looking forward to marriage as an expected eventuality. She was getting ready for the culminating stage of adolescent heterosexual development—romantic love. One can say that the various aspects of teen-age behavior represent a kind of exploratory sex activity that in older adolescence or early adulthood resolves itself in marriage and the rearing of a family.

In the case of Mary, an emotionally balanced, intelligent, studious, and seriously inclined young woman, the assumption of the responsibilities associated with wifehood and motherhood probably will take place with little emotional upset or conflict. She wants very much to be a good teacher, but at the same time is looking forward to marriage with enthusiasm and commendable seriousness of purpose. Like other young people, she probably will encounter problems associated with mate selection, courtship behavior, and marital adjustment, but she is likely not to become unduly disturbed by them. Not all adolescents are so fortunate as Mary.

Some adolescents begin early to become "boy or girl crazy." In spite of adult disapproval, a young adolescent girl may be so eager to attract male attention to herself that she flaunts her physical charm before every boy she meets. She crudely applies pancake make-up, mascara, vivid lipstick, and fingernail polish. She stands and walks in such a manner as to emphasize her budding breasts or even resorts to the wearing of "falsies" to accentuate them. A boy-crazy girl may assume a sophisticated manner and try to impress an older adolescent boy with her worldliness and a willingness to accede to any sex-stimulated behavior toward her that she is able to arouse. Young servicemen are considered by her to be easy prey. Sometimes an immature girl whose sex drive has been overstimulated by too much reading and viewing of sex-filled materials withdraws in fright and confusion when or if a boy, believing that she wants what she seems to desire, starts to engage in heavy petting with her or suggests that they have sexual intercourse.

A young boy who early develops strong sexual drives is likely to annoy younger girls, corner them when no one is looking, and then lift up their skirts, attempt to touch their bodies or in other ways try to satisfy his sex urge through contact with little girls. These situations represent manifestations of strong sex urges that are experienced before the young

person has learned to control them in a socially acceptable fashion. Regardless of habits of emotional control learned during childhood, however, most boys and girls pass through a stage of "puppy love." They seem to be in love with love itself and attach their maturing sexual interest to any member of the opposite sex who is in the immediate environment.

For many young people the beginning of sex-stimulated behavior constitutes no more than a stolen, awkwardly administered kiss, holding hands, or walking with arms around each other. One can observe the display of such behavior in school corridors or on the street, especially during spring. Young romance usually does not focus upon one member of the opposite sex. It represents a kind of trial-and-error process until the "right" one is found. Unhappiness or conflict is experienced either by the boy, or more usually the girl, who has become seriously involved in a love affair and then discovers that the other's apparent attachment represents no more than a fleeting phase in the search for the true love.

SIGNIFICANT CHARACTERISTICS OF HETEROSEXUAL BEHAVIOR

Much of the sex experimentation in which some adolescents indulge can be explained in terms of the functional aspects of personal and environmental factors of influence. An adolescent's individual sexual behavior and attitude toward sex may be rooted in (1) the strength of his sex drive, (2) the role of sex in his culture, and (3) the adequacy of his factual knowledge concerning body structure and the functioning of body organs that are operative in the satisfaction of the sex drive.

Since the sex drive probably reaches its height of potency during late adolescence or early adulthood, a developing adolescent needs to gain an adequate and accurate understanding of the psychology and physiology of sex. He should be helped to know and appreciate the biological aspects of sex, the hygiene of sex in his culture, as well as societal attitudes toward sex-stimulated behavior. Cultural differences in attitudes toward sexual maturation were considered in Chapter 2. A description of primary and secondary sex characteristics was included in Chapter 4. At this point attention is directed toward physical and physiological reactions in sex experience. Later we shall discuss the psychology of sex.

The physiology of the sex function. The sex drive is fundamental to the continuance of the human race. Normal sex activity does not represent one-person performance only, but requires the cooperative efforts of two individuals, one of each sex. Moreover, sex-stimulated behavior involves the whole body; it is not localized in the region of the sex organs. In some of its more general aspects the sexual behavior of the male and the female are relatively similar. Certain specific aspects of the sexual process reflect anatomical and organic differences between the sexes.

Nature has provided for the male's experiencing an orgasm during sexual intercourse. Semen is thereby deposited in the vagina of the female and a male sperm cell is enabled to fertilize the ovum of the female. Normally the latter also experiences an orgasm or a rhythmic contraction of the walls of the vagina and sometimes of the uterus. The female orgasm varies from complete contraction in both vagina and uterus to no orgasm (*frigidity*). Failure of an orgasm to occur in the female, however, does not interfere with the possibility of conception. Turgescence (a swelling of the tissues in the sex organ) in the male is essential for sexual intercourse; if turgescence cannot be achieved by a male, he is considered to be *impotent*. Most women experience some degree of turgescence.

Amatory activity. *Amatory* and *erotic* are terms used to describe love feelings toward, and sexual interest in, a person of the opposite sex. Amatory feelings may manifest themselves solely in attempts to be with and enjoy the company of a member of the opposite sex. Usually, however, the emotional state is accompanied by a strong desire for physical contact with the other person. If conditions are favorable to the arousal of intense excitation, the drive may become so strong that the amatory behavior culminates in sexual intercourse.

The sight of a loved one or the sound of her voice may cause a male to experience erotic thoughts or feelings. In some men characteristic female odors may produce amatory effects; hair coloring and texture or quality of skin may attract others. The female also may "love" a male for his height, strength, hair, voice quality, or any other outstanding physical characteristic. A response to sensory stimuli is not amatory, however, unless it produces sexual love or desire in the person stimulated thereby. Erotic feelings that at first are aroused by physical characteristics may be strengthened or weakened by later discovered behavior traits. Sometimes physical attraction may serve as a motivator of marriage but soon loses its holding power, especially if the admired mate displays self-centered, uncooperative, or other undesirable attitudes during the intimate relationships of married life.

DEVIATE SEX BEHAVIOR

When consideration is given to the general pattern of adolescent sexual development, emphasis usually is placed upon the changes that are likely to occur in a young person's heterosexual activities. Circumstances may interfere with the supposedly normal development of the sex drive in relation to members of the opposite sex. Consequently, other means may be employed by the sexually maturing individual to satisfy his sex-stimulated urges or desires.

As a result of strict childhood rearing or because of self-evaluated personal unattractiveness, an adolescent may tend to avoid association with members of the opposite sex. The fact that an adolescent or young adult is a student in a segregated school or is attached to a one-sex institution also may deny the boy or girl needed companionship with members of the other sex. Then sex tensions are likely to find release in forms of behavior that deviate from heterosexual relationships. The two most common aberrations are masturbation and homosexuality. Each of these sex-stimulated behavior patterns is discussed below.

Masturbation. Masturbation includes those activities of self-induced sex pleasure in which the genital organs or other parts of the body are stimulated. It represents sexual excitement of the self through the use of the hand or other artificial means. Masturbation is a common practice during adolescence and may be continued throughout adulthood. Investigations have revealed that at some time in life nearly all males and more than half the females of the human species practice self-stimulation.

Masturbation begun in childhood may become an obsessive habit. It is more likely to start at puberty, however, when erotic responses are developing rapidly and an orgasm can be experienced. The frequency of masturbation may decrease in a few years; in some cases it may continue for a long period of time. The effects of this form of sex perversion are not yet fully known. According to Kinsey:²

If the question is one of social values, it may be stated that there is no record of early masturbation disturbing the child's adjustments except in some of the cases where adults discovered the activity, reprimanded or punished the youngster, made a public exhibition of the offense, or upset the child's peace of mind in some other way. Even the parents who try to avoid reprimands may cause some disturbance in the child because they, the parents themselves, are inhibited, or because they are not accustomed to observing sexual behavior of any sort. It takes no more than a show of surprise on the part of the parent, a supercilious smile, or even a studied avoidance of the issue to make it apparent to the child that the parent is emotionally upset, and that sexual activity is in a different category from other everyday affairs.

Homosexuality. Homosexuality refers to sexual behavior in which the cooperation of another person of the same sex is needed. The findings of Kinsey and his associates would seem to indicate that homosexual activity is more common than was believed. As a result of his investigations, Kinsey found that, contrary to popular opinion, homosexual experiences are no more frequent among females than among males.

Kinsey also concluded that there seems to be some relationship between

² A. C. Kinsey et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 1948, pp. 503, 506.

participation in homosexual activities and the age at which individuals develop sexual maturity. He says:³

Homosexual activities occur in a much higher percentage of the males who became adolescent at an early age; and in a definitely smaller percentage of those who became adolescent at later ages. For instance, at the college level, during early adolescence about 28 per cent of the early-adolescent boys are involved, and only 14 per cent of the boys who were late in becoming adolescent. This difference is narrowed in successive age periods, but the boys who became adolescent first are more often involved even ten and fifteen years later. It is to be recalled that these early-adolescent boys are the same ones who have the highest incidences and frequencies in masturbation and in heterosexual contacts. It is the group which possesses on the whole the greatest sex drive, both in early adolescence and throughout most of the subsequent periods of their lives.

Homosexuality is a social problem to the extent that other individuals are involved. Since an adolescent often is approached by a homosexual adult, a young person sometimes becomes a victim of this practice because of the chance factor of meeting with an experienced homosexual. If or when parents and other adults interested in adolescent welfare discover that a young person is being inducted into homosexual practices, they should attempt to remove him from the stimulus situation in order to prevent any repetition of such experiences and to help him forget them. Unless this is done, his one or a few forced participations in homosexuality may earn for him social rejection because of his seeming willingness to engage in abnormal sexual behavior. The innocent victim of societal disapproval then may be stimulated by his felt need for human interrelationships and group approval to seek the company of homosexuals and find a place for himself among them by engaging with them in homosexual practices.

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF SEXUAL BEHAVIOR

Sex codes vary throughout the world. In early American society sex purity as a highly desired goal of achievement was taken for granted. Recently, however, there are evidences of considerable deviation from this code of behavior. Although the ideal of chastity still remains as part of our culture, many teen-agers seem to appear either to be indifferent to it or to disregard it almost completely. During and after the First World War, definite changes in adolescent sex behavior began to emerge. For a variety of reasons, during a war period participation in sex-stimulated behavior tends to become more active among young adults of both

³ *Ibid.*, p. 630.

sexes. Once such behavior practices become relatively common, they tend to move down the age scale until adolescents in their middle teens become involved.

The sexual behavior of today's adolescents seems to function on a group-code basis. Young people appear to be enjoying an increasing amount of freedom in their social activities. This freedom from adult supervision of teen-age behavior is setting the stage for adolescents to establish their own standards of what should or should not be done in given social situations. Traditional mores still prescribe that chastity is the ideal; yet more and more it is becoming the responsibility of youth to interpret and apply this ideal. To have the privilege to make their own decisions concerning sexual behavior in terms of the accepted mores of the majority of their elders constitutes a challenging opportunity for adolescent decision making. Submission to rigid adult behavior control may arouse inner resentment or outwardly displayed rebellion. Personal freedom in behavior control is likely to be accompanied by the arousal of many problems and conflict situations, however.

Emotional concomitants of boy-girl relationships. For boys and girls to engage in social activities as an unchaperoned twosome now begins as early as the seventh grade and sometimes continues throughout the secondary school years. A girl recently reported that she went "steady" from the age of 12 to 15, after which she broke off her close association with the boy, and started to go out with different boys. Such boy-girl relationships, either pairing or shopping-around approaches, tend to stimulate highly emotionalized behavior. The extent of resulting stresses and strains will be conditioned by the standards of conduct set for the adolescent by his family, the school, and other socializing agencies in his environment, and by the personal and social values that are respected by his peer group.

Parents are becoming increasingly concerned about the possible effects upon their children of the modern custom of early-age "pair dating." A growing practice in adolescent social gatherings is for a boy to dance only with his date. The two cannot avoid the emotional effect of close body contact during dancing, combined with the stimulation of romantic dance music. Developed feelings of intimacy may lead to participation in sex-stimulated activities off the dance floor. The pair relationship then may become a struggle to determine what code of behavior shall be the controlling factor of their conduct. Every new date involves elements of speculation on the part of each concerning the code of behavior to which the other will adhere. In small communities the individual standards of each adolescent becomes generally known; hence speculation is less common than in larger urban areas in which young people are more likely to go on "blind dates" or pair off with mere acquaintances.

Innumerable problems of adolescent adjustment are rooted in boy-girl relationships. For example, in 1949, L. J. Elias conducted in the state of Washington an investigatory survey of the problems associated with boy-girl relationships that were experienced by 5,500 high school seniors. The resulting data were classified according to percentage of students reporting problems of adolescent doubt, confusion, or conflict, in any of thirty-four areas of the state. These are presented in Table 23. A study of

Table 23. Percentage of 5,500 High School Seniors Who Checked Certain Problems in Boy-Girl Relationships

<i>Problem in boy-girl relationship</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
What makes a good marriage	13.9	32.6
Making a successful marriage	9.1	25.5
Going steady	12.9	13.3
Can't date the right person	12.7	12.5
Not enough "dates"	11.5	11.6
Break with (girl, boy) friend	9.0	13.4
How much intimacy to permit	6.9	14.7
Getting along with other sex	12.2	9.5
Not having (girl, boy) friend	9.0	8.4
Understanding about love	4.4	10.5
Should I get engaged	3.1	11.5
Not attractive to other sex	7.8	7.5
Right attitude about sex	7.9	7.3
Insufficient sex knowledge	7.6	6.9
"Going too far"	8.5	5.9
Sex problems	7.6	6.5
Uncomfortable with other sex	5.9	5.2
Wonder if anybody will want me	5.1	7.6
Learning about sex	6.4	6.4
(Girls, Boys) on mind too much	7.5	5.2
Concerned about sex disease	6.4	4.1
"Necking, smooching" . . .	4.8	5.4
Proper sex relations	4.9	5.2
Trouble over sex relations	5.5	4.3
"Petting"	3.5	3.9
Thinking too much about sex	5.9	1.6
Embarrassed about sex	2.8	3.6
(Boy, Girl) friend stepping out	3.8	2.2
Can't keep (boy, girl) friend	3.1	2.7
Too many "dates"	7.1	2.5
Self-abuse, masturbation	4.8	0.8
Not able to get married soon	1.8	2.7
Can't control sex desire . . .	3.3	1.2
Quitting school to get married	0.3	0.7

SOURCE: L. J. Elias, *High School Youth Look at Their Problems*, The College Bookstore State College of Washington, Pullman Wash., January, 1949.

these data can help give the reader insight concerning the kind and relative significance of heterosexually pointed problem conditions and situations.

In a study of teen-age problems conducted by the authors, college students (100 men, 120 women) were asked to list in retrospect the various worries experienced by them between the ages of 14 and 19. Although many areas of interest and activity were included in the study, the report here includes only the boy-girl relationships. By reference to Table 24 it can be seen that these remembered worries are similar to some of those reported in Elias' study of the reactions of the teen-agers at the time of the investigation.

Table 24. Adolescent Worries Relative to Boy-Girl Relationships

<i>Male worries</i>	<i>Female worries</i>
Not being popular	How to be popular
Desire for more dates	Not being accepted
Arguments with date	Loss of boy friend
Displease my girl	Sexual conflicts
Not being accepted	Sexual relations to maintain
Displease parents with date	Feeling of inferiority
Feeling of inferiority	Boy's being true to me
Persistency of female	Boy I like to like me
Girl I like to like me	Boy to hold my interest
Misunderstandings	Little mix-ups

MATE SELECTION AND COURTSHIP BEHAVIOR

With few exceptions, adolescents look forward to marriage and the raising of a family. As was pointed out in Chapter 2, early and parent-arranged marriage was an accepted custom among primitive people. In our present society responsibility for mate selection, courtship behavior, and time of marriage is assumed by the young people themselves, with little or no interference from parents or other adults. Various elements inherent in modern living exercise a potent effect upon youthful attitudes and behavior toward mate selection and marriage. Adolescent attitudes toward premarital sex relations, boys' participation in military service, girls' career interests, or extended educational requirements for entrance into certain occupational fields can become the basic causes of much youthful confusion or conflict.

Attitudes toward sex relations. The ideal of chastity continues to constitute the cultural standard according to which our unmarried young people are expected to regulate their sexual behavior. Although deviation from this standard on the part of a member of either sex is regarded by society as a form of youthful delinquency, the behavior of a male sex

delinquent often is condoned but that of a female delinquent usually receives severe social disapproval. Many adults still believe that the sex drive is much stronger in the male than in the female. In spite of the great freedom in their social activities that young people now are permitted, it is taken for granted by many adults that a "good" girl has sufficient emotional stability to exercise control over a boy's need to release sex tensions stimulated by his nearness to the girl in an unchaperoned situation.

Contrary to popular misconceptions concerning the sex urge, the findings of scientific investigations seem to indicate that the sex drive is as strong in the human female as in the male. The fact that premarital sexual intercourse may result in the girl's becoming pregnant is responsible for her apparent resistance to participation in the climactic sex act. So long as society continues to reject the illegitimate child, a girl must inhibit her natural sex desires or experience fear or anxiety in her sexual relationships. Hence the adolescent girl, more than the boy, is impelled to maintain the moral code by being selective in her dating. Thereby she can avoid situations which may be embarrassing if she resists a boy's importunities and her own desires, or may lead to tragic consequences if she submits.

Adolescent girls and young women are beginning to resent the so-called "double standard" of morals that permits the male to indulge at will in uncontrolled sexual behavior but bans promiscuity on the part of the female. Although their demands for a single standard would seem to imply that both sexes should develop a greater adherence to the ideal of chastity, available data present evidence to the effect that some girls are lowering their moral standards to the level of the male code.

Young people's attitudes toward heterosexual relations are potent factors in mate selection. Many young men and women still tend to choose a mate in terms of values, such as similarity of interests, apparent compatibility, and respect for, and admiration of, personal qualities, as well as sexual attraction. The present increase in short-period mate selection and hasty marriage can be explained, in part at least, as resulting from the impact upon immature adolescents and thoughtless young adults of the many sex-stimulating situations and conditions that characterize modern living. Some of the significant factors of influence are

1. Increased freedom of opportunities for the two sexes to participate in social activities of their own choosing without adult chaperonage.
2. Increased participation by adolescents and young adults in cocktail parties and similar social activities.
3. Night automobile drives by twosomes and stops on deserted roads.
4. Tacitly accepted, though openly disapproved, participation by "respectable" girls in premarital heterosexual experimentation.

5. Knowledge that the broken hymen does not necessarily represent loss of virginity.

6. Glamorous and detailed newspaper, radio, and television reports of the love life of national celebrities; unrealistic love stories in some of the popular magazines; sex-pointed novels and motion pictures; sexually arousing music, representative art and dancing, and similar exciting mediums of entertainment.

7. Decrease of religious influence in the home.

8. Apparently easy procural of a divorce and the high divorce rate. (The reply of a newly engaged college student to a question concerning her attitude toward her fiancé: "I think it will work out all right, if not, ~~there are always divorce courts.~~")

9. Knowledge about, and availability of, contraceptives.

10. Apparent ease of setting up a home by means of installment-plan buying.

11. Examples of lack of sexual control among older adults.

12. Existing confused state of world conditions and possible outbreak of war.

Factors (other than sex) of mate selection and marriage. Although modern youth is permitted an amount of freedom in mate selection that formerly was almost unknown, he still is limited in his choice of mate and subsequent marriage by factors outside himself and by his own interests and attitudes. The state sets the minimum age at which young people can marry without parental consent, may demand that certain health conditions be met, and establishes a waiting period between the issuance of a marriage license and the date of the marriage. Some parents attempt to control the mate selection and marriage of their children but have no legal rights in this respect except in the case of a young person who is under marriageable age as set by state law.

Extended Education. Another possible limitation upon mate selection and marriage for some young people is the trend toward extended educational preparation for entrance into some professions, especially medicine, law, engineering, and teaching on higher school levels. It is during this training period that the sex urge is likely to be at its peak. To be denied lawful, marital sexual intercourse places a tremendous emotional strain upon a sexually mature young man. Repression of the urge may interfere seriously with study achievement; illicit sex relations may induce feelings of guilt or result in venereal infection. Recognizing the difficulties inherent in such situations, society is encouraging early marriage among this group of young people. Educational institutions welcome married students because of the likelihood that release of sex tensions will encourage serious study.

The married college student may experience financial difficulties, however, unless he is subsidized by his parents, the college, or a Federal, social, or professional agency. In some cases the young wife engages in gainful employment while her husband is attending an institution of higher learning. This situation may give rise to emotional difficulties. The young husband may feel humiliated by the fact that his wife is supporting him, even though it is a temporary situation. The need for delayed childbearing may give rise to emotional conflict and nonsatisfying sexual relations.

Girls' Career Interests. Formerly, whatever educational opportunities that were available to girls were aimed at preparation for wifehood and motherhood. Today adolescent girls are becoming increasingly interested in preparing themselves for participation in one or another form of occupational activity. Many girls regard their vocational training merely as preparation for a job which they expect to hold only temporarily until they marry, and to which they may return later if a financial emergency should arise.

An adolescent girl may become so interested in a particular occupational field, however, that she decides to prepare for it as a career. While she is completing her education, or after she has earned success in the field, she "falls in love" and wants to marry her chosen mate. There then arises a conflict situation, especially if the young man is opposed to her continuing to work and wants to have a family. Although a compromise may be reached in that he agrees to her working until a child is expected, her career interest may interfere with the development of desirable marital and family adjustment. The girl who renounces marriage for her career also is likely to experience emotional and sexual conflict. She either may become so engrossed in her work that she denies herself needed social and recreational emotional outlets, or else may attempt to release sexual tensions through more or less temporary "love affairs" with unmarried or married business or professional associates.

Participation in Military Service. One of the most significant factors of influence upon the sexual life of American youth is that all physically and mentally healthy young men are required to participate in one or another branch of military service during the age period when their sexual virility is at its peak. The situation is emotionally charged whether they already have selected a mate or still are in the "hunting" stage.

In some instances a youth may be impelled to try, through marriage, to avoid military service. The process of mate selection then is reduced to finding a girl in his immediate neighborhood who is responsive to his advances. The ensuing hasty marriage between two young people who know little, if anything, about one another, and the immediately at-

tempted propagation of offspring by parents who are unprepared to rear children wisely, constitute a maladjustive situation that is likely to engender unhappiness, conflict, and eventual family disintegration.

The sex-stimulated attitude and behavior of the young serviceman has become a national as well as an individual problem. A young couple is undecided as to whether they should marry before the boy goes into the service. If they marry, each suffers from the emotional strains caused by their separation. If they decide to wait, each is assailed by the fear that the other may lose interest in the projected marriage. There may be anxiety on the part of either or both of the married pair concerning mate infidelity.

Military personnel are engaging in a planned program of educating young men and women in the "management of the sex endowment." Through the utilization of teaching techniques and aids, such as lectures, audio-visual aids, and pertinent printed materials, attempts are being made to impress upon older adolescents and young adults in service the value to themselves and others of adherence to the ideal of chastity. To illustrate the helpful approach a few excerpts from a preinduction booklet are quoted below:⁴

Management of the Sex Endowment

1. So far as sex adjustment is concerned, a young man:

- a. Should keep his sex behavior on a level that insures freedom from fears, regrets and moral guilt, and from sexually acquired diseases.
- b. Should keep faith with the girl back home who expects him to return physically, mentally and spiritually fit to be her husband and the father of their children. . . .

Petting

A loveless intimacy which dissociates tenderness, respect and admiration from the physical expression of sex, cheapens the individual and sometimes impairs the normal expression of sexual feeling. "Using" people for one's own gratification is a violation of one's own and another's integrity.

Particular injustice to the girl (the effect upon her self-respect, reputation, emotional fitness for marriage).

Hazards (loss of self-control, rapid progression towards sexual intercourse, illegitimate parenthood, regret, loss of self-respect).

Greatest injustice to out-of-wedlock child who may be born as a result of petting which reaches stage of sexual relations.

⁴E. E. Sweeney and R. E. Dickerson (eds.), *Preinduction Health and Human Relations*, American Social Hygiene Association, New York, 1953, pp. 130-131. Reprinted with the permission of the American Social Hygiene Association, New York, from *Preinduction Health and Human Relations*, copyright, 1953, by the American Social Hygiene Association.

Promiscuity

Progress towards emotional maturity is retarded by the expression of sex desire dissociated from genuine love, tenderness, respect and responsibility for partner's welfare.

Habituation to selfish ways of thinking and acting towards the opposite sex may diminish one's capacity for genuine married love and therefore for success in marriage.

Other dangers to the girl (threat to her self-respect and social prestige, devaluation as a prospective wife, possibility of pregnancy or venereal disease or both, effect on her conscience of violating moral code).

Other dangers to boy (loss of self-respect, habit of inconstancy, devaluation as a prospective husband, venereal disease, effect on his conscience of violating moral code).

Courtship behavior. In spite of a belief to the contrary, young people are marrying at a younger age today than at any time, on the average, since 1890, when the median age for men at the time of marriage was

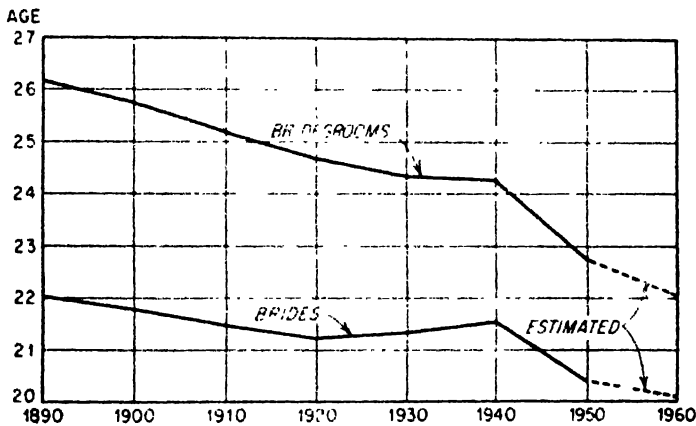


Fig. 42. Average marriage ages (first marriages) between 1890 and 1950.

26.3 years. By 1950 it had dropped to 22.8; it is estimated that it now has fallen to approximately 22.5. The ages of marriage for girls for the same periods are 22.0 and 20.3 respectively. These changes are presented graphically in Figure 42.

Early marriage has a definite effect upon the courtship period. The term *courtship* can be regarded either as including all of the sex-stimulated behavior that is characteristic of the young person who is passing through the process of selecting a mate, or as the period that elapses between a couple's decision and the wedding date. Interpreted either way, the length of the courtship is lessened when or if young people marry in their early twenties.

Successful adjustment to the marital state usually is achieved with relative ease by a man and woman who knew each other for a sufficiently long period before marriage, so that each could discover and be ready to accept the other's weaknesses and peculiar habits and mannerisms. In "quick" mate selection and hasty marriage good marital adjustment may come slowly or not at all. Hence unless the young husband and wife were adolescent schoolmates or neighbors, they may experience problems of marital adjustment as they attempt to become acquainted with each other. Youth is adaptable, however. If each of the young pair brings to the marriage habitual control of the emotions and attitudes of cooperation, satisfactory interpersonal relationships soon will be achieved.

Marital adjustment also is related closely to courtship experiences. Older adults sometimes wax sentimental over young lovers. Holding hands, embracing, kissing, and in other ways giving evidence of complete engrossment with each other represent accepted forms of courtship behavior. Interested adults, as well as the young people themselves, do not always appreciate the extent to which these physical contacts may induce sexual overstimulation in one or both of the pair to the point of attempting to release sexual tensions through copulation. Participation in such behavior may lead to the arousal of guilt feelings, repulsion, or fear of pregnancy or sexual inadequacy.

During a long period of courtship the two individuals are likely to experience conflict between the ideal of chastity and their strong urge toward sexual gratification. A short courtship period affords a young couple greater opportunity to exercise emotional control and sexual restraint. Activities associated with preparation for an early marriage and planning for their future together can help keep the young couple relatively free from extreme sexual involvement.

The fact that modern young people are permitted considerable freedom in the selection of a mate has caused many boys and girls to give serious attention to the constituent factors of success in the marriage relationship. They attend lectures and read books in preparation for marriage, and often seek counsel from older married adults.

From the findings of studies in this area of human relationships young people discover that emphasis usually is placed upon items such as childhood experiences, present attachment to parents, parents' attitudes toward each other and toward their children; personal qualities, including degree of emotional control, cooperativeness, interest in children, and adaptability; religious affiliation; socioeconomic and educational status; national or cultural background; age at time of marriage; and an understanding of the sexual aspects of marriage.

Some young men and women are alert to the significance of these factors as they may apply to themselves. They recognize the fact that no

one of the items is all-important, but they are willing to discuss these matters frankly and freely during the courtship period and come to some agreement concerning compromises that may need to be made by each if they are to achieve a successful marriage relationship.

There are other young people who plunge into marriage with little or no concern about the adjustments that may be necessary after the glamour and thrill of the honeymoon have passed. The boy and girl honestly may believe that the sexual attraction which brought them together and colored their courtship behavior will continue its hold upon them throughout their married life.

Although too great emphasis upon physical attraction as the primary basis of mate selection and marriage is to be deplored, its importance as a factor of adjustment cannot be disregarded. Even though the mates have many interests in common, a marriage in which there is lack of sexual compatibility between husband and wife is likely to fail. Unless religious ideals or moral scruples prevent it, one or both of the couple will be strongly impelled to gain sexual satisfaction through extramarital sex relations. Some psychologists and other writers in the field, therefore, tend to place considerable stress upon a couple being certain that they are well mated sexually. Consequently, some young people are motivated thereby to engage in sexual experimentation during the courtship period lest they discover too late that the woman is frigid or the man impotent.

The results of premarital experimental intercourse rarely are successful. In spite of the use of contraceptives or other preventive measures, the woman may experience fear of pregnancy. Because of situationally unfavorable circumstances, copulation may bring no satisfactory release of sexual tensions. Moreover, even though immediate gratifications are achieved, the experiences may become so habituated that, with marriage, the couple will be denied the normal thrill that accompanies discovering one another at the beginning of a supposedly permanent life relationship.

In addition, it is possible that the primitive male urge to force a resisting female to submit to his sexual desires is not completely lacking in civilized man. Hence continuous premarital sexual activities with his fiancée may lessen her sexual attractiveness to the extent that the man loses interest in the contemplated marriage. He may have doubts concerning her suitability as a mate; he may come to believe that she is potentially promiscuous; or he may find himself attracted by another girl who stirs him to want to possess her rather than his fiancée.

A woman is sensitive to a man's reactions to her. Hence the engaged girl may recognize the fact that "her man's interest in her is waning." Although her sexual experiences with him may have strengthened her love for him, she is torn between her desire to hold him and her feeling that he has become apathetic toward her. Still more conflict-arousing is

the situation of a girl who in good faith submits to premarital sexual intercourse as a preparation for marriage and who then discovers that the man has no marital intentions.

Some sociologists report with pride that commercialized prostitution is decreasing. This decrease probably can be explained by the gullibility of an increasing number of immature young girls who are sexually ignorant but who are so stirred emotionally by environmental sex elements that they easily become the prey of nonhonorably male associates. Existing overconcern with sexual gratification seems to be a cause of the prevalence in our society of disturbing conditions such as adolescent delinquency, divorce, venereal disease, and mental illness. Any one of these conditions constitutes a tremendous challenge to parents, educators, and civic leaders. Problems associated with juvenile delinquency are discussed in Chapter 12; some basic aspects of mental illness are included in Chapter 11; a brief consideration of venereal disease is presented below.

VENEREAL DISEASE AS AN INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEM

Although much headway has been made in developing controls of venereal disease, it continues to be a dangerous accompaniment of promiscuity.

Active venereal diseases. Diseases that usually are introduced into the body through the genital organs by means of sexual contact are referred to as venereal diseases. They are extremely contagious and harmful. Since another person is involved in their spread, they often are called the *social diseases*.

The two most prevalent venereal diseases are *syphilis* and *gonorrhea*. After infection the syphilis germs (*Spirochaete pallida*) multiply rapidly and soon make their way into the blood stream and thereby distribute themselves throughout the body. A pimple may be observed at the point of infection but may disappear within a short time. The damage to the individual continues, however. Within a period of time the devastating effect of the disease upon the body is manifested in the form of severe impairment of many vital organs. The disease is contagious during its first two stages.

Gonorrhea is more widespread than syphilis and is caused by a paired germ (gonococcus). This disease, localized in the region of the genital organs, does not spread its influence to other parts of the body. Severe damage, however, may be done to the organs of the reproductive system, sometimes causing blindness in newborn children of infected mothers.

As a result of present-day scientific knowledge, recovery from either syphilis or gonorrhea can be achieved easily if the disease is discovered

early and treatment started immediately. In spite of this fact, the actual reduction of the incidence of the disease is small, caused partly by the fact that there is an increase in sexual promiscuity. It is fortunate that under most circumstances a person is unlikely to acquire syphilis from ordinary contacts, since the germ does not live long outside the body. Protection from a venereal disease of oneself as well as of others is helped if an individual who suspects that he has been exposed to possible infection goes at once to a competent physician for diagnosis and treatment.

The following salient facts about syphilis and gonorrhea should be known by all young people as well as adults:⁵

Syphilis

Caused by a spiral germ called the spirochete pallida.

Primary sore, secondary symptoms, latent period and late manifestations. (No detailed symptomatology.)

Treatment and cure by standard and new measures; dangers of quackery and self-medication.

Transmission by sexual and non-sexual methods.

Prostitutes and other sexually promiscuous persons as sources of infection.

Symptoms often not readily detected; possibility of infection by seemingly healthy person.

Physician should be consulted if individual thinks there is any likelihood of infection.

Effectiveness of continence; limited effectiveness of mechanical and chemical prophylaxis and personal hygiene as preventive means.

Gonorrhea

Caused by a spherical germ called gonococcus.

Genital and non-genital manifestations of the disease.

Modern use of the antibiotics (penicillin, aureomycin) to effect cure; dangers of quackery and self-medication.

Sexual and (rare) non-sexual transmission.

Prostitutes and other sexually promiscuous persons as sources of infection.

Effectiveness of continence; limited effectiveness of mechanical and chemical prophylaxis and personal hygiene as preventive means.

Attitudes toward social diseases. The incidence of venereal disease has been high throughout the ages. In the past the disease was so prevalent in some cultures that it was accepted as an inevitable concomitant of sexual intercourse; in other societies an infected person became a social outcast, unworthy of medical care. In our culture vigorous campaigns are being waged to prevent the spread of venereal disease and to cure those who are infected.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 137-138. Reprinted with permission of the American Social Hygiene Association, New York, from *Preinduction Health and Human Relations*, copyright, 1953, by the American Social Hygiene Association.

An important objective of the American Social Hygiene Association is to fight the spread of venereal disease. To this end it has worked closely with the members of the Armed Forces to combat underlying conditions in its spread near camps where soldiers are in training. The ASHA also shares in preinduction preparation of teen-agers who are faced with entering the services. The program of orientation toward wholesome sex behavior and of information concerning the destructive effects of these contagious diseases is an excellent compliment to the ASHA program of education for personal and family adjustment and other phases of the association's services. In the ASHA's carefully prepared outline, *Pre-induction Health and Human Relations*, significant suggestions are given to adolescents who are preparing for military service. In the outline are included a report on the need for self-evaluation and numerous suggestions for the guidance of adolescents in their personal and human relationships.

In a study concerning how people in Columbus, Ohio, think about VD, J. A. Morsell reports his findings:

Syphilis and extramarital relations

Even prior to infection, health concerns which might lead people to take precautions against acquiring VD are not considered of major importance.

The second wave of interviews included two questions aimed at discovering whether fear of catching the disease tended to deter people from illicit sexual relations. Asked to select the most important of several reasons why people do *not* have sex relations outside of marriage, only 29% named fear of syphilis as the most important. (The other reasons were fear of pregnancy, fear of ruining one's chances for marriage, and sinfulness.)

Given the possibility that a way could be found to vaccinate people against syphilis (as with smallpox), only half of the respondents thought that such a vaccination would affect the amount of extramarital sex relations . . . the others stated largely that they didn't think people were "that much worried about catching syphilis."

To summarize the survey findings, while the average citizen of Columbus was convinced that syphilis is dangerous to health, he did not consider this fact a major reason for avoiding possible infectious intercourse, nor did he necessarily consider it the strongest of the many factors likely to affect an individual's course of action *after* contracting an infection.

The level of anxiety about venereal disease

It is apparent from this description of the various ideas about syphilis that people hold that they differ in the intensity of their concern regarding it.

* J. A. Morsell, "VD, How Do City People Think about VD?" Reprinted with the permission of the American Social Hygiene Association, New York, from *Journal of Social Hygiene*, vol. 38, no. 9, copyright, 1952, by the American Social Hygiene Association. (December, 1952, p. 393.)

Some of them are worried about it. Some are "afraid" of it. Some would feel "guilty" if they found out they had syphilis.

In an attempt to gauge the degree of anxiety, answers to the attitude-questions were rated according to how much "emotion" they appeared to reveal. While only 11% of the respondents expressed attitudes entirely free from worry, the proportion who showed real anxiety ("emotional" reactions to more than half the questions) was relatively small also—25%. The majority of the sample gave a moderate number of responses denoting anxiety.

The low average level of anxiety displayed in Columbus makes it understandable why most people do not consider fear of catching syphilis the most important reason for avoiding extramarital sex relations.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What values to adolescents may result from an understanding of the structure and function of the sex organs?
2. Discuss difficulties involved in dealing effectively with sex problems at different stages of individual development.
3. In what ways may information concerning glandular functioning be of help to an adolescent? A young married couple? Parents?
4. List significant sex differences between men and women.
5. What are the values that may be received by adolescents if they are given training concerning female sexual behavior before marriage?
6. What is the value to teen-age girls of understanding something about male sexual behavior before marriage?
7. In the light of Kinsey's findings, what attitudes might well be adopted by parents and youth leaders toward the practice of masturbation among adolescents?
8. Discuss the social implications of homosexuality.
9. What significance should be given to the findings of Kinsey and his associates concerning the sexual behavior of adolescents and young adults?
10. Among the differing cultures, what are the bases for differences in sexual practices?
11. What social outcomes are likely to result from an increase in sexual activity among unmarried adolescents?
12. Why are syphilis and gonorrhea sometimes called "social diseases"?
13. Indicate differences in the effects to an individual of syphilis and gonorrhea, or to society.
14. What should an adolescent know relative to the cause, cure, and prevention of venereal disease?
15. Compare modern with earlier procedures in mate selection. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each.
16. In what ways may instruction in sex matters assist the marriage relationship?
17. View the film *Human Growth* and discuss the value of showing it to junior and senior high school pupils in coeducational situations.

18. Debate: "The present freedom of behavior between the sexes is personally and socially undesirable."

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Chapter 10

PHYSICAL, MENTAL, AND EMOTIONAL DEVIATION

The words *normal* and *average*, as applied to human development or behavior, are commonly used terms to describe individuals who seem to display developmental patterns or personal characteristics that are similar to those of the majority of their age-peer group. In any attempt to determine normalcy, the size and constitution of the group studied is a significant point of reference, however. For example, in terms of height a Japanese man is normally much shorter than an average Norwegian. Yet there are some Japanese who are taller than some Norwegians. Hence an established height norm for the entire population of the world might have little meaning if it were applied to the population of a particular racial or geographical group. The most accurate conclusion, therefore, might be that there are average height trends in specific groups that have some validity for other groups, e.g., the results of height studies seem to indicate that the average man is taller than the average woman.

DEVIATION FROM THE NORM

A comprehensive and scientifically conducted statistical study of any phase of development or behavior in a particular group will yield an adequate norm for this characteristic that can be applied in a comparative evaluation of the individual members of the group. It then may be discovered that no individual is representative of the exact numerical norm. Some individuals cluster so closely around the statistical average, however, that for practical purposes they can be considered to be normal for their group.

Normal adolescent trends. Chapters 4-6 dealt with some of the major characteristics of physical, physiological, mental, and emotional development during adolescence. In those chapters we were dealing primarily with what can be considered to be the relatively normal development progress as the individual changes gradually from childhood status to adult maturity.

In the previous discussions we gave attention to some of the biological and environmental factors that operate as directive influences upon adolescent development. We emphasized the fact that each individual differs from every other individual to the extent that there are differ-

ences in inherited potential and variation in the effect upon the growing and maturing adolescent of his environmental experiences.

Insofar as in any area of development and consequent behavior patterning an adolescent's deviation from a statistically determined norm is relatively slight, he can be helped to achieve satisfactory personal and social adjustment to the ordinary life experiences of teen-agers. As a result of unusual inborn potential, atypical development, or uncommon environmental experience an adolescent may deviate so greatly from the average of one or another area of development that he encounters difficulties of adjustment that are not experienced by his more normal peer associates. Hence he can be regarded as an atypical or exceptional adolescent.

SIGNIFICANCE OF EXCEPTIONALITY

An adolescent is classified as exceptional or atypical when or if his ability or behavior differs markedly from that which is considered to be normal for his group. The deviation is sufficient to warrant that special attention be accorded him by the members of his family and school personnel, as well as by society in general. The greater the degree of exceptionality, the more important it is that it receive intelligent and constructive consideration.

Meaning of and areas of exceptionality. Interpreted broadly, *exceptional or atypical* refers to a condition of an individual that, even to the casual observer, may seem to set him apart from other more normal members of his group. From the point of view of those persons who are responsible for an atypical individual's developmental or learning experiences, the concept of exceptionality is expressed succinctly in the words of Lloyd M. Dunn: "By definition, then, *the exceptional pupil is one who deviates from the average in mental, physical, social, or emotional characteristics to such an extent that he is unable to profit adequately from the regular high-school curriculum alone, and requires special educational services in order to have educational opportunity equal to that provided the usual pupil.*"¹

If the atypical adolescent is to be helped meet his developmental and adjustment needs, the specific kinds of service rendered in his behalf must differ in terms of his particular form of exceptionality. Consequently, the various types of exceptional individuals usually are classified as

¹L. M. Dunn, in *The Education of Handicapped and Gifted Pupils in the Secondary School*, Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary-school Principals, p. 4, January, 1955.

Physical Condition

1. Blind and partially sighted
2. Deaf and hard of hearing
3. Defective in speech
4. Crippled
5. Otherwise physically handicapped
6. Health handicapped, i.e., epileptic, tubercular, cardiac, and delicate

Mental Status

7. Mentally superior, i.e., genius, near genius, and specially talented
8. Mentally retarded, i.e., dull normal, moron, imbecile, idiot

Emotional and Social Adjustment

9. Emotionally disturbed
10. Socially maladjusted

It can be noted that the physical and emotional types of exceptionality represent below-average conditions, but that mental deviation may tend toward either superior or retarded status.

Extent of exceptionality. No complete census is available for school-age exceptional children and adolescents. Various estimates have been made, however, that place the percentage of school-age atypicals at about 10 per cent of the total school population. Included in the 1953-1954 survey of education in the United States are data concerning the respective types of exceptional children and adolescents who are enrolled in urban schools, including elementary and secondary schools. From these data can be estimated, for each of the types of exceptionality, its percentage of incidence in the total school population, approximately 29,000,000 elementary school pupils and 7,700,000 secondary school pupils.

The number of atypical pupils classified according to type of exceptionality and to school level with percentage of incidence of each type for the total school population is presented in Table 25.

Although the percentage of exceptionality as presented in Table 25 totals 14.73 per cent of the total school population, each of some of the atypical pupils may represent more than one type of exceptionality. For example, a blind child may be crippled, or a speech-handicapped pupil may be mentally retarded and socially maladjusted. Hence we probably are safe in estimating the percentage of handicapped individuals to be about 10 per cent.

There probably are relatively more exceptional pupils in the elementary schools than in secondary schools. This can be explained partly by the fact that the subpar condition may become severe enough for the

Table 25. *Percentage of Exceptional School-age Population*

Type of exceptionality	Percentage of school-age population	Estimated number (1955-1956)	
		Elementary	Secondary
Blind...	03	8,700	2,310
Partially seeing	20	58,000	15,400
Deaf and hard of hearing	1 50	435,000	115,500
Speech handicapped	4 00	1,000,000	308,000
Crippled...	1 50	435,000	115,500
Special health cases	1 50	435,000	115,500
Mentally retarded	2 00	580,000	154,000
Gifted	2 00	580,000	154,000
Socially maladjusted	2 00	580,000	154,000
Total	14.73	4,111,700	1,134,210

older child to be hospitalized or otherwise institutionalized. Certain unfavorable health conditions may not be evidenced until the adolescent years, however. In addition, many mentally retarded children do not reach the senior high school, but the gifted may not seem to require special educational opportunities until their secondary school years. Consequently, the relative percentage of atypical pupils on the respective school levels is not so important as the difference in educational opportunities that may be needed.

Adjustment needs of exceptional adolescents. Atypical adolescents can be expected to experience the inner drives, urges, and interests that are characteristic of other teen-agers. The fact that a young person is a deviate does not lessen or eliminate his fundamental physical and psychological needs. Since the satisfaction of his felt needs may be limited by his atypical condition, he often encounters frustration-arousing situations. The way in which, and the extent to which, feelings of thwarting or frustration are experienced are closely related to the adolescent's particular type of exceptionality and its effect upon the behavior of others toward him, as well as the attitude he develops toward himself, his atypical status, and his associates.

During his maturing years the atypical individual's home and school relationships are particularly important. It is his democratic right, for example, to be the recipient of all of the educational advantages enjoyed by his peers insofar as he is able to profit from participation in learning activities. He must be understood and accepted by school people. Yet, as Samuel R. Laycock, former dean of education at the University of Saskatchewan, so well states it:²

² In *ibid.*, p. 11.

Understanding and acceptance mean that equality of educational opportunity is not a matter of providing the same curricula, methods of teaching, and school facilities for all children but of providing sufficiently varied curricula, methods of teaching, and school plant and equipment as will give all children a reasonable chance to develop in accordance with their abilities and needs. Furthermore, understanding means more than tolerance in personal relations. It means relating oneself to individual children with the same acceptance of differences and the same respect for others as we accord those with whom we come in contact in ordinary living.

In the following pages we shall discuss adolescent adjustment problems that are linked with each of the respective types of exceptionality. We also shall attempt to suggest for each some of the adjustive approaches that can be utilized by adults and peer associates in their relationships with young people who give evidence of one or another type of deviation from the accepted norm.

PHYSICAL EXCEPTIONALITY

The adolescent who suffers a sensory or motor defect or is a victim of chronic ill-health needs to receive from others a sympathetic understanding of his difficulty. At the same time, he wants to develop an attitude of self-dependence and self-realization insofar as it is possible for him to do so. He usually resents oversolicitous attempts on the part of others to do things he can do for himself. Contrariwise, he becomes emotionally disturbed when or if persons in his immediate environment seem to avoid him or tend to show by their behavior that they consider him inferior to, or very different from, themselves.

These general characteristics are common to most young people. Each type of exceptionality is accompanied by specific problems of adjustment, however.

The blind and partially sighted. The blind adolescent suffers from complete lack of vision; the vision of a partially sighted young person falls between 20/70 and 20/200 vision in the better eye after all attempts at possible correction have been made. Although the percentage of the entire school population with impaired vision is relatively small (less than 0.25 per cent), the young people thus afflicted represent a group of seriously handicapped individuals who experience social maladjustment. The visually handicapped adolescent's ability to relate to his physical and social environment is dependent upon time and intensity factors, i.e., blindness or impaired vision at birth, or total blindness or defective vision acquired during childhood.

The individual who never has been able to see things and persons

needs training to develop his other sensory equipment to the point that he is enabled to create at least some visual images. This is a difficult task since neither the blind person himself nor his parents or teachers can be certain that he is acquiring adequate mental pictures. The once-sighted adolescent possesses a background of visual imagery upon which he can be helped to build mental images of present phenomena in terms of memory. In some ways the young person who attempts to compare remembered sights with existing changed visual stimulations experiences greater frustration than does the individual who has had to learn from birth to adjust himself to an unseen world.

The problems of the partially sighted adolescent are different from those of the totally blind. The individual who is born with weak eyesight constantly is faced with the necessity of interpreting what he sees in terms of what others say they see. The difficulty is intensified if neither he nor others recognize the fact that his vision is impaired. If or when he fails to report accurately about what he is supposed to see, he may be accused of being uninterested, inattentive, or stupid.

The adolescent whose vision has become defective as a result of an accident, illness, or too great eyestrain that is caused by excessive reading or other close eye work is likely to recognize his difficulty. If he is sensible, he consciously reduces eye work to a minimum. It is not always easy for an individual to change his habits, however. An adolescent or young adult may persist in completing his education through the college level or beyond. Then he discovers that he thereby has ruined his eyes to the extent that he is prevented from engaging in the occupational activity for entrance into which he had prepared. His ambition may have been so great that he was impelled to ignore the fact that he was overtaxing his eyesight.

For example, even as a child the eyesight of a young man known to the authors was below par. Although he was aware of his visual impairment, he tried to convince himself that he would outgrow the difficulty. His vocational ambition was to prepare himself for the legal profession. By the time he had reached his senior year at college he was willing to admit that, in spite of delayed ophthalmological treatment, his eyesight was becoming worse rather than better. Consequently, he was compelled to change his vocational plans.

He needed to limit his vocational choice to a form of activity in which there would be a minimum of reading. Since he possessed an outgoing socially attractive personality, he entered the sales field, in which he achieved considerable success. He does not find this type of work suited to his interests and abilities, however. Now, at the age of 30 he is restless and dissatisfied; he keeps searching for an occupational opportunity in

which he can find an outlet for his vocational ambitions in spite of his visual impairment.

Physicians, parents, and school people have become increasingly alert to the child's need of eye care. Physicians treat the eyes of newborn infants to prevent possible venereal infection. The pediatrician watches carefully the visual development of the infant and young child. Parents are learning to recognize early symptoms of abnormal vision. In most school systems periodic eye examinations for all pupils are mandatory; appropriately lensed glasses are recommended for those children who appear to need them.

Usually parents are expected to provide for the meeting of this need. In cases of parental economic inability to do so, many schools assume the financial responsibility, either entirely or in part. Although the school is obliged to make certain that a pupil's visual defect is corrected insofar as possible, strong resistance to the carrying out of school recommendation may be displayed either by the young person concerned or his parents. Ignorance or indifference may cause the adults to refuse or delay the procuring of glasses for the adolescent. It is not uncommon for a parent to assert variously that the "eye doctor" will damage the child's eyes by putting "drops" into them; that all the members of the family have good eyesight (grandfather died at the age of 80 without ever having worn glasses, even though increasing old age had resulted in his almost complete blindness); or that there is no need to bother about glasses now, since most children have some trouble with their eyes which they outgrow as they become older.

For a child or an adolescent to dislike the wearing of glasses is understandable. They interfere with a child's participation in active play. He may break or lose them, thus incurring the anger of his parents, or earn teacher disapproval by forgetting to take them to school. An adolescent girl is likely to believe that wearing glasses detracts from personal attractiveness or is a symbol of overstudiousness. The recent trend toward the manufacture of differently shaped and colored eyeglass frames, some of which are decorated with rhinestone or in other ways made to look distinctive, is tending somewhat to break down the adolescent girl's resistance to wearing them. For the adolescent boy who is sports-minded, however, the wearing of eyeglasses continues to constitute an intolerable situation to which he may react by consciously refusing to wear them.

As a result of the prejudice on the part of young people against sight conservation or improvement, many relatively mild and easily corrected visual defects are allowed to develop into cases of chronic visual impairment. Fortunately, the preservation of adequate eyesight is receiving increased attention from the citizenry at large. Scientific experimentation

has resulted in the production of light bulbs that reduce eyestrain. Publishers are giving greater consideration to the size of type, spacing of letters, and kind of paper used in books, especially textbooks. The wearing of glasses during the early years as a means of strengthening a child's vision is coming to be accepted by a greater number of parents and children than formerly was the case. The adjustments of those young people whose visual defects cannot be improved by artificial aids or by treatment continue to be serious problems, however.

One of the most significant problems of the blind and partially sighted is the development of good social attitudes. These handicapped young people need to find a place for themselves among their sighted peer associates. This objective probably can be achieved best through the sharing of as many school experiences as their handicap will permit. Hence on the secondary school and college levels they should receive their education in regular classes. Since there is no relation between blindness or sight impairment and mental status, rapid learners can be helped to master academic subjects and some skills.

Blind students can be trained to read Braille and to use a typewriter. Some commonly used textbooks have been translated into Braille form, thus helping the blind person to master some subject matter without the aid of a "reader." The ability to read Braille and to gain skill in typewriting, combined with careful listening to, and participation in, class discussions, has an excellent psychological effect upon a blind adolescent. Thereby he is helped to develop an attitude of self-dependence. This prevents the arousal in him of feelings of self-pity or inadequacy that result from dependence upon others, who by their zealous attempts to help the handicapped may give evidence not only that they feel sorry for their blind classmate but that they are conscious of their superiority to him.

The attitude displayed by sighted adolescents toward a blind classmate has a potent effect upon the latter. An interesting situation recently came to the attention of the authors. Jane had been a member of an elementary school class for the blind, in which she had gained a commendable amount of self-dependence and self-assurance. She then went to a high school in which there were sighted young people who had had no previous experience with the blind. Consequently, Jane's classmates, assuming that she was completely dependent upon others, felt so sorry for her that they overwhelmed her with attention. They led her from classroom to classroom, made certain that she was seated comfortably in each room, and reported to her in detail what was happening. In turn, they read the assignments to her, explaining each point of a lesson as though she could not think for herself.

This was a new experience for Jane. The solicitude in her behalf of

these adolescents has resulted in the girl's losing her earlier developed self-assurance; she is becoming increasingly dependent upon them. She appears to be gaining emotional satisfaction from the fact that she is the object of peer-group attention. She is beginning to demand similar treatment from her family and out-of-school associates. A member of the school staff, recognizing the harm that has been done to the handicapped girl by her overenthusiastic schoolmates, is trying, with little success so far, to help the blind girl and her school associates develop a more realistic attitude toward the handicap. Sooner or later during her high school years Jane must regain her former self-dependence before she is faced with the problem of adjusting to adult experiences that may require her willingness and ability to fend for herself.

During their growing-up years the blind and partially sighted need to be encouraged to participate in appropriate social and recreational activities with their sighted peer-age associates. Some adolescents and adults who suffer from this handicap have been helped to acquire social skills that ensure acceptance of them by most groups. An independent active and accepted blind or partially sighted adolescent is likely to be cheerful, busy, and well adjusted in spite of his handicapped state.

The deaf or hard of hearing. Total deafness usually can be discovered early in the life of a child. Since impaired hearing is less obvious than impaired vision, the individual may succeed in concealing the fact for a long time. Hearing impairment may result from any one of various defective conditions of an individual's hearing mechanism. Hence hearing may be restored through surgical operation, or improved by means of a hearing aid. The totally deaf child whose hearing cannot be restored or improved needs to be helped early to adjust to a physical and social environment which he can see but the many different sounds of which lie outside his field of experience.

A popular misconception concerning the interrelation of the senses is that the loss of one sense results in naturally increased acuity of the other senses. Although this belief is not founded upon actual fact, it is true that a deaf person can be trained to compensate for his hearing handicap by utilizing sight, touch, smell, and taste more effectively than does the normally hearing individual. Through the superior development of his other senses the deaf person is enabled to establish relatively adequate intercommunication with his associates and to gain knowledge of the physical environment.

A child who is deaf from birth cannot speak intelligibly. Although his vocal organs are ready to function adequately, the sounds which are produced by him as a young baby cannot follow the course of progressively developing speech patterns that are acquired by the normal child through imitation of the oral speech of others. Formerly, therefore, the

deaf were considered to be "dumb," and there was developed an elaborate system of sign language based upon the utilization of various meaningful positions of fingers, hands, and arms, accompanied by facial expressions and head movements.

By means of this "deaf-and-dumb" language intercommunication was made possible among deaf people, as well as between the handicapped and hearing persons who mastered appropriate manipulatory symbols. The recognition by scientists of the fact that oral speech is accompanied by throat vibrations which differ in terms of intelligible oral sounds has been a boon to deaf children. Although the process is slow and requires much patience on the part of the deaf child as well as his teacher, the former can learn to speak intelligibly by sensitizing the tips of his fingers to his teacher's as well as to his own throat vibrations that are associated with particular word sounds. Through this technique controlled vocalization is developed.

The deaf child also can be trained to read the lips of a speaker who is facing him. Remarkable progress has been made in the education of the deaf. Recently one of the authors engaged in a long and interesting conversation with a professional associate without knowing that the man is totally deaf. Moreover, one could attend a play produced by the pupils of a school for the deaf and find no differences from a dramatic production enacted by hearing persons, unless he were sufficiently observant to notice that the deaf actors "listened" to one another by watching the lips of the speaker.

Because of the need of the deaf person to be face to face with the speaker in order to understand what is being said, he finds it difficult to participate in large group discussions. Further, a deaf person is likely to be suspicious of a conversation which he cannot hear. Even though he is a lip reader, a group of persons may be so situated that he cannot "hear" what they are saying. If one or more of the group happen to look in his direction, he is likely to conclude that they are criticizing or ridiculing him, or commenting upon his handicapped condition. As a result, he may experience a strong feeling of resentment or frustration.

In many ways the deaf are exposed to more conflict-arousing stimulations than the blind. The latter remain unaware of the presence of certain subtle environmental stimuli that can be seen by the deaf but only partially evaluated correctly, if at all. The general attitude of nurses and social-service workers concerning temperamental differences between the blind and the deaf is that the former tend to be cheerful and cooperative but that the latter are likely to be irritable, suspicious, and demanding. We must recognize the fact, however, that there are individual differences among adolescents in each group.

The problems of the hard-of-hearing young person are different from.

but often equally as serious as, those of a totally deaf child or adolescent. Both deafness and inadequate hearing may result from illness or an accident. Speech patterns developed before the onset of total deafness may continue to be of service to the afflicted individual but, at the same time, the more or less sudden loss of hearing may induce marked emotional disturbance that interferes considerably with his educational progress. Except for rapid learners, few totally deaf young people continue their schooling through the secondary level. Those who are deaf in one ear only, or are below par in both ears, usually continue their education within the limits of their mental ability and learning interests.

Even though a deaf or hard-of-hearing child attends a special elementary school in which he receives training appropriate to his type of defect, it is psychologically desirable that he continue his education in a regular secondary school. Certain adaptations of customary learning procedures may be needed, however, to meet his special needs. According to Genevieve Drennen:³

A complete program for the deaf and the hard of hearing at the secondary level should have a four-fold objective: (1) to find, through testing, students who need otologist and audiological help; (2) to present an integrated program of speech reading, auditory training, speech development, and language development based on the needs of the individual; (3) to guide and counsel students in preparing for a vocation; and (4) to integrate the program with the total school curriculum.

Parents and teachers often misjudge the behavior of the partially deaf young person. If a child or adolescent fails to respond to an adult's question or request, he is likely to be accused of inattention, disinterest, daydreaming, stubbornness, or "psychological" deafness (failure to hear what he does not want to hear). A hard-of-hearing adolescent may be extremely sensitive about his impairment. He tries to conceal the fact that he cannot hear what is said. Sometimes a child, as well as an adolescent, is so reluctant to let his peers find out about his difficulty that in the classroom he will give the impression that he does not know the answer to a question asked him by his teacher rather than admit that he cannot hear the question.

If parents and teachers discover early that a child's hearing is impaired, appropriate treatment often can be administered successfully. If the defect is permitted to continue into the adolescent years, however, little can be done to remedy it. The only recourse then is the wearing of a good hearing aid. An increasing number of adults are coming to recognize the value to themselves of using an artificial device. Some adults and most adolescents are unwilling thus to attract attention to their de-

³G. Drennen, "Secondary Education for Acoustically Handicapped Students," in *The Education of Handicapped and Gifted Pupils in the Secondary School*, p. 96.

fect, even though intercommunication would be improved thereby. Hence manufacturers of hearing aids are experimenting with the production of mechanical devices that will be less noticeable and easier to manage than those now available.

Adolescents with speech defects. For practical purposes, speech defects usually are classified according to two major categories: *organic* and *functional*. At present there is some disagreement between psychologists and speech pathologists concerning the possibility that all speech disorders have an organic base. Certain speech difficulties result from structural or organic abnormalities, e.g., deafness, cleft palate, harelip, teeth formation and arrangement, malformation of the vocal organs, cerebral palsy, illnesses, or brain injury.

The incidence of specific organically caused defects is relatively low. Many adolescents and young adults give evidence of more or less serious forms of unacceptable speech, however. These include so-called "baby talk" (especially among girls, sometimes used to gain attention from male associates); slovenly speech or careless pronunciation of consonant and vowel sounds; inadequate voice control, such as excessive loudness or softness, thinness, harshness, or monotonous pitch; foreign accent; lallation; stammering and stuttering. Some defective speech patterns result from imitation during childhood of adult models that represented inadequate speech standards. The adolescent finds it difficult to alter or eliminate unattractive speech or voice habits that earlier had been developed and accepted in the home and neighborhood, and more or less disregarded outside the immediate home community.

If or when as a high school student the adolescent realizes that his speech is subnormal for the group, he may become embarrassed and emotionally insecure. He then may meet the disturbing situation by aggressive intensification of the unacceptable speech or voice usage, by withdrawing, by reluctance to speak unless he is compelled to do so, or by abortive attempts to model his speech or voice patterns according to what he considers to be highly acceptable standards, and thereby acquire artificial speech or voice usage.

A severe shock or a strong emotional conflict may cause a child, more often an adolescent, to develop a stammer or a stutter. A bright young person may find that his thoughts flow so quickly that they run ahead of his oral expression of them. He cannot find the right words to express his ideas. The more emotionally excited he becomes, the more difficult it is for him to utter the word that he wants or to start saying it without hesitation. Continued experiences of this kind set up emotional blocks that interfere with normal speech patterns. If this conflict-arousing situation occurs in a classroom, teacher pressure or impatience and classroom ridicule intensify the adolescent's speech difficulty.

Educators are beginning to recognize the importance to a young person of developing acceptable speech and voice patterns and of the effect upon speech adequacy of shock-producing and conflict-arousing experiences. Psychologists, speech pathologists, and speech therapists are emphasizing the need of early speech and voice patterning. Hence in an increasing number of school systems speech and voice training are being stressed to an extent that was unknown in the past.

In New York City, for example, specially trained teachers of speech improvement are being assigned to elementary schools in order to help children who have speech difficulties. With the cooperation of the parents of these children, "speech improvement" teachers diagnose specific defects and trace their causes. If the speech defect appears to have an organic base, recommendations are made for physical care. The seemingly functional disorder is treated therapeutically by the special teacher, with the aid of parents and regular class teachers. In many high schools teachers of speech utilize various techniques to improve adolescent speech and voice usage. Teacher-training institutions and teacher-licensing agencies require that a young man or woman who aspires to be a teacher possess the kind of speech patterns and voice usage that will be models worthy of pupil imitation.

In one high school an experiment was conducted with fifteen adolescent girls who gave evidence of speech disorders that appeared to be associated with emotional maladjustment. These girls spent one period daily in a student activity lounge with the dean and teachers of health education, music, and speech. The relationships among the girls and the members of the faculty were extremely informal. The girls were encouraged to talk freely among themselves, to dance, and to sing popular songs. The dean was alert to references on the part of any of the girls of the existence of home, school, or personal problem. She then did what she could to ameliorate unwholesome conditions or to improve undesirable attitudes.

During the remainder of the school day the girls attended their regular classes. Their teachers encouraged them to participate in class activities, but avoided asking them direct questions associated with home study. All the girls reported a gradually relaxed and more secure attitude toward their schoolwork. They consciously made an effort to participate in class discussions and acquired increasing fluency of speech. Hesitancy, stammering, and stuttering became less evident, except when they became emotionally disturbed, which sometimes happened without any observable cause. This program of speech rehabilitation continued for two years. It was discontinued when the girls enthusiastically prepared for and, with little or no emotional tensions and in relaxed speech, enacted a play before a large audience of fellow students. Although a project of

this kind is costly and requires teacher patience, the rewards in the form of adolescent rehabilitation are well worth the expenditure of money, time, and effort.

The crippled and otherwise physically handicapped adolescent. Like the blind and the deaf, orthopedically handicapped adolescents possess the urges, interests, and desires that are characteristic of most physically normal young people. To the extent that the physical handicap is easily observed and bars them from the forms of physical activity in which their more fortunate teen-age associates engage, these handicapped adolescents experience severe feelings of thwarting, discouragement, and resentment toward their crippled condition which may deny them the kinds of social participation that is so much desired. Consequently, one of the greatest needs of these young people is to learn so to adjust themselves to their interrelationships in the home, school, and community that they will gain the admiration and respect of their associates in spite of the handicap.

To achieve emotional, social, and vocational adjustment is not easy for the individual who is tied to a wheel chair, cannot walk without crutches, or is the victim of any form of physical malformation or crippling condition. The adolescent who has been handicapped since birth may have been helped early to accept his handicap and to develop skill of performance in those areas of activity in which it is possible for him to engage. Understanding parents and teachers can do much to encourage in the child an attitude of self-dependence insofar as his handicap will permit, and to reduce to a minimum the experiencing of self-pity and the demanding of extreme attention from other persons. Many orthopedically handicapped children are remarkable for their patience, cheerfulness, ability to gain satisfaction from their limited activities, and to win the friendship of their peer associates.

An adolescent who more or less suddenly becomes the victim of a severely crippled condition is deprived thereby of participation in his accustomed physical and social activities. The emotional shock that may accompany his recognition of the effect of the handicap upon his life pattern poses problems of adjustment that are difficult to solve, not only for the young person himself but also for the adults who are responsible for his care. An especially serious problem is the kind or extent of continued schooling which can be made available for him.

The handicap may be so severe that the sufferer cannot attend a regular school. In such cases some school systems provide special teachers who go to the homes of the young people and guide their learning to the point that a high school diploma can be earned. "Homebound" students are denied those social experiences that represent some of the greatest values to be gained from attendance at a regular high school.

Adolescents who are mobile to the extent that they can travel in wheel chairs or with crutches usually are encouraged to attend a regular high school where they are taught in special classes, in regular classes that meet on the first floor (if the school has no elevator), or with any class in the school building that has elevator service.

Since most orthopedic handicaps are obvious, a sensitive crippled adolescent often is embarrassed by having other persons stare at him. They sometimes make comments about his condition, which he overhears, or indicate by their facial expression as they look at him that they pity him or are repelled by his appearance or by his uncontrollable body movements. In spite of the fact that they are fond of him, it sometimes is difficult for members of the handicapped adolescent's family, his teachers, and his close associates to treat him objectively or to disregard his infirmity. The adolescent who experiences such situations is likely to become extremely emotionalized; he is impelled to withdraw from social situations; he may develop an attitude of apathy even toward those activities in which he could participate successfully and thereby earn recognition and commendation.

The achievement of self-direction and self-realization is not always easy for the normal adolescent; for the adolescent who is the victim of a severe orthopedic handicap it often is impossible. He may need psychiatric or other specialized treatment and guidance that can help him acquire socially and vocationally useful skills, accept his physical limitations, and cultivate attractive, cooperative, and outgoing personality characteristics.

Some crippled conditions are localized, especially those that are caused by an accident. Absence of a limb, or a crippled or malformed hand, foot, arm, or leg, may limit an adolescent's physical activities but does not impair his general physical constitution or mental status. It is possible for him to learn to adjust so well to his infirmity that he is enabled to achieve a high degree of competence in his school studies or occupational activities, and to develop outstandingly fine personality traits. Consequently, his contributions are such that they divert attention from his physical handicap, and he becomes an esteemed and sought-after member of his group.

Other serious orthopedic conditions tend progressively to exert detrimental effects upon the individual's physical constitution and physiological functions. For example, in progressive muscular dystrophy, beginning at about age 5, the voluntary muscular tissues gradually degenerate and waste away, at first causing the child to fall easily. He begins then to drag his feet and finally becomes a wheel-chair patient. Cerebral palsy, characterized by motor-function impairment originating in injury to, or abnormal development of, specific brain areas, may result in mental re-

tardation, defective hearing, vision, and speech, or impaired activity of the arms and legs.

Improved surgery, physical and occupational therapy, and appropriate medication are contributing much toward improving the condition of individuals who suffer from one or another form of physical handicap. The emotional strain that is likely to accompany an adolescent's submission to ameliorative or cure-inducing experiences often is so great that the patient requires psychological or psychiatric care as well as surgical or therapeutic treatment.

Moreover, the attitude of parents toward their crippled child is extremely important. The parent who is oversolicitous or continuously gives expression to his feelings of guilty responsibility for his child's unfortunate condition creates a home atmosphere that is conducive to the arousal in the adolescent of self-pity, overdependence upon others, or deep resentment. Parentally displayed attitudes of acceptance, understanding, and helpfulness (when needed) usually motivate the handicapped adolescent to develop constructive, self-orienting attitudes and behavior. Similarly, since the teacher of handicapped adolescents exercises a potent influence upon his students' attitudes and behavior, those qualities that are desirable in dealing with normal adolescents need to be intensified in teachers of the handicapped. According to Bruner:⁴

He [the teacher] needs to be vigorous and optimistic if he is to meet the calls for brace adjustments, wheelchair arrangements, and other daily tasks which make up the routine of teaching the crippled. He should have an attractive appearance, be sincere in purpose, and radiate joy and optimism. He should have a high degree of professional integrity, together with emotional stability. He should be resourceful and adaptable and certainly able to accept interruptions in his program. He must be able to work co-operatively with all other school personnel and with employers.

These students need both men and women teachers who respect mankind, who live with a feeling of personal worth, and who are able and professionally competent to teach the positive learning habits to their students. Both sexes are desirable to the orthopedically handicapped in developing wholesome personalities, thus enabling them to live with dignity and a feeling of personal worth.

The health-handicapped adolescent. As a result of the strain upon their physical constitution of the organic changes that are taking place within them, adolescents are susceptible to cardiac and tubercular difficulties or epileptic seizures. The health condition of the so-called "delicate" child may improve as he matures. If an adolescent's health is not watched carefully, however, his developing urges and interests may cause him to become a victim of a serious health defect or may intensify his delicate

⁴O. P. Bruner, "Adolescents with Orthopedic Handicaps," in *The Education of Handicapped and Gifted Pupils in the Secondary School*, p. 73.

health status. Most high schools require their students to undergo a yearly health examination. In some school communities all teachers and pupils are given periodic chest X rays. It is especially important that predisposition to ill-health be recognized by parents, school people, and young people themselves.

We know that adolescents tend to resent adult attempts to curb youthful interests and activities. It is especially difficult for a health-handicapped boy or girl to submit to the imposition of special restrictions upon his activities, particularly participation in sports and dancing. He may dislike early retiring hours and rest periods during the day. Adolescents who are interested in their school studies are irked by the necessity to carry "limited" subject programs or by prolonged school absences caused by illness.

As we know, habits acquired during childhood tend to persist throughout most of an individual's life, unless changes in undesirable modes of behavior can be effected during the teen years. The delicate or frail child is likely to be pampered and relieved of all responsibility in the home. His oversolicitous parents mistakenly believe that his every wish or whim should be satisfied. His elementary school teachers also may allow their sympathetic attitudes toward his delicate condition to cause them to grant him privileges that the more robust children do not enjoy. Consequently, by the time the child reaches adolescence he is thoroughly spoiled.

In his school and social relationships the spoiled, sickly adolescent expects his teachers and peer associates to accord him the special considerations which he earlier had come to demand as his rights. To the extent that his expanding needs and interests do not receive immediate fulfillment through the efforts on his behalf on the part of his new associates, he experiences many frustrating situations. The impact upon him of these thwartings tends to intensify his already warped personal characteristics.

Although the delicate adolescent needs care and proper consideration of his health limitations, he should not be pampered. Rather should he be encouraged to perform tasks within the limits of his health and intellectual status. Parents and school people working cooperatively can help a young person whose vitality is low or who is the victim of ill-health to develop those outgoing, socially acceptable attitudes that will prevent his becoming a self-centered and health-involved adult.

MENTALLY ATYPICAL ADOLESCENTS

An individual is considered to be mentally atypical if his performance of mental tasks deviates to so great an extent in either direction from an established norm of intelligent behavior that it is difficult or impossible

for him to adapt his thinking patterns to those of the majority of his group. The deviation may represent extreme mental retardation or so great subnormality that no amount or kind of training can induce behavior that is normally intelligent. Or the mental deviate may display behavior that is so superior to that of the normally intelligent individual that intellectual feats far beyond the ability of the mentally average are possible of achievement.

Interpretation of mentally atypical. Both mental retardation and intellectual superiority represent exceptional mental status, although the term *exceptional* often is applied mistakenly only to the superior or gifted. As is true of a physical or health type of exceptionality, a mentally atypical adolescent displays evidence of characteristically deviant attitudes and forms of behavior in terms of his particular type and degree of exceptionality. Formerly many parents and school people assumed that children differed little, if at all, in their ability to learn. Superior performance was explained in terms of superior adult motivation or the innate "goodness" of the child. Inadequate achievement was supposed to result from the learner's unwillingness to learn, laziness, or "badness."

With the acceptance of the psychological concept of individual differences, school people and parents (sometimes reluctantly) came to recognize the fact that some young people are rapid learners and others are below normal or slow learners. It further was recognized that educational offerings and procedures must be fitted to the degree of learning potential possessed by respective children and adolescents. Various techniques, therefore, have been utilized to discover rapid and slow learners.

One study was conducted to discover the "types of identification procedures used to determine mental exceptionality among secondary school pupils."⁵ Of the 1,200 secondary schools to which questionnaires were sent, returns were received from 814.

The questionnaire contained twenty items, each representing a possible identification procedure. The rank of the respective items as identifiers of rapid and slow learners is presented in Table 26. The ranking for most of the items is quite similar for both the rapid and slow learners. It can be seen by inspection of the listed data that the highest ranking techniques are teachers' marks, group intelligence tests, teachers' estimates of school achievement, standardized achievement tests, and information on physical health.

It is not enough to discover mental differences among adolescents. Not only do the behavior characteristics of the mentally retarded adolescent differ from those of the intellectually gifted, but also do their respective

⁵ A. Jewett and J. D. Hull (coordinators), *Teaching Rapid and Slow Learners in High Schools*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Bulletin 1954, no. 5.

mental and emotional needs. Hence school people share with parents the responsibility of helping mentally exceptional adolescents achieve satisfying adjustments to their particular mental potentialities and in their interpersonal relationships.

Table 26. Techniques Used in Discovering Rapid- and Slow-learning Pupils

<i>Item</i>	<i>Rank order</i>	
	<i>Rapid learners</i>	<i>Slow learners</i>
Teachers' marks	1	1
Group intelligence tests	2	2
Teachers' estimates of school achievement	3	3
Standardized achievement tests	4	5
Information of physical health	5	4
Guidance counselor's appraisal of pupils' interests, aptitudes, and abilities	6	6
Information on vocational plans	7	7
Information on reading interests and habits	8	8
Information on home environment	9	9
Anecdotal reports and records	10	10
Information on personality adjustment	11	11
Teachers' estimates of aptitudes	12	12
Information on physical maturity	13	13
Homeroom adviser's appraisal of pupils' interests, aptitudes, and abilities	14	15
Information on social maturity	15	14
Information on hobbies	16	16
Teachers' estimates of intelligence	17	18
Standardized aptitude tests in specific fields	18	19
Individual intelligence tests	19	17
Parental appraisal of pupils' interests, aptitudes, and abilities	20	20

SOURCE: Adapted from A. Jewett and J. D. Hull (coordinators), *Teaching Rapid and Slow Learners in High Schools*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Bulletin 1954, no. 5, pp. 16-17.

Informal and formal education that is either broad in scope or intensive in form represents the medium through which can be fulfilled the adjustment needs of exceptional young people. Although we shall consider the fundamental adjustive factors that function in the developmental process for both the retarded and the superior adolescent, emphasis will be placed upon the value to both of the mentally atypical groups of their educational experiences.

The gifted and mentally retarded do not profit similarly from their schooling, no matter how excellent the learning opportunities may be. Nevertheless, no matter what the adolescent's capacity for learning is,

there should be made available to him the best that can be provided to meet his special needs. The principle of individual differences in mental ability will continue to operate as a limiting factor of the amount of learning and the adjustments that can be achieved by a particular learner. The equality of educational opportunity needs to be broadened in its interpretation to include the kind of understanding and acceptance of intellectual variation, on the part of the adult public, that will permit school authorities to provide school equipment and facilities, teaching techniques, curriculums, and programs that will enable each adolescent to develop to the maximum whatever learning potential he possesses.

The Mentally Superior or Specially Gifted Adolescent

Society usually selects as its leaders those individuals who give evidence of keen insight, objective and impartial judgment, and comprehensive and intensive understanding, as these qualities are related to successful leadership in any given area of endeavor. It is imperative, therefore, that potential leaders be discovered early. These young people then should be motivated by their parents and school personnel to expand and refine their special endowments.

Educational needs of the gifted. The intellectually gifted adolescent can be expected to attain a high degree of skill performance and subject matter mastery. Best educational outcomes usually result if the gifted individual, after experiencing a broad, enriched background of fundamental education, is stimulated to focus his study activity upon intensive learning in the field of his special abilities.

Too many exceptionally bright young people are permitted to dissipate their energies by attempting to become partially trained in various areas as these in turn attract their changing interests. Others develop a kind of intellectual snobbery that excludes any individuals whom they consider to be mentally inferior to themselves. Hence as important as the bright adolescent's intellectual challenge, if not more so, is his recognition of the comparative values of education and his willingness to be helped to achieve emotional stability and adequate adjustment in his interpersonal relationships with mentally less able associates as well as with his intellectual peers.

Characteristics of the gifted. Contrary to popular belief before the twentieth century, the physical constitution and health status of the intellectually superior child or adolescent are superior to the physical condition of the mentally normal young person. In general, the approximately 16,000 mentally superior adolescents in the United States are superior in height, weight, strength, physique, and health. The comparative studies of children's characteristics that were conducted by present-century

psychologists appear to yield conclusive evidence that physically, emotionally, socially, and in length of life span, as well as mentally, the gifted, as a group, are superior to other children.⁶

From another study by Terman and his associates it was discovered that mentally superior children show evidence of less-than-average extent of defect in eight areas of physical and health status. These comparative data are presented in Figure 43. By inspection of the two bar graphs included in Figure 43 it can be seen that in only one area of defect—vision—do both gifted boys and girls appear to have a somewhat higher percentage of incidence over the others. Gifted boys appear to show slightly more nervousness than their control group.

Heredity seems to play an important role among the causes contributing to the possession of superior mental ability. In studies of the occupational level of parents of the gifted, it has been found that the percentage of parents having professional status varies from 31.4 per cent (Terman) through 43.1 per cent (Cattell) to 50 per cent (Galton).⁷ From these data it can be concluded that many gifted children are reared in homes that represent professional or near to professional attitudes and interests. Hence not only do these children probably inherit superior parental potential but they also are exposed to environmental advantages in the form of books, magazines, and other educational facilities, as well as enriching experiences such as association with alert and challenging family friends, and opportunities for extensive travel.

The fact that on the average mentally superior children and adolescents tend also to be physically and emotionally superior does not guarantee that every gifted individual is representative of the group norm physically or emotionally. Whether a particular young person achieves good health status and emotional stability during his childhood and adolescent years depends in great part upon his parents' reactions to his mental superiority as well as upon his relationship with teachers and peer associates. The following situational experiences will illustrate this point.

A bright little boy or girl is likely to "pick up" one or another form of "cute" behavior, e.g., reciting bits of verse, singing popular songs, or executing simple ballet steps. If the parents' pride in their child's accomplishments is greater than their understanding of child nature, they may insist that he repeatedly display his special talent for the benefit of visiting friends and relatives.

Parental encouragement of childish "showing off" can affect a

⁶See L. Hollingworth, *Gifted Children*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926; B. B. Greenberg, "The Education of the Intellectually Gifted," *Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1938, p. 95; L. M. Terman et al., "Psychological Approaches to the Biography of Genius," *Science*, pp. 293-301, 1940.

⁷R. J. Baker, *Introduction to Exceptional Children*, rev. ed., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1953, p. 287.

youngster's self-regarding attitude in either of two ways. An aggressive child becomes too sophisticated for his age or overdemanding of attention; a shy or modest youngster is sensitive to the behavior of the adults who are expected by his parents to be amazed by his superiority. He is

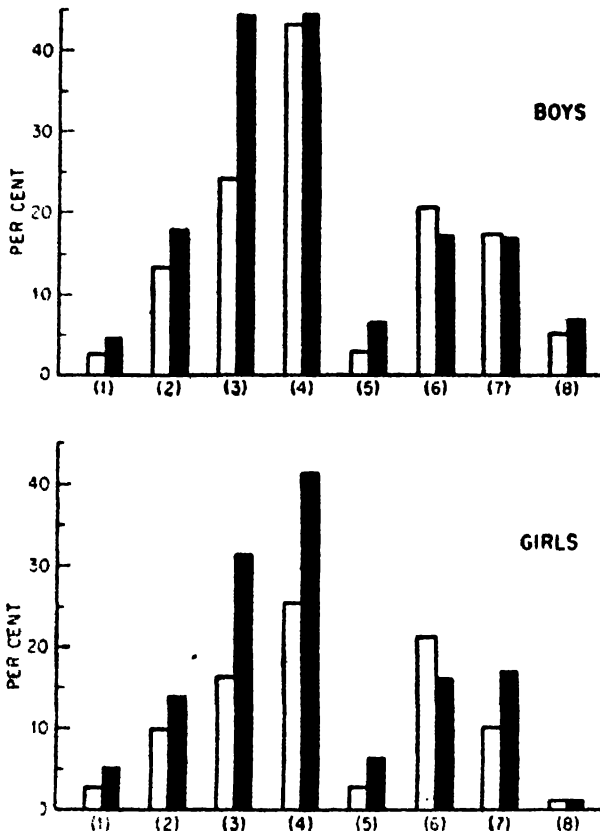


FIG. 43. Physical defects in gifted and control groups. Unshaded—gifted group; shaded—control group. (1) Per cent having frequent headaches; (2) per cent with symptoms of general weakness; (3) per cent of mouth breathers; (4) per cent who have colds occasionally or often; (5) per cent with poor or very poor hearing; (6) per cent with vision somewhat defective or poor; (7) per cent nervous; (8) per cent with speech defects. (Reprinted from *Mental and Physical Traits of a Thousand Gifted Children* [vol. I of *Genetic Studies of Genius*] by Lewis M. Terman, by permission of the author and the publishers, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif. Copyright, 1926, by the Board of Trustees of Leland Stanford University.)

reluctant to be the center of attention; he refuses to give a "demand" performance. The aggressive child bores his victims; the shy child embarrasses his parents and may be regarded by them as stubborn or uncooperative. Parental overemphasis upon a child's brightness tends to excite unfavorable emotional reactions.

Parents may become so concerned about the intellectual development of their gifted child that they deny him the fulfillment of other normal interests. For example, some years ago a boy received considerable newspaper publicity because of the fact that not only was he the youngest winner of the degree of doctor of philosophy from a well-known university but he also had written one of the best doctoral dissertations ever presented. As a child this boy attended a private school. His mother had him driven to and from school daily and brought him his lunch, the eating of which she supervised in a room containing just the two of them.

Moreover, the mother insisted that the boy should not be permitted to mingle with other children, refusing to allow him to participate in play activities lest he catch a germ. Consequently, he became stout and physically lethargic. To the chagrin of his devoted parents, he rebelled against the mode of life to which he was being subjected. After he received his doctorate during middle adolescence, he refused the professional offers that he received, withdrew from the family circle, and struck out for himself as an employee of a business firm. The reason given by him for his action was that he wanted to be a normal man, released from the emotional tensions that had accompanied his being a "brain" rather than a whole person.

In her own way, a high school sophomore, now a college freshman, settled the problems of adjustment that she recognized to be accompaniments of exceptional mental superiority. She found that during her elementary and junior high school periods her intellectual superiority was interfering with normal peer-age relationships. Her classmates, as well as her teachers, had come to regard her as a special person who was not expected to be interested in the everyday social interests and play activities of the other children. Consequently, she decided that she would become no more than an average student. She studied just enough in high school to earn an over-all 83 per cent, the lowest rating that would gain entrance for her into the college of her choice. At the same time she became a well-accepted leader in high school students activities.

This high school graduate could not control her responses to the items in the college entrance examination, however, with the result that she earned the highest score ever obtained by an applicant to this college. When her college counselor asked her to explain the discrepancy between her high school average and the results of the entrance examination, she expressed her great desire to be like other girls. Asked how she is progressing in her freshman college studies, she answered, "I have just written an essay for English; I made it a B paper."

These few examples illustrate the experiences of many gifted people. Adults err in placing too great emphasis upon intellectual superiority, thereby stifling the normal personal, emotional, and social needs of

maturing children and adolescents. It is possible for a gifted boy or girl to be popular with his associates in spite of his superior mental ability, provided that outgoing attitudes are fostered from early childhood onward. For example, a college upper junior, a student in a class taught by one of the authors, has maintained a consistent grade of A to this point in her college studies. Yet she is married, participates with enthusiasm in college and community agency activities, and is extremely well liked as well as respected by her instructors and fellow students. Sensible parents and understanding teachers have helped this young woman to achieve wholesome, all-around development.

Psychological procedures. In an attempt to meet the educational and social needs of the gifted adolescent, various plans have been tried. A program of rapid advancement, or of double promotion (acceleration), has been advocated and found helpful within limits. The separation of the exceptionally bright from less able students in special classes (segregation) has been tried with some appreciable degree of success. An educationally valuable approach is to keep the gifted in regular classes where superior intellectual needs are met through supplementary assignments and additional materials (enrichment), without denying the bright participation in peer-age recreational and social activities. There are advantages and disadvantages in each plan.

Through acceleration intellectual accomplishments can be furthered, but at the expense of social and emotional development. This is an especially hazardous procedure to be employed with socially sensitive adolescents. The organization of special classes enables gifted students to achieve high scholastic averages; the consequent lack of opportunity for these young people to mingle with the rank-and-file school population, however, is likely to encourage among these special students the development of superior, conceited, or snobbish attitudes. Although enrichment within the regular class situation may appear to be the desirable solution, it taxes the ingenuity of the teacher and places an extra study burden upon the learner, which he may resent. The special attention accorded him by the teacher may earn the enmity of the other members of the class. Moreover, the teacher may encounter difficulty in evaluating objectively the mentally superior student's achievement in terms of the study results of the mentally inferior class members.

Regardless of the administrative approach utilized by a school or school system for the education of intellectually superior young people, teachers who earn success in motivating rapid learners toward the development of effective study habits place emphasis upon learner participation in extensive supplementary work that has practical application. Some gifted young people give evidence of a high degree of scholastic interest; others can recognize no value to themselves of many subjects which they are

compelled to take, and consequently do no more studying than is needed to "get by" in comparison with their less able classmates.

To overcome mental inertia on the part of the bright student, many teachers attempt to discover his specific interest and provide for his particular needs. High school and college instructors increasingly are introducing many different types of activities appropriate for meeting individual differences in the needs and interests of gifted students, whether the particular teaching-learning area is mathematics, science, language usage, social studies, home economics, or any subject that has application or appreciation value. The success of any plan of approach requires the cooperation of parents, community agencies, and the young person himself, as well as teacher effort. A study dealing with the improvement of instruction led the investigators to conclude concerning the value to mentally superior high school students of one or another teaching-learning approach that

... homogeneous grouping or acceleration may or may not be a useful method of providing a better education for rapid learners, depending on the desires of parents, the attitudes and training of teachers, the tenure of the faculty, the flexibility of scheduling, the availability of diverse instructional materials, the abilities and goals of students, and the quality of administrative leadership. The nature and scope of the subject would be other factors to consider. Homogeneous grouping or acceleration might be desirable in mathematics but undesirable in a social studies course."

Mentally Retarded Adolescents

The mentally subnormal group includes all individuals who represent the deviation from normal mental status to that of the moron, imbecile, or idiot. Since idiots and many imbeciles need to be institutionalized during their childhood years, they rarely, if ever, gain entrance into a secondary school. Hence the discussion here deals with those adolescents whose degree of mental ability, according to a valid and reliable intelligence test, falls approximately between IQs of 50 and 75, and who commonly are termed *mentally retarded* or *mentally handicapped*.

Although mentally retarded adolescents constitute no more than about 2 per cent of the adolescent school population of the United States, their developmental needs become as important parental, school, and general community responsibilities as do the needs, urges, and interests of mentally average and superior young people. In fact, the displayed inability of many mentally handicapped teen-agers to adjust adequately to ordinary life situations tends to earn for them the more or less sympathetic attention of adults and peer associates.

* Jewett and Hull, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

Characteristics of the mentally retarded adolescent. On the average there is little, if any, physical difference between the mentally retarded and the mentally average adolescent. For both, growth in height and in total muscular weight, the age at which pubescence is reached, and the development of motor ability and eye-hand coordination follow approximately the same patterns of individual variation.

The mentally handicapped adolescent displays a degree of intellectual development that approximates the mental status of an average 10- or 11-year-old child. As is true of the child, the retarded adolescent's memory may be good; he may improve in the ability to give voluntary attention to, and to concentrate upon, a concrete situation. This young person, however, usually fails to acquire an average adolescent's ability to deal with abstractions. Power is lacking to make adequate comparisons, to arrive at accurate, objective generalizations, or to be successful in creative activity. The vocabulary is meager, and verbal expression may be relatively colorless and stilted. Written composition is concerned with the concrete and present rather than with the imaginative, remote, or fanciful.

Significant differences between mentally retarded adolescents and their more intelligent peers are evidenced in their respective attitudes toward recreational and social activities, home relationships, and peer associations. Mentally slow teen-agers like action. Both boys and girls enjoy outdoor games and sports, various forms of dancing, exciting (often syncopated) rhythmic exercises, and some table games. Girls usually are interested in home activities, reading simple love stories, viewing television or motion-picture programs; boys like to read about and make useful objects and are interested in factual history, sports, and adventure; adolescents of both sexes prefer remunerative, activity-stimulating jobs to study or school attendance.

When the mentally retarded young person recognizes his limitations, he becomes extremely sensitive to the attitudes displayed toward him by his adult and same-age associates. He resents intensely any attempts on the part of his elders to "smooth the way" for him by directing his behavior and trying to protect him from situations in which he might be at a disadvantage. He also tends to be emotionally disturbed if his peers either treat him with too much consideration or reject him because of his retardation.

The school-attending retarded boy often can gain status among his schoolmates through the display of physical prowess in sports activities. A retarded adolescent girl who is "pretty," good natured, and apparently submissive may attract the attention of more able boys; but her lack of pep soon bores them and they reject her for more alert girl associates. Some dull adolescent girls, however, usually begin early to become inter-

ested in members of the opposite sex and continue to experience the urge to have a boy friend. They are compelled to fulfill their desire by seeking the company of same-age or dull older boys.

Retarded adolescents are exposed to many emotion-disturbing experiences. In general, the girls appear to worry more about their limitations than do boys. To focus attention upon the kinds of worries experienced by retarded adolescent girls, we shall describe briefly a study made by C. L. Stacey concerning the worries of subnormal adolescent girls. He utilized a modified form of the fifty-item questionnaire previously applied by Pintner and Lev to school children.⁹ Stacey administered the questionnaire to seventy-nine institutionalized subnormal girls, ranging in age from 15 to 17 and in intelligence from 50 to 79 IQ (revised Stanford-Binet, Form I.).

Each of the fifty items was to be answered by checking either O (Often), S (Sometimes), or N (Never). The various items were distributed according to eight differing categories. Table 27 presents these

Table 27. Responses of Retarded Girls to Questionnaire about Worries

<i>Category of worries</i>	<i>Per cent answering "sometimes" or "often"</i>
Family	80
School	77
Personal adequacy	66
Social adequacy	62
Economic	57
Imaginary or unreasonable	53
Personal health and well-being	39
Punishment	26

SOURCE: C. L. Stacey, "Worries of Subnormal Adolescent Girls," *Journal of the International Council for Exceptional Children*, vol. 21, no. 5, p. 186, February, 1955.

categories in order of significance as worry stimulators, and the average per cent for each category. It should be noted, however, that the results of this study are based upon the responses of a small number of retarded girls (seventy-nine), and that some of the worries included in the list also are common among average and superior female adolescents.

Although the mentally retarded adolescent is at a disadvantage in most of the situations in which he finds himself, his mental status cannot be evaluated always by introspection. Hence as he attempts to adjust to his relationships with his associates, he is enabled to develop whatever success-effecting social qualities he can achieve. There are evidences of overlapping in social competence between mentally slow and brighter young people, even though the average adjustment of the slow group may be

⁹R. Pintner and J. Lev, "The Worries of School Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, vol. 56, pp. 67-76, 1940.

considerably inferior to that of more intelligent groups. Since evaluating instruments designed to measure degree of social maturity still are in an experimental stage, many of the subtle elements that combine to produce social competence continue to elude test constructors and test performance interpreters.

Adult attitudes and the mentally handicapped. Parental attitude toward his handicap exercises a potent influence upon the emotional status of a mentally retarded adolescent. Although some mothers continually prod their children from birth onward, many parents appear able and willing to accept the fact that during his early years a child does not achieve successfully in school work, or display exceptional alertness in his home or other interpersonal relationships. The parents are likely to explain his retardation in terms of slow development. When the boy or girl approaches or has passed the pubertal period, the mother especially no longer can blame the developmental process for the retarded behavior. The reason must be sought elsewhere.

The mother suddenly remembers that early in the child's life the father or another member of the family had dropped the child, thus damaging his head. Or the father or mother recalls that the child resembles an older member of the spouse's family who always has been "queer." More often, however, parents are likely to blame school people for their adolescent child's apparently retarded behavior, especially for his poor school achievement. The teacher cannot teach; low test scores reflect teacher prejudice against or dislike of the young person. To the extent that parents are ambitious for their child, they demand that he take difficult college preparatory courses in spite of repeated failures. Attempts on the part of school personnel to fit curricular offerings and teaching approaches to the educational needs of retarded pupils may incite considerable resentment among parents. This attitude is caused by the belief that they and their child will suffer disgrace in the community.

Regardless of the way in which parents express their disappointment in, and distress over, their child's mental retardation, the adolescent himself becomes the victim of their displayed attitudes. The young person is embarrassed not only by his own inadequacy but also by his parents' inability or unwillingness to accept his mental retardation and to cooperate with the school in helping him develop whatever potential he possesses. Hence the emotionalized home situations to which he constantly is exposed are likely to encourage the development either of excessive aggressiveness or of extreme withdrawal behavior.

In school the retarded adolescent may have frustrating experiences. His feelings of personal and social insecurity are not always recognized by his teachers. They may consider him to be indifferent to learning, uncooperative, or socially immature. He may seem to lack individual

responsibility and to have delinquent tendencies. Unless the school in cooperation with parents can provide adequate opportunities for the mentally retarded to find a respected, even though humble, place for himself in his community, he is likely to become emotionally disturbed as well as being mentally retarded.

Educating the mentally slow adolescent. In states where the school attendance law permits young people to leave school at age 16, many slow adolescents drop out of school when they reach that age. Since a 16-year-old dropout rarely is prepared for any except a menial job, educators are attempting to keep these adolescents in school by providing educational offerings for them that will be interesting and profitable.

Although both the mentally superior and the mentally retarded are receiving considerable attention from educational leaders, the learning problems of the latter group were recognized earlier than those of the bright. Hence various approaches have been made toward fitting curriculums and teaching procedures to the learning level of the slow adolescent. For example, comparative studies have been undertaken to discover how the rapid and slow learners differ in the value to them of certain teaching-learning situations. In a study conducted by the United States Office of Education it was found that among thirty instructional provisions and procedures utilized in the teaching of English in the secondary schools, rapid and slow learners differ in the extent to which any particular teaching approach has value. Table 28 presents the relative rank accorded each of the thirty items by rapid and slow learners respectively. The data included indicate that for slow learners the teaching of English must be geared to their present needs and interests. Similar emphases hold for the other nine subject areas included in the study.

The secondary school population of the mentally retarded can be expected to increase as teaching materials and procedures become suited to their level of learning. One significant approach is to provide special classes with specially trained teachers. These classes usually are small in size, making it possible for the teacher to meet the learning needs of each adolescent enrolled. There are two types of special classes: (1) the integrated special class, which allows the pupils to attend the special class for part of the day and then to mingle with other, more able pupils for general instruction, and (2) the segregated special classes, which keep the slow pupils together during the entire day for all their schoolwork. The latter plan represents a type of isolation that may be socially undesirable for them as well as for the others who will come into contact with them in out-of-school situations. Moreover, stigma is attached to this type of organization that is difficult for the segregated pupils and their parents to accept.

In some school systems there is a tendency to encourage many of these

Table 28. *Instructional Provisions and Procedures in English for Rapid and Slow Learners*

Item	Rapid learners	Slow learners
	Rank	Rank
1. Encourage extensive reading of good literature outside of class	1	7
2. Require mastery of certain minimum essentials in grammar and usage	2	4
3. Teach niceties of expression, such as distinctions between <i>shall</i> and <i>will</i> , <i>between</i> and <i>among</i> , <i>go slow</i> and <i>go slowly</i> , <i>may</i> and <i>can</i> , <i>lent</i> and <i>loaned</i>	3	12
4. Emphasize reading of modern literature related to student interests and needs	4	3
5. Help students to find good substitutes for inferior comic books and magazines	5	2
6. Encourage work on individual projects related to student and class needs	6	10
7. Provide experiences as contributing members of small group	7 5	8
8. Encourage students to evaluate own progress	7 5	9
9. Provide experiences in responsible group leadership	9	15
10. Conduct drills to eliminate recurrent vulgarisms, such as "I ain't," "can't hardly," "he don't," etc	10	1
11. Teach principles of grammar and usage observed by educated leaders in public life who attract large reading and listening audiences	11 5	20
12. Allow students freedom in carrying out activities	11 5	14
13. Teach grammar, composition, and literature together in units organized around ideas, themes, or centers of interest	13	13
14. Encourage students to note differences in language used by public speakers and writers	14	22
15. Assign printed materials with difficulty approximating individual's reading age	15	5
16. Encourage participation in speech and writing contests	16	28
17. Teach through pictures, charts, and other graphics	17	6
18. Provide extended experiences in evaluating newspapers and magazines for purpose, content, and values	18 5	24
19. Teach through recordings, radio, and other audio aids	18 5	11
20. Provide extended experiences in evaluative listening	20	17
21. Conduct detailed, intensive study of classics, such as Shakespeare's plays, <i>Silas Marner</i> , <i>Idylls of the King</i>	21	30
22. Assist students in preparing talks and other oral presentations to be given outside school	22 5	26
23. Allow students to choose and plan learning activities	22 5	21
24. Teach symbolic interpretation (reading) of pictures, sketches, cartoons, and other graphic material	24	18
25. Teach formal diagramming of sentences	25	27
26. Require memorization of specified number of lines of poetry or drama	26	29
27. Provide extended experiences in selecting and evaluating movies	27	23

Table 28. Instructional Provisions and Procedures in English for Rapid and Slow Learners (Continued)

Item	Rapid learners	Slow learners
	Rank	Rank
28. Provide extended experiences in selecting and evaluating television programs. (Do not answer if television is not normally available in community.)	28	24
29. Teach through trips to public library, museums, newspaper plants, and similar places	29	25
30. Use simplified and/or abridged editions of books like <i>A Tale of Two Cities</i> for students	30	16

SOURCE: A. Jewett and J. D. Hull (coordinators), *Teaching Rapid and Slow Learners in High Schools*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Bulletin 1954, no. 5, pp. 22-23, 26-27.

pupils to attend vocational or trade schools. Although some retarded learners can be helped to master simple skills, we must not lose sight of the fact that others will be able to perform adequately only in a job that represents no more than unskilled labor.

Many secondary schools are organizing cooperative programs. During his junior or senior year the learner's schedule of classes is so arranged that he can alternate for one- or two-week periods between work at a job and attendance at school. This enables the student to continue his schooling and at the same time begin to bridge the gap between the school and the community. The employer and the school authorities share the responsibility of the activities of the two adolescents who alternate their programs. Thus both the school and the employer together can help the paired individuals achieve success in the school-work learning. These experiences have value for any high school pupil, but they are especially worth while for the mentally retarded adolescent who needs to experience success in practical work in order to bolster his ego and his dignity.

In their attempts to meet the educational needs of mentally slow adolescents, high school administrators and curriculum constructors have made some significant errors and have experienced interesting repercussions. For example, at one time dull students who could not succeed in so-called academic subjects, especially mathematics and modern foreign languages, were scheduled for commercial subjects such as typewriting, stenography, and bookkeeping. This procedure placed a stigma upon the latter area of study, which teachers in the field resented strongly and which caused brighter students to hesitate electing them. More serious,

however, is the fact that the retarded student finds stenography and bookkeeping as difficult to master as foreign language and mathematics. Hence business training for the slow student has been limited in scope to typing from copy, filing, "receptioning," and other routine office chores. Contrariwise, some schools provide for the retarded a nontechnical and practical course in applied chemistry which has become so popular with more able students that it now is accepted for college entrance.

The kind of curriculum provided and the teaching procedures utilized vary with degree of retardation. In any case, subject-matter materials should be geared to the practical needs of the retarded individual. Teaching approaches must be adjusted to the young person's present level of understanding and his immediate interests, with a hope on the part of his teachers that, within his mental limitations, he gradually may improve his understanding and refine his interests. One of the authors once was told by a supervisor that exceptionally bright young people manage to learn in spite of poor teaching. Regardless of the truth of this statement concerning the bright, there can be no doubt about the fact that the teacher, as well as the parent, of the retarded needs patience, emotional control, ingenuity, keenness of insight, and a sympathetic (but not sentimental) attitude toward the mentally handicapped, as well as the power to motivate successful learning to the limit of individual capacity to achieve.

THE EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED OR SOCIALLY MALADJUSTED ADOLESCENT

Throughout this chapter the reader's attention has been directed to the possible emotionally disturbing and socially maladjustive concomitants of any form of adolescent exceptionality. The atypical adolescent is likely to experience situational problems and difficult interpersonal relations that exercise a potent influence upon his emotional status and social adjustment. For an adolescent to differ markedly either in physical constitution or in mental ability from the average of his group tends to set him apart from his peer associates. If or when the others can learn to accept his possession of the isolating factor, satisfactory personal and social adjustment can be achieved.

There are, however, some apparently physically and mentally "normal" adolescents who, without any easily discovered reason for their condition, show so great evidence of serious emotional disturbance or social maladjustment that they are considered to be atypical or exceptional.

Characteristics of the emotional or social deviate. Normal adolescents tend on occasions to be aggressive, rebellious, or withdrawn. Hence it sometimes is difficult to differentiate between more or less typical adolescent behavior and that which is exceptional to the degree that the

young person concerned requires special attention. We know that an attitude of resentment, of insecurity, or of rebellion against authority either in the home or in the school may express itself in any one of various forms of behavior.

An adolescent needs to be studied carefully and perhaps receive therapeutic treatment if his behavior is characterized by extreme and prolonged tendencies toward shyness, withdrawal, or overaggressiveness. Equally serious are habitual lying and stealing, bizarre actions, vandalism, or the display of other forms of behavior that are symptomatic of emotional instability or asocial attitudes. The causes of the atypical behavior may be deep-seated. Unfavorable environmental conditions may serve to intensify an already developed personality defect.

Adjustive procedures. The incidence of extreme emotional instability during adolescence is discussed in Chapter 11. At this point we shall consider briefly some of the educational procedures commonly utilized with adolescents whose emotional difficulties are so severe that it is inadvisable to keep them in regular classes for instructional purposes. An emotionally disturbed or socially maladjusted young person usually requires much of the teacher's time and attention. To permit him to remain in a class of better-adjusted students would be unfair to both the teacher and the class.

The number of unstable, uncooperative children and adolescents appears to be increasing. Hence for a teacher to attempt to help these young people to achieve better personal and social adjustment without neglecting more normal classmates is a tremendous task. The teacher's efforts may yield little in the way of emotional improvement but can induce considerable strain and stress in the classroom.

Some school communities have established special schools for the training of emotionally atypical young people, as, for example, the "600" schools in New York City. The purpose of these schools is to provide educational opportunities for adolescents who are not mentally retarded but whose behavior problems are so severe that a teacher of a regular class cannot cope with them.

To the present, relatively few special secondary schools and classes have been provided for emotionally and socially atypical adolescents. Therefore many of these young people must remain in regular classes. The situation is helped somewhat, however, by an increasing trend on the secondary school level toward adding specially trained guidance workers and counselors to the regular school staff. Disturbed young people can thereby receive individual help. The trained social worker is finding a place for himself in most communities, where he can serve as a liaison officer between the home and the school. In dealing with difficult cases the assistance of the court may be needed. Little can be accom-

plished in the way of adolescent rehabilitation by the members of the school guidance personnel, however, unless they receive commendable cooperation from parents, organized community agencies, and the school's administrative and teaching personnel.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Suggest the traits or conditions that describe exceptional adolescents.
2. Which handicap of the exceptional adolescent do you consider to possess the greatest potential toward the development of asocial behavior?
3. What are the significant adjustment problems of blind adolescents? Of partially sighted adolescents?
4. Compare the adolescent handicapped by deafness with another who is blind. What differences do you find among their problems for adjustment?
5. What relationship, if any, is there between speech defects and emotional disturbance?
6. Suggest probable causes for inadequate speech.
7. Suggest therapy for a specific speech defect.
8. What emotional problems are experienced by crippled adolescents?
9. Differentiate between the adjustment problems faced by mentally gifted and mentally retarded adolescents respectively.
10. To what extent do you agree with the rank order of items used to discover rapid and slow learners?
11. What suggestions do you have to meet the educational and social needs of gifted adolescents?
12. Compare the worries of mentally retarded adolescents with those of gifted adolescents.
13. Suggest a program that may meet effectively the educational and social needs of the subnormal adolescent.
14. Recall an adolescent of superior intelligence and describe as many of his traits as you can.
15. Study the behavior, family background, interests, and social and mental development of a mentally retarded adolescent, and report your findings.

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Chapter 11

CONFLICTS AND BEHAVIOR DISORDERS

The adolescent undergoes a continuous process of adjusting. His personal and social behavior does not develop in a vacuum. Those interests, attitudes, and modes of behavior that are peculiarly his result from the relationships that exist between his personal desires, needs, or inherent potentialities and the existing environmental conditions by which he is stimulated. Frustration and conflict situations may confront the adolescent almost continuously in his growing-up process. In his attempts to meet his personal and social needs the adolescent makes a variety of adjustments. He may satisfy his own needs and those of society; he may experience inadequate adjustments; he may fail so completely to adjust that emotional or mental breakdown results.

EFFECTS OF ADOLESCENT FRUSTRATION

It is a matter of common observation that some adolescents are able to make needed adjustments without undue stress. Yet even for them the process of adjusting involves a certain amount of stress and strain. An adolescent who adjusts well can be regarded as a young person who experiences relatively little tension in his daily activities. Contrariwise, an adolescent who habitually adjusts poorly tends to experience tension to a marked degree.

Bases of frustration. It is difficult for an adolescent to engage in any form of activity without meeting social or personal barriers of one or another kind. A barrier becomes a psychological obstacle when or if the individual recognizes it as a threat to his self-realization. Existing goals outside the adolescent's interest range do not become psychological barriers to him. Among the forces that may cause mental and emotional disturbance are the behavior and interests of others, school or group rules and regulations, social codes, unfulfilled desires, goals beyond achievement, and similar thwarting situations. Hence frustration can be considered to be *the result of an unsatisfied need or a thwarted desire*.

An adolescent's needs, wants, and interests become more extensive and intensive as he develops an increasing awareness of the objects and people that constitute his environment. The satisfaction of his various needs becomes more and more complex as these needs are influenced by

his developing tastes and the customs of his group. The adolescent becomes extremely sensitive to the accepted mores of his culture. He wants attention, he seeks approval of his associates, he strives for security, and he needs the ego satisfaction that accompanies successful achievement in one or another of his areas of activity. Failing in one or more of these, he develops a feeling of frustration, thus causing conflict to arise within himself or between himself and the constraining factors of his external environment.

Sources of frustration. Innumerable forces appear to block an impulse. What often appears to the onlooker to be no more than a petty source of annoyance may be productive of strong feelings of frustration in the individual concerned. Emotional stresses often are produced at one time by happenings which, ten years later, cannot be recalled. During adolescence such experiences as the following become exciting factors of influence: the doorbell rings when a teen-ager wants to complete a type-written report; a boy friend appears before his girl expects him; a 15-year-old boy has a date but is not permitted to drive the family car; a teen-ager is sent to bed in the middle of an exciting television program he is watching; a coach in a basketball game plays a boy who failed to meet practice conditions; the parents of a 14-year-old girl decide that she is too young to have twosome dates, with the result that the boy "hates" her parents; a teen-ager cannot convince his parents that they are "old-fashioned" because they disapprove of a boy and a girl dancing only with each other at a party.

Frustrating situations similar to those listed are common adolescent experiences; their frustrating influence, however, usually is temporary. At the time of their occurrence adolescents become emotionally upset. Later such experiences are recalled as amusing incidents by the same young people who earlier had regarded them as major tragedies. Yet adolescents sometimes seem to believe that everyone is conspiring against them to thwart their immediate plans or interests.

The nature and extent of frustration are associated closely with adolescent motives or goals. For example, a study was conducted by high school counselors of the interests and behavior-motivating goals of their students. Through the utilization of evaluating techniques such as the obtaining of introspective reports from the adolescents themselves, observation of their overt behavior, and reference to student cumulative record folders, the investigators found that for 105 high school students there was evidence of the possession of 287 identifiable goals that could be classified according to the categories listed in Table 29.

Further results of the study as presented in Table 30 indicate the frustration effect of various types of interfering obstacles upon the members of this high school group. The frequency distribution, in per-

Table 29. Categories into Which 287 Goals of 105 High School Students Were Classified

<i>Goal</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>
To enter certain definite vocations	26	44	70
To marry	8	29	37
To participate in school activities	18	14	32
To obtain economic independence in the future, but with no expressed vocational field in which to earn money	14	8	22
To follow a profession, but with no definite profession or one of several in mind	15	6	21
To gain status as an individual	13	3	16
To gain recognition for achievement	9	3	12
To gain personal prestige as a leader	9	3	12
To improve present social status (to be accepted by a group to which he aspired to belong)	4	6	10
To go to college for social prestige	2	7	9
To follow a leisure-time interest or hobby	7	1	8
To obtain economic security in the present	3	4	7
To ameliorate family conditions	3	3	6
To conform to the family pattern	6	0	6
To become independent of family supervision	2	3	5
To go to college to conform to family pattern	1	3	4
To improve physical condition	4	0	4
To gain economic independence until marriage	0	2	2
To have a "best friend" of same sex	0	2	2
To have a "best friend" of opposite sex	0	2	2
	144	143	287

SOURCE: From R. G. Kuhlén, *The Psychology of Adolescent Development*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1952, p. 242, as adapted from M. Brown and V. Martin, "The University High School Study of Adolescents: Characteristics of High School Students," *University High School Journal*, vol. 19, pp. 177-219, 1941.

centage, of the nine categories in which is included about 74 per cent of all obstacles experienced represents an interesting list of adolescent frustration stimulators. Of greater significance to parents and teachers, however, are those apparently nonsolvable problems associated with adolescent goal-strivings. As can be noted by reference to the second column of Table 30, insurmountable obstacles include particularly the arousal of strong feelings of frustration in respect to lack of competing drive, conflict with parents, health and physique, finance, mental ability, and lack of social techniques. It can be observed also that the sources of some frustrations are rooted in the attitudes, motives, and interests of the adolescent himself, and that other obstacles to self-realization are products of environmental conditions

Unfortunately, not all thwartings and annoyances can be overcome

without undesirable aftermaths. If the frustration situations lie outside the adolescent's power to control, he may experience extreme emotional stress and strain. To be unprepared for an available coveted job; to be recommended for a position and then to fail the preliminary test; to be denied by parents the privilege of wearing dungarees when other young people wear them to high school; to contract a contagious disease at a time of contemplated marriage; to be called to serve in the Armed Forces against the desire to serve; to be apprehended by the police in an act of vandalism; or to "lose face" by failure to meet an important commitment—all these represent environmentally stimulated frustration situations that may produce emotional reactions varying with the degree of emotional stability possessed by the person or persons concerned.

Table 30. The Most Frequent Obstacles to the Satisfaction of Motives Encountered by a Group of 105 High School Students

<i>Type of obstacle</i>	<i>Per cent of total obstacles</i>	<i>Obstacles for which no resources were found</i>
Health and physique	15.8	29.5
Lack of finance	15.2	21.5
Personality traits	12.3	3.3
Lack of mental ability	9.8	21.0
Conflict with parents...	5.3	42.8
Lack of compelling drive	4.3	17.2
Lack of social techniques	4.0	18.2
Lack of stability in the home	3.8	2.9
Conflict with family standards	3.6	7.0

SOURCE: From R. G. Kuhlen, *The Psychology of Adolescent Development*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1952, p. 249, as adapted from M. Brown and V. Martin, "The University High School Study of Adolescents: Characteristics of High School Students," *University High School Journal*, vol. 19, pp. 177-219, 1941.

Many more frustration situations would be experienced if laws that restrict asocial behavior were enforced more fully. Many of these laws and codes of behavior are established for the general welfare, yet these laws sometimes interfere with the desires and interests of the adolescent. Sex laws or sex codes are broken by some teen-agers; traffic regulations are disobeyed by adolescent drivers. For adolescents to acquire a willingness to obey traffic laws that are made for the benefit and safety of everyone would go far to reduce the more than 36,000 traffic deaths that occur annually.

The arousal of a feeling of frustration is a common experience of an

adolescent who believes that he cannot meet peer competition in any area of activity. For example, the economic status of his family may be a strong source of frustration both to the adolescent himself and to his parents who are eager to meet his monetary needs and interests. The democratic ideal, based upon the concept of equality of opportunity within individual limitations to attain desired goals, has helped to reduce former rigid class distinctions. Nevertheless, an adolescent feels frustrated if he cannot afford to have or to do things for which many of his friends seem to have sufficient money.

Frustration tolerance. The extent to which an adolescent is able to endure frustration without becoming emotionally disorganized can be considered to be his *degree of frustration tolerance*. An individual's frustration tolerance depends upon various factors, including his age, health, and past experience, as well as the nature of the situation or the personal motive that can become the cause of the frustration. The kind and size of the obstacle that is encountered and the extent to which it is mastered are indications of an adolescent's degree of frustration tolerance.

A particular situation or set of circumstances may constitute a possible source of annoyance to each of a group of young people. Their respective reactions are evidences of differences in frustration tolerance. For example, students of relatively equal ability are assigned the same set of problems to solve. A few of the students may look at the problems and decide that they are too difficult, thus exhibiting low frustration tolerance; others display high frustration tolerance by persevering in the task until they complete the assignment.

A procrastinator has good intentions but also has low frustration tolerance; he seldom starts an activity until the last minute or after it is too late to complete it. High frustration tolerance is shown by those adolescents who carry out their good intentions according to a schedule and become the individuals upon whom others can depend for the completion of tasks in spite of factors of annoyance, disappointment, or thwarting.

Behavior that reflects low frustration tolerance may have serious consequences. To illustrate this point take the case of John and Harry, two equally able young men who were college classmates. John was selected to be the student supervisor of the dormitory in which both boys lived. Although Harry was not annoyed by the fact that he had not been chosen for the post, he could not resist teasing John about the great responsibilities connected with the job and all the things that John should or should not do. Harry's attitude was not malicious, but the other boy became very much disturbed by what he considered to be unjust criticism of his behavior. Finally, in an emotional frenzy John procured a gun and shot Harry. This exhibition of completely uncon-

trolled behavior is an indication of John's extremely low degree of frustration tolerance.

ADOLESCENT CONFLICTS

Conflict arises when an adolescent wants to satisfy two opposing interests or desires at the same time. He may want to obey his parents by remaining at home to complete his study; at the same time he has a strong desire to be with his crowd. He wants to indulge in petting behavior; yet he wishes to be considered a model boy. Too often an adolescent wants to play both sides of the fence by being all things to all peer associates and adults. Sooner or later these attitudes are certain to arouse emotional turmoil. Once a young person makes up his mind, i.e., arrives at a constructive decision, he resolves his conflict. The adolescent encounters this kind of conflict situation many times during his development. If he decides to become a major athlete, he is likely not to become a medical student; if he strongly desires to be a social leader in his school, he is likely not to be on the high school or college honor roll; if he wants to be known as the class clown, he probably will not be selected as the school's representative in academic competition.

Bases of conflict. An unsatisfied need may be the cause of mental or emotional conflict. The struggle for supremacy among opposing desires sets up tensions that often are increased by the repression of an unsatisfied drive. If these tensions are not lessened, many problems of personal and social adjustment may arise in the life of the adolescent. Mental or emotional conflict occurs when an adolescent's various ideas and feelings tend to find their respective outlets in his psychic experiences.

Mental conflicts sometimes take the form of a combat with reality. When the demands of nature are too severe for the adolescent, he may develop neurotic tendencies and attempt to retreat into a world of fantasy. It is easy for him to satisfy his desires in this dreamworld. Some adolescents find it difficult to subject themselves to the hardships that they encounter in routine activities; others are unwilling to submit to any form of authority. In both cases the emotions are highly sensitized. These adolescents dislike everything that interferes with their desire to assert their individuality or that adds to the difficulty of dominating their peers, elders, or surroundings.

An adolescent endows each new experience with emotional values. His daily activities are colored by feeling tones attached to earlier experiences. His past experiences and his attitudes toward them are mental and social factors that may arouse feelings of insufficiency. The adolescent often finds that he is scolded for his mistakes or ridiculed for his shortcomings more than he is praised for his accomplishments. If he is clumsy or inept

in performance, he is thereby constantly denied participation in desired activity. This kind of conditioning imposes handicaps that are difficult for the already inhibited adolescent to overcome.

The intricate pattern of human nature and the complex character of human relationship preclude the possibility of any adolescent's achieving a completely placid, nonthwarted state of self-satisfaction. An unresolved conflict may persist in varying forms and situations. Unless the afflicted person can achieve a reasonable resolution of his conflict, he may attempt to escape from the situation in one of various ways. Unresolved conflicts affect the individual's entire behavior pattern; they may predispose toward disintegration of personality.

ADJUSTING TO FRUSTRATION AND CONFLICT

It has been pointed out that frustration arises whenever goal-seeking activity is obstructed. Interference by things or people, or by individual or environmental deficiencies, may be the cause of mild or extreme forms of frustration. There is no standard remedy that can be applied to assist an adolescent who is experiencing a frustration or a conflict. Parents, teachers, and community leaders can help an adolescent achieve self-building experiences, yet a preventive program is fraught with innumerable problems on the social level.

Whatever its source may be, the adolescent who is experiencing a conflict can approach the problem situation in one of three ways: he may launch a direct attack, he may attempt to compromise, or he may retreat from any attempt at the solution of the problem. According to the first approach, he attempts to do something about his difficulty. In the second, he seeks ways and means of alleviating the stresses and strains with as little personal disturbance as possible. If he follows the third, he becomes a victim of the conflict situation, and may become mentally ill as a result of the nonresolution of it.

Various factors need to be considered before direct action or compromise is applied to a conflict situation. Direct action may be too impulsive; it may omit some factors that are basic to the situation. Immediate solutions are successful only when or if they are based upon an intelligent understanding of all the factors that have contributed to the conflict. Too often an adolescent uses direct action to solve a conflict situation and later regrets his decision.

Compromise usually is the approach of a person who can meet his conflict situation with some intelligent understanding of its basic factors, and who is willing to make concessions rather than to demand complete satisfaction of his wants. An adolescent who is willing to compromise to free himself from a conflict situation discovers that any action he takes

to relieve tension is better for him than passive acceptance of emotion-disturbing conditions. We now shall consider briefly some of the devices and approaches that frequently are employed to resolve conflict and frustration.

ADOLESCENT STRUGGLES TOWARD ADJUSTMENT

The struggle for adjustment is a continuous process. Personality adjustments or maladjustments during adolescence do not develop suddenly and without cause. In adolescent attempts to meet the problems of growing up there is constant utilization of various techniques of adjustment. When adolescents' motives are blocked, they tend to react in one or another of several different ways. There is a tendency to control, remove, or destroy the obstacle, or to effect a satisfactory compromise in the resolution of a conflict. Consequently, the adolescent utilizes one or more forms of behavior adjustment that sometimes are referred to as substitute responses in the situation. The implications of the most important patterns of adjustment are described here.

Compensatory behavior. Compensation can be interpreted as a general concept that includes many specific forms of adjustment to failure or inadequacy, or as a specific attempt to reduce tensions that result from a recognized defect. In compensatory behavior the individual tends to emphasize the functioning of another trait so that the attention of his associates will be directed away from his real or imagined defect.

A physically strong teen-age boy who cannot excel in his studies may aim to become a successful athlete. A small adolescent boy may try to compensate for his short stature by excessive talking or by highly opinionated behavior. A teen-age girl may wear startling clothes to compensate for her lack of physical beauty. An invalid may become exacting or violent in his demands to gain the attention he craves. In each instance an attempt is being made to earn social approval by calling attention to what the person believes to be his strong characteristics. In most forms of compensatory behavior there is a suggestion of maladjustment which may be either mild or extreme.

Attention-getting behavior. Occasionally an adolescent who is on the defensive seems bent upon attracting attention to himself. Young adolescents sometimes make faces, gesticulate foolishly, walk in stiff-legged fashion, or manage in some other way to "show off." Older adolescents employ more subtle tactics to attract attention to themselves. They want to receive recognition, since to be recognized is more satisfying than to be ignored. It is only when ordinary behavior fails them that individuals attempt to bring attention to themselves by means of spectacular or unconventional behavior. This urge is especially strong during adolescence.

A few of the attention-getting activities of adolescents include boasting of family status or of personal prowess; displaying bad manners; engaging in hobbies; affecting peculiar dress or speech patterns; or teasing and tormenting. These activities often are resorted to when ordinary behavior does not gain for teen-agers the amount and kind of recognition which they crave.

Many of these simple attempts represent innocuous adjustment techniques. For example, a boy in a freshman high school class with others who are mentally superior to himself is able to pass in his work, but is usually near the bottom of his class in achievement. Hence to gain recognition from his classmates he collects unusual specimens of whatever the current interest of the group may be. Any peer approval that he receives acts as an impetus toward further efforts on his part to collect shells, stones, marbles, pictures, political campaign buttons, or whatever else may be handy or desirable.

It is possible for adults to overencourage attention-getting behavior. If the habit of thrift is being developed, a young person may become so much interested in the size of his account in the school bank that he develops undesirable traits such as miserliness or dishonesty. In order to avoid possible ill-effects of undue competition, wise teachers refrain from placing too great emphasis upon competition among their pupils.

Sometimes the adolescent's desire for attention is so strong that he engages in abnormal and asocial behavior as a means of gaining the approval of his peers. For example, in order to gain prestige, a teen-ager who feels inferior to his peers may perform many tasks demanded of him by a group of which he strongly wants to become a member. Often delinquent behavior can be traced to the attempt of adolescents to satisfy their urge for attention.

The utilization of identification. It is normal for an adolescent to identify himself with a person whom he considers to be his superior and to experience satisfaction from the achievement of his associates. An adolescent wants to be identified with successful individuals. The person for identification may be his father, his favorite teacher, a famous athlete, a successful businessman, or a statesman. These forms of identification are beneficial to the extent that they help the young person develop fine personality characteristics. Personal loyalty is engendered by identification with worth-while individuals and groups.

A baseball fan identifies himself with his favorite team; he then rejoices in the success of any team member or of the team and considers it to be a personal victory. An adolescent tends to identify himself with specific groups: gangs, select clubs, fraternities, or social and civic organizations. He takes pride in the good reputation of his organization. The higher the qualification for entrance, the greater is his tendency to

boast of his group's achievements. This is especially true if he is the weak member of the group. He takes pride in the group's accomplishments. Likewise, the mediocre member of an outstanding family may find it comforting to boast about the accomplishments of his relatives.

Identification is undesirable if the adolescent so loses his individuality in that of his ideal that he no longer is conscious of himself as a person. The identification should not become so close that he takes on in thought and action the personality of his hero. There is some cause to fear that as boys identify themselves with the heroes of undesirable motion pictures or thrilling bad men on television, they may imitate in their own behavior the acts of their heroes.

Projection of blame. A tendency to blame another person or object for one's own shortcomings is not uncommon. Most adolescents dislike to admit their errors of judgment or their inability to perform with success. It is much more satisfying to *project* responsibility than to assume it. A social worker, for example, working with a group of teen-agers might attribute her lack of skill to inadequate facilities, poor supervision, or other less personal elements in the situation.

Many examples of the use of projection can be cited. His wife is to blame if the driver makes the wrong turn; the teacher is responsible for the poor grades of the student; a girl's tallness is the cause of her unpopularity and her lack of dates; interference of parents is the basis for a boy's being ignored at parties; the unbecoming dress is the reason for a girl's being a wallflower. Most of these statements represent excuses for the real reason of personal inadequacy.

If an attitude of inferiority dominates the individual, he may experience failure in various situations such as those associated with school, social, or civic life. If projection becomes habitual to the extent that the adolescent blames all his failures on others, deep-seated attitudes of resentment may develop and emotional disturbance may eventuate.

Self-deception through rationalization. Rationalization is a form of self-deception employed by an adolescent when he has done something that he knows is undesirable or foolish. He attempts to explain his behavior in such way that he will avoid criticism from others and bolster his own ego. He finds that if there is no valid reason for the self-satisfying behavior in which he has indulged, he must produce what to him is a sensible justification of it. Janet, 16 years old, is permitted to drive her father's automobile; hence 16-year-old Tom decides to drive his father's car although he has not asked permission to do so. Tom justifies his attitude on the basis of privileges granted to others.

It is very difficult for an adolescent to admit to himself or to others the real reason for his acts or the actual motives for his behavior. Correct behavior is expected of adolescents. Hence it is almost unbearable for

them to admit that their behavior is actuated by unworthy motives. If this type of self-deception is practiced too often, it is likely that no one will believe the young person when he is completely truthful.

Many rationalizations serve as self-bolstering forces in peer relations. Yet the persistent use of rationalization as a means of self-justification may lead to the development of a false appreciation of one's own personal attributes. The effects are not serious if the rationalizations are accompanied by an attitude of determination to try to avoid behavior that needs to be explained or excused.

Daydreaming. Daydreaming is not always an indication of retreat from frustrating situations. There is a constructive aspect of daydreaming that is productive of art, music, and discoveries in science. There is a form of daydreaming, however, in which the adolescent attempts to gain satisfaction from imaginary successful achievement that might earn the approval of others which he could not earn through personal achievement. This is a popular form of self-satisfying adjustment for many adolescents.

Daydreaming permits the imagination to play with ideas that are immediate satisfactions of desired goals or purposes. When the adolescent recognizes the ephemeral character of his dreams or uses these daydreams as preparation for actual accomplishment, this form of mental activity is beneficial. Inadequate adjustment results when the world of fantasy is divorced completely from reality so that the individual is forced to rely upon daydreaming as a self-satisfying device.

The healthy adolescent is in no way harmed by his youthful dreams or fantasies if he is given sufficient opportunity for successful achievement within his abilities. The adolescent is known for his ability to drape himself over an armchair and indulge in idle dreaming. His thoughts wander from one half-formed dream to another; he is only mildly conscious of his surroundings. Yet shortly thereafter he is busily engaged in a realistic, constructive activity.

MENTAL AND EMOTIONAL DISORDERS

Sometimes his frustrations and conflicts are so severe that the adolescent is unable to find a way to resolve them in a socially acceptable fashion. The result is that his attitudes and behavior become increasingly unacceptable to his peers and other associates. The first failure to make a satisfactory adjustment to an emotion-disturbing situation is likely to become the basis of continued failure, resulting in serious maladjustment.

Causes of mental and emotional disturbances. Inability to master a disturbing situation may result either in flight from the annoying condition or in an unwarranted and abnormal attack upon the person or object

involved. Flight is characterized by fleeing from the situation, self-criticism, envy, alcoholism, drug addiction, some form of neurosis, a psychotic state, or even suicide. Attack takes the form of overt aggression, grouching, delinquency, crime, or physical combat.

Although laymen may not recognize the milder forms of these disturbances, the trained person, the psychiatrist, and many psychologists usually are sensitive to them. Many mental disorders originate in thought and feeling and need to be treated through constructive mental and emotional stimulation. The advance of psychiatric knowledge has done much to assist the afflicted and to dispel the once-held belief that irrational or antisocial behavior stems from heredity. Lay people are coming to understand that an emotionally disturbed state may be the resultant of social or other life experiences that serve as exciting factors.

The basic causes of maladjustment may be classified as *predisposing* and *exciting*. Most predisposing factors that cause mental and emotional disorders result from environmental influences. They emanate from conflict between the individual's psychobiological drives and the restrictions of his environment. Thus certain social, occupational, and sexual interests are significant barriers that may call for a detour if their form of expression is to be considered acceptable in our culture.

An adolescent whose life pattern is free from unusual stresses or strains can adjust satisfactorily to his daily activities, even though his frustration tolerance is relatively low. Conflict situations, however, may arise in the young person's life that act as exciting causes of more or less serious mental and emotional disorders. Some mental disturbances may be temporary in nature; others may persist until the victim can be helped only through hospitalization or the application of appropriate therapy.

Psychosomatic illness. The term *psychosomatic* implies an interrelationship of mind, body, and disease. A disturbed emotional state is believed to be accompanied by various physiological changes, e.g., change in rate of heart beat, gastronomical dysfunctioning, and increased muscular strength during extreme anger or rage. Normal functioning usually is restored with the reduction of emotional tension. The victim of a persistent fear or rage situation may be unaware of the strength of the emotional state. Yet he suffers physical discomfort or pain, which is interpreted by him to be symptomatic of a disease condition.

Some physical disorders that formerly were considered to have an organic origin now are regarded as psychosomatic, in that they involve emotional factors. The more common types of psychosomatic disorders include the common cold, ulcers, asthma, hay fever, colitis, eczema, arthritis, disorders of the circulatory system, obesity, and sterility. The habit acquired in childhood to emphasize physical pain rather than emotional stress can influence an adolescent's reactions in similar situations.

Moreover, it generally seems more acceptable to complain of physical illness than to reveal the fact that one is suffering from mental or emotional disturbance.

Psychoneurosis. A neurosis or a psychoneurosis is a mild form of mental or emotional disturbance. It is a nervous disorder that usually is characterized by the apparent absence of any organic difficulty. There are many adolescents who are unable to make direct and straightforward adjustments. These individuals tend to meet certain exacting demands of life by developing one or another form of neurosis. Although the neurotic person may not be physically ill, he is far from well. Emotionally he is very unhealthy. The ailments of the neurotic person presume an interaction between physical and psychological aspects of his total personality. Emotional stress is accompanied by a type of bodily activity that tends to interfere with normal processes.

A psychoneurotic disorder usually is caused by a conflict between an individual's strong desires or ambitions and the restrictive force of the conduct standards of his culture. The thwarted urges of adolescents often represent highly personalized attitudes that were developed during childhood. These habitual attitudes tend to serve as predisposing conditions of emotional disorders. Contrariwise, actual symptoms of mental disorder are exhibited when the adolescent meets a shock-inducing situation, or when he no longer can repress successfully his conflict condition. In terms of their behavior manifestations, psychoneurotic disorders usually are classified as neurasthenia, psychasthenia, anxiety states, and hysteria.

A *neurasthenic* is self-preoccupied and depressed, and seems to be suffering from feelings of physical and mental fatigue. He frequently complains that he is suffering from one or another form of physical ailment such as indigestion, constipation, heart pains, eyestrain, or shortness of breath. Certain areas of his body seem to be more sensitive to pain than others; in fact, some areas become hypersensitive to pain, others are insensitive.

Psychasthenia is characterized by mental and emotional symptomatic conditions such as extreme fears or phobias, compulsions, or obsessions. One or more of these inner states seem to possess the individual completely. He is concerned about his health status and displays strong feelings of inadequacy. He may experience an extreme phobia such as *acrophobia*, fear of high places; *claustrophobia*, fear of closed places; *agoraphobia*, fear of open places; *achlophobia*, fear of crowds; or *zoophobia*, fear of animals. The adolescent may have a fixed idea or an obsession from which he is unable to free himself; yet he recognizes it to be irrational. He may have a tendency to perform meaningless motor acts that also are recognized as irrational. The psychasthenic is possessed by a compulsion to act, but seems to be unable to control his behavior.

An *anxiety state* is revealed in the adolescent's behavior when he experiences vague fears and feelings of apprehension. He feels that something terrible is going to happen but is unable to explain what it is. During an anxiety state the adolescent cannot concentrate, he easily becomes depressed and excited, and he may be irritable and quick-tempered. Feelings of inferiority or inadequacy often form the basis of his fears. He finds it difficult to assert himself or to appreciate what success he may be achieving.

Hysteria is characterized by apparent symptoms of serious physical or mental disorder that may be somewhat similar to the symptoms of psychosomatic illness. Often it is difficult for the trained person to discover whether the physical symptoms are imagined or have an actual organic base. Hysteria usually is caused by the adolescent's unconscious attempt to escape from an unresolvable conflict situation, inadequate adjustment to a real or fancied sexual shock, or unsuccessful attempts to compensate for other personality limitations.

The psychoses. The adolescent who suffers from a serious type of mental and emotional disorder is considered to be mentally ill. His *psychosis* (form of mental illness) usually represents complete or almost complete withdrawal from reality. The frequency of occurrence of six different psychoses of first admissions to mental hospitals is presented in Table 31.

Table 31. First Admissions to State and County Mental Hospitals in the United States by Selected Psychoses, 1950-1953

Psychosis		Year			
New nomenclature	Old nomenclature	1950	1951	1952	1953
Meningoencephalitic syphilis	General paresis	3,205	2,501	2,009	1,608
Alcohol intoxication, chronic brain syndromes	Alcohol	5,771	5,618	5,726	6,085
Cerebral arteriosclerosis	Same	17,766	18,311	17,602	16,155
Senile brain disease	Senile	14,691	17,226	15,205	6,167
Manic depressive and psychotic depressive	Manic depressive	10,115	8,906	8,044	3,688
Dementia praecox	Same	31,548	32,172	32,507	25,881

SOURCE: National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda Md., 1955.

A large number of young men, recent draftees, have been rejected for mental reasons. These data are significant for this group of young people even though many of the disorders among these men were not classified as severe enough to be psychoses. In Figure 44 the percentage of draft

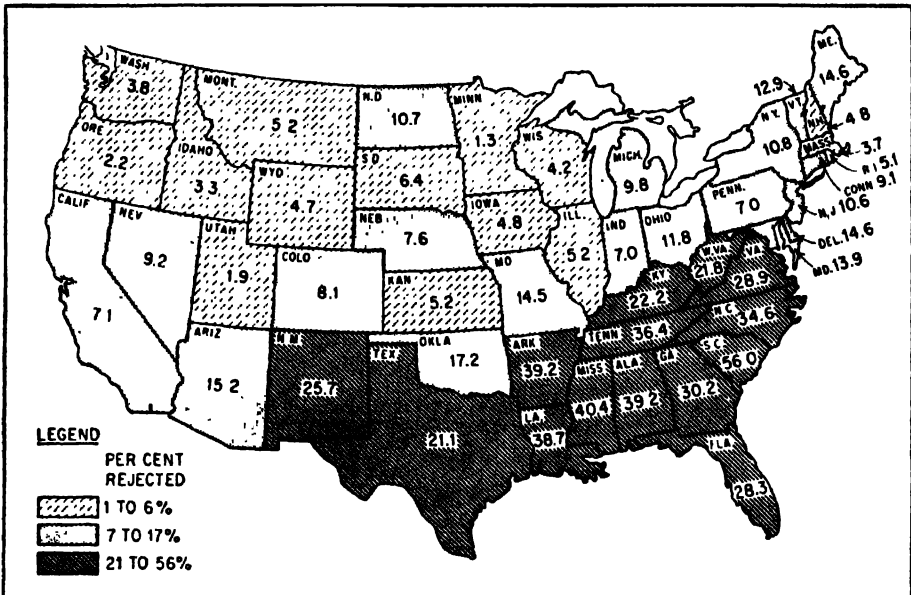


FIG. 44. Percentage of draft registrants rejected for mental reasons, 1950-1951. (From *Education: An Investment in People*, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, 1954, p. 15.)

registrants rejected for mental reasons is presented graphically by states for the years 1950-1951.

The authors have presented a summary of the causes and symptoms of mental and emotional disorders in another discussion.¹

Causes of mental and emotional disorders. Common predisposing and exciting causes of temporary or persistent mental and emotional disorders are:

1. Fixed parental prejudices, denials, or shocks experienced during childhood.
2. Inability to satisfy a fundamental want (often the sex urge) in terms of socially accepted behavior.
3. Abnormal fatigue, worry, anxiety, or boredom.
4. Physiological epochs such as puberty or the menopause.
5. Pressures arising out of disturbed economic, political, and social conditions.
6. Climatic conditions, as those indirectly produce a state of exhaustion and toxemia.
7. Disease, especially syphilis.
8. Trauma or injuries, especially to the head or spine.

¹L. D. Crow and A. Crow, *Eighteen to Eighty: Adjustment Problems of Adults*, The Christopher Publishing House, Boston, copyrighted by the authors, 1949, pp. 181-185.

9. Toxic infections brought about by alcohol or narcotics, or by poison that originates in the body, especially in the gastrointestinal tract.

10. Severe emotional shock such as fright, sudden death of a beloved, or the sight of the wounded or dying, as in severe accident or on a field of battle.

Symptoms of mental or emotional disorders. A significant symptom of mental illness differs in *degree* rather than in *kind* from abnormal behavior that is common to most normal people at one time or another. As has been suggested earlier, any one of us is more or less likely to experience temporarily in our physical condition, attitude, or behavior, certain characteristics that may deviate from customary status. The situation becomes dangerous only when an abnormal state persists and becomes more or less fixed. Mentally disturbed persons may display many characteristics that seem to deviate from the norm and consequently be symptomatic of a psychosis. It often is difficult, however, to determine whether these symptoms are imagined, feigned, or real.

Persisting or fixed symptoms of mental and emotional disorders can be classified roughly as (1) physical, (2) mental, (3) emotional, or (4) behavioral. Below are presented symptoms for the respective classifications:

1. *Physical Symptoms*

- a. Change in pulse, temperature, and respiration
- b. Nausea, vomiting, headache, and dizziness
- c. Loss of, or abnormal, appetite
- d. Extreme change in weight
- e. Excessive fatigue, pain (actual or imagined), coughing, or pupillary activity
- f. Motor incoordination, speech disturbances, or writing peculiarities

2. *Mental Symptoms*

- a. Distractability, flight of ideas, delay or retardation of mental association, and blocking of the thought processes
- b. Loss of understanding or of producing language (*aphasia*)
- c. Loss of the power to perceive existing relationships in the world about him (*agnosia*)
- d. Complete loss of memory (*amnesia*)
- e. Phobias or strong irrational fears that are attached to generally harmless situations such as abnormal fear of the dark, closed rooms, high places, dirt, insects, or possible illness
- f. Compulsions to engage in certain forms of behavior, some of which may have serious consequences, such as an urge to take property belonging to another regardless of its value to himself (*kleptomania*) or a compelling desire to start fires (*pyromania*)

- g. Fixed ideas or obsessions that may concern themselves with the attitudes of other people toward the patient or his own attitudes toward himself or others. For example, an obsession might take the form of a fixed belief that certain foods are poisonous or that the end of the world is imminent
 - b. Disturbances of perception such as *illusions* and *hallucinations*. An *illusion* is a faulty perception of an object. An abnormal mind set may lead to a distortion of what is seen, heard, or touched. A stranger may be mistaken for a close relative, a tree may become a menacing enemy brandishing a lethal weapon, the voice of an associate may be recognized as that of a person no longer alive
 - i. *Hallucinations*, on the other hand, have no basis in immediate and actual sensory stimulation. They are imaginary perceptions and represent disorders of the imagination. The patient hears voices or bells, or sees objects or persons that are nonexistent except in his imagination. He seems to experience muscular sensations that are not present or taste sensations without food
 - j. *Delusions* or significant disorders of judgment are false beliefs that cannot be corrected by an appeal to reason, that have no basis in fact
3. *Emotional Symptoms*
- a. A state of emotional indifference or apathy, accompanied by expressions of worry, sighs, crying, and an almost complete refusal to eat or speak. The patient sits and broods; he is morbid and depressed, gloomy and downhearted
 - b. The display of an unnatural state of happiness that shows itself in singing, dancing, excited talking, and much laughter. The patient has no cares or worries; he views the world through rose-colored glasses and seems to be unaware of anything in a situation that is not completely satisfactory or is in any way undesirable
4. *Behavior Symptoms*
- a. Increased psychomotor activity wherein the individual is impelled toward constant motion, crying, laughing, shouting, or whispering
 - b. Decreased psychomotor activity showing itself in the slowdown of motion, hesitation, or indecision (*abulia*); rigidity, and halting speech or refusal to talk
 - c. Behavior that is impulsive or unduly responsive to external suggestion, as shown by the persistent repetition of the words or movements of another, or by an attitude of refusal to respond, or of doing exactly the reverse of what might be expected
 - d. Constant repetition of the same act (*stereotypy*)

- e. A display of unaccustomed vulgarity or profanity of language, and peculiar mannerisms such as shuffling walk, queer movements of the hands or shoulders, and facial grimaces

The symptoms of mental illness cannot be sharply defined and classified. They are interrelated and appear to a greater or lesser degree in varying combinations. Many of these symptoms are exhibited in a mild or temporary form by individuals who are usually normal. For that reason, in their early stages they are not always recognized as signs of mental disorders. It is only when these symptoms, individually or in combination, become extreme or tend to persist that they arouse among the members of a family or among the associates of the patient an awareness of a developing mental illness.

The most startling and attention-demanding symptom of severe mental disorder is the overt expression of a false belief or a *delusion*. The expression of an unreasonable or false belief may be based upon lack of, or inadequate, knowledge. The false belief of an otherwise normal person can be corrected through improvement of knowledge. The family and associates of a mentally disturbed person cannot fail to recognize the fact that something is wrong, however, if he persists in giving expression to unrealistic attitudes of grandeur, persecution, or melancholy, in the form of factual statements, although normally he would recognize their falsity.

The patient who is suffering from *delusions of grandeur* imagines that he is a person of great power or influence. He may believe himself to be Napoleon, a noted inventor, a possessor of great wealth, a savant, or even God. His behavior is imitative of his imagined attitude and the actions of the one with whom he identifies himself, and he demands from others the attention that is appropriate to his exalted position.

Delusions of persecution are mental states that represent an attitude which is completely opposite from that evidenced by the sufferer of delusions of grandeur. The patient who suffers from intense feeling of persecution imagines that he is the object of hatred, jealousy, and malicious influences aimed at interference with, or destruction of, his welfare.

A person who is suffering from an extreme case of *melancholia* tends to imagine that he has committed an unforgivable crime or that he is suffering from an incurable disease. He may spend most of his time in self-abnegating acts and in attempts to right wrongs that he never has committed. There is no joy in life or hope of recovery for the seriously afflicted sufferer from melancholia.

Dementia praecox (schizophrenia). Special attention is given to this particular psychosis because of its frequency and its importance as a behavior disorder during the adolescent years. Schizophrenia is the most

common form of mental disorder. Its victims are found principally among adolescents and young adults, although the psychosis occurs occasionally after age 40. There are four different types of this psychosis: simple type, hebephrenic type, catatonic type, and paranoid type.

Simple dementia or the *simple type* is characterized by idleness, day-dreaming, lack of interest in others, and shiftlessness. The early symptoms are difficult to recognize and evaluate. An attitude of indifference is exhibited toward the victim's family, his friends, or his schoolwork.

The *hebephrenic type* is characterized by a more abrupt onset than is the case of simple schizophrenia. There is a tendency in the individual to become silly, to smile or laugh without provocation, or to indulge in fleeting hallucinations or changeable or fantastic delusions.

The *catatonic type* is characterized by negativistic reactions accompanied by stupor or excitement. Headaches, insomnia, confusion, and listlessness may precede the chronic onset. Muscular tension is associated with the catatonic stupor, as evidenced by the rigidity of body position. The patient may become mute and refuse to talk; or he may become excited and inflict injury upon others or destroy objects within his reach.

The *paranoid type* is characterized by delusions of grandeur and by ideas of persecution, which may be accompanied by hallucinations.

THERAPEUTIC TREATMENT OF MENTAL AND EMOTIONAL DISORDERS

Even for the well-trained psychiatrist, the diagnosis and treatment of mental and emotional disorders are extremely difficult. Early discovery of symptoms is a great aid to the psychiatrist in his treatment. Successful rehabilitation after a case has a prolonged history depends in large measure upon many personal and situational factors. Improved methods of treatment having mental hygiene implications are proving beneficial. Included among the approved methods are psychosomatic medicine, psychotherapy, psychoanalysis, group therapy, and occupational and recreational therapy.

Psychosomatic medicine. Psychosomatic medicine places the emphasis upon the relationship that exists between emotional reaction and the nature and extent of a physical disease. Almost one-half of all symptoms of physical disorders are rooted in emotional disturbances. Hence treatment of the organism as a whole becomes the concern of the physician or psychiatrist. It now is recognized that in rehabilitation the mental cannot be separated from the somatic. Much exploration is needed in the area of attitude development toward a physical illness if cure or amelioration of the condition is to be effected. Although emotion plays an important role in physical illness, it is difficult to explain to an individual, especially to an adolescent, that his illness may have an emotional origin.

The application of psychological approaches to the patient simply means that the physician and nurse recognize the relationship that may exist between emotional reactions and the possibility of recovery from a physical illness. The patient must be willing to cooperate with the physician, however. In fact, according to Vaughan:²

The value of the psychosomatic approach is in its emphasis upon the treatment of the *whole* person, involving a study of his *physical* condition *and* an exploration of his *mental* outlook. The traditional medical concentration upon the organic will be corrected by the psychosomaticists who call attention to the importance of including the psychological angle too. The doctor who is wise will consider the personality of the sick person in addition to taking his temperature, thus obeying the famous dictum of Sir William Osler: "It is more important to know what kind of patient has a disease than to know what kind of disease a patient has."

Psychotherapy. Psychotherapy is aimed at the improvement of the sufferer's attitudes, emotional reactions, and overt behavior. Suggestion and reeducation are among the chief techniques utilized in the treatment of a disturbed individual. Suggestion and reassurance can relieve physical or emotional tensions. Repeated encouragement is given to reassure the patient who seeks help to cure some form of ailment. The psychiatrist employs morale-building procedures. Yet the effectiveness of therapeutic techniques that are based primarily upon reassurance and encouragement is usually limited. Most physicians, psychologists, and social workers, however, apply psychotherapy in one way or another. Psychotherapy is broad in its application and, according to Maslow,³ takes place in six main ways:

(1) by expression (act completion, release, catharsis) as exemplified in Levy's release therapy; (2) by basic need gratification (giving support, reassurance, protection, love, respect); (3) by removing threat (protection, good social, political, and economic conditions); (4) by improved insight, knowledge, and understanding; (5) by suggestion or authority, and (6) by positive self-actualization, individuation, or growth. It is probable that all systems of psychotherapy use all these basic medicines in varying proportions. For the more general purposes of personality theory, this also constitutes a list of the ways in which personality changes in culturally and psychiatrically approved directions.

Psychoanalysis. It is possible through psychoanalysis to elicit from a disturbed person a body of significant information concerning his past mental and emotional life. The patient discloses incidents in his past life

² W. F. Vaughan, *Personal and Social Adjustment*, The Odyssey Press, Inc., New York, 1952, p. 210.

³ A. H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1954, p. 306.

that may have continued to exert a potent influence upon his behavior. The psychoanalyst hopes to discover the experiences that may have led to the pathological state, then to offer suggestions for treatment. There is an attempt to attack the underlying emotional conflict rather than symptomatic behavior. Merely to remove the particular symptom by suggestion may not be very helpful unless something is done to resolve the underlying conflict.

Freud believed that the symptoms of neurotic patients were in reality the expressions of mental conflicts. He suggested that a dream was a "wish-fulfillment," a conscious expression of unconscious wishes or fantasies. Freud utilized free association to elicit the actual meanings which the censor of the unconscious prevented from coming into waking life, except as these meanings were disguised or masked in symbolic form.

Psychoanalysis has become useful both as depth psychology in the study of personality and as a therapeutic method. It has contributed to the dynamic approach in the study of personality and to the elaboration of a systematic theory of personality and behavior. Psychiatrists are making practical use of this method in some of their work with emotionally disturbed adolescents.

Group therapy. The application of group therapy was started by Moreno when, in 1911, he encouraged children to participate in a form of psychodrama. Children were encouraged to give expression to their fantasies through dramatizing them in group situations. The psychotic and the neurotic usually have difficulty in meeting their life problems on a mature adult level. Hence they need help to achieve independence by gradual steps until they are brought to maturity in easy stages. The procedure of trained personnel includes the interviewing of all participants, a study of all data relative to each, and a classification of each participant according to his dominant psychopathological pattern. Proper dramatic action then can be planned for evaluation and therapy.

Occupational and recreational therapy. The purpose of occupational therapy is to divert the attention of the victim of the disorder from himself and give him an opportunity for self-expression. Physical and mental coordinations are improved through its use. This type of therapy acts as a morale builder. The completed product is not the important goal; the process, the actual work, itself, is the therapeutic agent. Choice of occupation, however, should be within the cultural background, intelligence, aptitude, and general ability of the individual.

Occupational and recreational activities have therapeutic value for those afflicted by emotional disturbances. These therapeutic techniques tend to divert the attention of the mentally ill person from his fears, worries, or other disturbances which may be the bases of his present disorder. Tensions are reduced through the use of occupational activities

and physical recreation. The individual can be diverted from his troubles through participation in recreational programs that utilize music, books, magazines, radio, motion pictures, dances, television, and social activities. The particular psychosis is to be considered before the therapeutic activity is planned. For example, the singing of "Annie Laurie" may calm one patient but stimulate another to violent activity.

In their discussion of the value of occupational therapy, Fidler and Fidler suggest:⁴

As a therapeutic approach to the patient, occupational therapy has numerous specific values. On the one hand it is one of the few therapeutic approaches where a patient is bound to act upon his own ideas and observations, and thereby test his own ideas on perceptions through his work accomplishment as well as his personal relations. The limits to acceptable behavior are set for the patient by his observations of the other patients as well as by the physical qualities of the tools and materials with which he is working. In occupational therapy there is more activity, even by the seclusive patient, than there is in many other situations, and therefore the patient is more constantly being made aware of the limits of acceptable activity and, incidentally, of acceptable inactivity.

The utilization of recreational therapy also provides opportunity for afflicted individuals to associate with one another in situations devoid of tensions. Recreational therapy combines in a wholesome way some of the benefits of group therapy with play attitudes, thereby enabling the individual concerned to forget self as much as possible. Forms of recreational activity that have been used successfully in therapeutic treatment may be carried over into the later activities of the individual when he has regained the ability to manage his own affairs adequately.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Describe the behavior of a frustrated adolescent.
2. What conflict did you experience most recently? What did you do to resolve it?
3. What is the importance of decision making in the resolution of adolescent conflicts?
4. Relate several social situations in which you found it difficult to know what to do. How did you meet these situations?
5. If you ever have been a member of a gang, explain the role you played.
6. List an item that you would like to purchase but which for reasons of limited funds you are denied. Explain your feelings.
7. Describe a case in which a frustration has been the cause of a physical breakdown; a mental breakdown.

⁴G. S. Fidler and J. W. Fidler, *Introduction to Psychiatric Occupational Therapy*, 1954, used with the permission of The Macmillan Company, New York, p. 179.

8. Recall one of your compulsions. Relate how it affected you; give its cause and how you resolved it.
9. An adolescent girl desires to return home late from a party but her mother forbids it. How can the girl solve her problem?
10. List five experiences of adolescents that threatened their self-respect. How can they meet these situations?
11. What rationalizations did you practice as an adolescent?
12. Discuss the multiplicity of causes and factors that enter into the development of mental disorders.
13. Describe the behavior of an adolescent known to you who gives evidence of the following symptoms: negativism, stupor, delirium, or depression.
14. Indicate, by specific examples, ways in which parents, teachers, and employers can meet their responsibility for the mental health of young people.
15. Explain what is meant by psychosomatic medicine.
16. Discuss the importance of the personality of the psychiatrist.
17. Give examples of adjustment through psychotherapy, group therapy, psychoanalysis, and free association.
18. Utilize the class situation to demonstrate the technique of psychodrama.
19. What resources are available in your community that provide help with adjustment problems?

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Chapter 12

BEHAVIOR DELINQUENCIES

When the first edition of this book was published in 1945, the major purpose of the authors was to direct the attention of parents, teachers, and other youth leaders to teen-age interests and activities, and problems of adjustment, with special emphasis upon youthful delinquency, which at that time was widespread. National and community leaders were hoping, however, that if sufficient time, thought, and energy were devoted by concerned adults to ways and means of countering the rise of adolescent asocial behavior, the problem might be solved at least partially, if not entirely. Unfortunately the situation now appears to be more serious than it was then. Although many young people are well-adjusted citizens, the incidence of delinquent behavior has been rising steadily.

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF DELINQUENCY

The old adage "A chain is as strong as its weakest link" expresses a relationship between a whole and any one of its parts that characterizes the harmful effects upon an entire societal group of the criminal or delinquent acts of a few of its members. The incidence of antisocial behavior is especially significant in a democratic society. Whatever strength we have as a nation is rooted in the constructive cooperation of our citizens. Our future progress depends in great part upon the kind of personal and social development and adjustment that our young people are experiencing at present. For this reason, if for no other, adult leaders are displaying a vital interest in the prevention of delinquent behavior and in the rehabilitation of delinquent children and teen-agers. At appropriate places in this discussion will be presented the expressed attitudes of some outstanding Americans toward this serious youth problem. For example, in a recent consideration of the ideals and goals of citizenship education, Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, concluded with these words: "We should not ask, 'What are the goals of citizenship education?' Things fall into focus much more suggestively—and the role of the community is illuminated, as well as the function of formal education—if we

ask, 'How can we get men and women more fit for the responsibilities of free and democratic society?'"¹

Meaning of delinquency. A maladjusted person usually is his own worst enemy. The disturbed adolescent may be afraid, resentful, or uncooperative. He does not necessarily become aggressively antisocial, however. He hurts himself rather than others. If a young person definitely interferes with the rights of others, appropriates their property, causes damage, or violates the sex code, he is interfering with the life of another person and is *delinquent*.

According to the Ohio Code, "A delinquent child is defined as one who violates a law, is wayward, habitually disobedient or truant, or who behaves in a way that endangers the health or morals of himself or others, or who attempts to enter the marriage relation without the consent of parents or guardian."

Delinquent behavior, as reported by school people in leading cities throughout the United States, includes, in their order of frequency, truancy, petty larceny, sex offenses (for girls), general incorrigibility, breaking and entering, running away from home, vagrancy, disorderly conduct, drinking, destructive acts, and injury to persons.

Legally, a delinquent is a teen-age person who has been brought to court, not as a criminal who is mature enough to recognize the seriousness of his offense, but as a maturing person who needs to be taught the responsibilities of adjusted citizenship. However, some adolescents are guilty of delinquent acts, but either are not detected or are protected from court action by their parents or others. In a broad social interpretation of the term these young people are delinquents, even though they have not been apprehended for their antisocial behavior.

Whether delinquency is considered in its legal connotation or according to a more comprehensive and lay point of view, it is one of the most serious problems with which present-day society is confronted. Possible solutions must be aimed not only at so guiding adolescent behavior as to avoid court action, but also at encouraging needed improvement in the fundamental attitudes and behavior of the young people concerned. Desirable behavior cannot be *legislated* into, but can be *trained* into, the life pattern of a boy or girl.

Many well-known men and women, including the leaders of those organizations which concern themselves with the welfare and education of young people, are giving serious thought to the problems of juvenile delinquency, and are seeking workable solutions. In every American community committees have been organized for the dual purpose of preventing delinquency and of rehabilitating the delinquent. The in-

¹H. D. Gideonse, "Ideals and Goals of Citizenship Education," *The Proceedings of the Middle States Council for the Social Studies*, vol. 50, p. 11, 1954.

genuity of the American people will express itself not in one general solution but in many specific recommendations for the meeting of the particular needs of the respective communities.

Young people themselves must be included in the working out of whatever programs are developed. Although they may be hesitant to accept plans that are superimposed by adults, they can be depended upon to aid in the execution of plans that they themselves may be encouraged to carry out under intelligent adult supervision. Here, as in other adolescent relationships with adults, youth welcomes adult leadership but resents dictation.

Characteristics of delinquents and their behavior. Although many delinquents have low IQs, there also are many socially acceptable adolescents of the same intellectual level. Low intellectual level cannot be considered alone as a contributing factor of delinquency. Physical abnormalities may act indirectly to cause delinquent behavior. Among delinquent studies is found a tendency (to the extent of about 8 per cent) toward physical defects, greater than among nondelinquents in dental care, poor dental hygiene, and defective tonsils. Chronic deficiencies lead to restlessness and a lack of concentration. However, poor physical conditions without complicating emotional factors cannot be considered independent characteristics of delinquents.

A delinquent differs from a normal adolescent mainly in his emotional reactions. He is emotionally unstable and is not satisfied with society; he resents discipline and refuses to submit to normal social restrictions. He is egocentric and immature in his appreciation of right and wrong. His emotional ties with his family usually are not well knit; he rejects their advice and guidance, and becomes disobedient. He may have been rejected by his parents and develops undesirable behavior in his attempts at becoming adjusted to his lack of parental love.

In general, the problem of delinquency is the same today as it was earlier, but the form of the behavior seems to have become more violent. Juvenile delinquency now seems to involve the type of adolescent behavior that no longer can be classified as adolescent pranks. Today the behavior has become more dangerous, including robbing, raping, and killing. The problem has become so serious that President Eisenhower called attention to it in his message to Congress on January 11, 1955.

Unfortunately, characteristic teen-age delinquent behavior not only results from growing pains of self-expression but also from adolescent emphasis upon individualism. *Newsweek* cites examples at the place of their origin, illustrating the nationwide impact of the problem. The pattern of violence as highlighted by *Newsweek* follows:²

² "Juvenile Delinquency: How Can We Meet the Challenge?" *Platform*, published by *Newsweek*, November, 1954, p. 2.

Four teen-age toughs from Brooklyn shocked even blasé New York last August as the newspapers published the sickening details of a two-week orgy of sadistic juvenile crime. The quartet—aged 18, 17, 16 and 15—had preyed, they confessed, for the most part on men they thought were homeless vagabonds or drunks. In one of their escapades, *Newsweek* reported (Aug. 30, 1954), "a steeplejack had been roused from sleep, then beaten and kicked to death. Gasoline was poured over another elderly victim who was set afire as he fought to free himself from his attackers, . . . a sleeper's feet were burned with cigarettes, after which he was beaten and forced to walk several blocks to a pier, where he fell or was pushed into the river to die by drowning."

All four boys came from "good" homes: they were not poor, they had good school records, belonged to no gangs, liked athletics, and three of the four had been summer camp counselors. The 18-year-old leader of the group spoke superciliously of his "abstract hatred for bums and vagrants," referring to the cigarette-burning incident as his "supreme adventure." His chief lieutenant, a muscular, 210-pound 17-year-old said his pleasure was in beating victims, "using them as punching bags to see how hard I could punch."

In other parts of the nation, teen-age terror has been hitting the headlines with alarming regularity during recent months. The young criminals, it seemed, were becoming more vicious, more destructive—and the outbreak of terror was spreading without any clearcut whys or wherefores—

—In Kansas City, nine youngsters brutally beat a man near Union Station because he had no cigarettes for them. In Gardena, California, at a teen-age community center across the street from a police station, four boys attacked a member with knives and 30 others joined in the fight. Youthful gangsters in Texas, *Newsweek* reported, "had fun crowding motorists to the curb and beating them with fire chains." Today, Brooklyn Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz complained, when a juvenile criminal "robs a bank he doesn't rush for a businesslike getaway. He stays around and shoots up a couple of clerks . . . I asked such a boy why and he said: 'I get a kick out of it when I see blood running.'"

—In Washington State, 25 girls, aged 13 to 17 years, many from well-to-do families, formed a shop-lifting club, creating a first-rate scandal when they were caught. On Long Island, a home-made bomb was exploded in the Roslyn High School by three boys who wanted to "see the excitement" and cause the school to be closed. In New Bedford, Massachusetts, five boys, ranging from 9 to 13 in age, cut up some \$15,000 worth of store windows with glass cutters, and set fire to an automobile, a drugstore and a church. Their 11-year old leader explained he liked the excitement when the fire engines came.

Nature and extent of the problem. Fortunately, about 95 per cent of all adolescents are law-abiding and fine upstanding citizens. Nevertheless, these satisfying data cannot eliminate the fact that there is a sordid side to the behavior of a number (although small in percentage) of adoles-

cents. The low rate of delinquency cannot alleviate the suffering of the person who has been assaulted, raped, or otherwise injured by an adolescent hoodlum. The percentage of adolescents who get into trouble with the police may be low, yet the number of adolescents between the ages of 10 and 18 who are apprehended annually exceeds 1 million; of these, about one-half are actually brought into the juvenile courts.

In an article in *The American Magazine* J. Edgar Hoover reports astounding facts in this area:³

Some people think the newspapers exaggerate juvenile crime, or that it is confined mostly to large cities. That is not the case. At FBI headquarters we gather and analyze crime statistics from all over America, and these statistics reflect a disturbing situation. From coast to coast, in small communities as well as in big cities, juvenile delinquency is on the rise. It calls for effective and immediate curative measures.

Available reports for 1954 indicate that crime of all kinds during the year just past increased about 8.2 per cent over 1953. We know definitely that in 1953 crime was up 8 per cent over the preceding year. How much of this increased lawlessness is due to wrongdoing by juveniles is shown by the fact that in 1953 offenders under the age of 18 accounted for 53.6 per cent of all car thieves in the 1,174 cities reporting statistics to the FBI; 49.3 per cent of all burglars; 40.1 per cent of all other thieves; 18 per cent of all robbers; and 16.2 per cent of all rapists.

As I have said, most of these young offenders were teen agers. Our estimates indicate there is now one delinquent out of every 18 youngsters between the ages of 15 and 17, inclusive. If this trend continues we shall face a crime wave of grave proportions during the late 1950's and early 1960's.

CAUSES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Opinion as to the causes of criminal behavior has changed with time. Early in the nineteenth century it was thought that the physical constitution of the body of a criminal was different from that of a normal person. Later, genetic studies led to the theory that most criminals are feeble-minded. Malfunctioning of the endocrine system and mental conflict also were proposed as causes of delinquency. All these ideas have been proved false or nonconclusive. The present-day theory stresses emotional insecurity, social inadequacy, and cultural conflict as the main causes of delinquent behavior.

Contributing factors. Many adolescents become delinquent because they express social talents through antisocial behavior. These adolescents

³ J. Edgar Hoover, "You Can Help Stop Juvenile Crime," *The American Magazine*, January, 1955, pp. 15, 88. Used by permission of J. Edgar Hoover and *The American Magazine*.

usually do not get along with parents or school officials even when they participate freely and naturally in other activities. Many of them are more successful with their peer associates than are more academically minded adolescents. Thus these individuals, lacking academic competence, have social competence and, if properly guided, might be helped to avoid engaging in delinquent behavior.

The problem of juvenile delinquency is so complex that there is no one cause and no simple cure. The cause seems to be rooted in the home, the school, the community, the church, and the courts. Among the factors that contribute toward delinquency can be included (1) the relaxation of home control and parental supervision; (2) the moving of workers from small town or rural areas to cities; (3) economic conditions in family life that may cause neglect of children; (4) poor health or physical defects which may result in feelings of inferiority, discouragement, or bewilderment; (5) inadequate recreational facilities; (6) inadequate school buildings and equipment; (7) inadequate teaching; (8) public indifference; (9) unsettled world conditions; and (10) ineffectual attempts to prevent delinquency.

Change in parental supervision. Two examples will serve to reveal the deep-seated resentment that adolescents feel toward their parents.

One troublesome eighth-grader in Philadelphia, Robert C. Taber wrote in the *Ladies' Home Journal* (January, 1954), told his school counselor: "My old lady and the old man, they holler and hit me. They get after me with a length of hose. Grandma does it too. I feel like killing them. I think about soaking rags in gasoline and putting a match to it when they're in their beds to blow them up." His mother told school authorities she couldn't "hurt Frank enough; . . . if I could only get at him with something to hurt him, I'd make him mind," she said.

"My father never done nothing for me," one 14-year-old boy, whose mother had died early, told the Manhattan Children's Court. But this, according to the psychiatrist, Dr. Marjorie Rittwagen, was not the whole story. "I seen Bud had a bad streak and tried to teach him," his father said. When Bud was eight, his father had strung him up by the feet from a steam pipe for two hours; another time, he broke Bud's arm—"held it across his knee and snapped it." The father saw nothing wrong in what he had done. "I was only doing a father's duty," he told the Court. "The kid got on my nerves."

Parents have carried the brunt of the blame for the spread of this unmanageable problem. The authors believe that parents should accept their rightful share of the responsibility, but they seem to have been surrounded by great social change which is beyond their control. In a dis-

* "Juvenile Delinquency," p. 6.

cussion of the problem of delinquency, under the title "Who's to Blame?" one of the authors made the following observations:⁶

It is imperative that we attain a fuller understanding of the effects of a well-planned and constructive education upon growing children. Each child needs careful and patient guidance of his behavior from birth onward. This can be left neither to chance nor to the whims of the person giving the guidance. Children, at any time, will behave as they have been allowed to behave. This means that adults carry the responsibility of providing the kind of training that will serve children's needs as well as the needs of others with whom young people associate.

What then is the answer to the question: "Who is to be blamed for the delinquent behavior of an increasing number of adolescents?" Should the guilt rest entirely or even largely on the shoulders of the social individual? If it does not, can the cause of such behavior be located so that the problem can be dealt with more effectively at its source?

Why is there so much juvenile delinquency at the present time? Can it be that such adolescent behavior is rooted in the cumulative effect of the educational practices that have been associated with child behavior? Does delinquent behavior result from a possible overemphasis upon the rights, the stimulated initiative, and the unguided freedom of the individual?

During the past several years the blame for the rapid increase in juvenile delinquency has been attributed largely to parental mistakes in child development.

The problem is much larger than one which can be solved by parents alone. Someone should come forward with an answer to why some parents suddenly became careless in matters dealing with the supervision of child behavior. Is it possible that these parents are trying feebly to implement an educational philosophy with which they are not very well acquainted and which appears to grant almost unlimited freedom of action to their children?

It has been urged for many years that parents and teachers should avoid any practice that might frustrate children. They have been encouraged to stimulate the child's initiative and to permit him to do what he wants to do with as little adult interference as possible. Perhaps we have erred in this respect.

A child needs supervision of his behavior to the extent that some of his desires or immediate wants should be left unsatisfied at the moment. This is essential to good social development. Personal and social adjustment include the giving of one's self as well as the getting or receiving of attention or favors from others. These self-denying experiences need to accompany any attempts that are aimed at the guidance of child behavior.

Overaggressive children often are permitted to behave in ways that develop habits which interfere with their present and later interpersonal relationships. Some children early become demanding for the fulfillment of their desires. They are certain to increase these selfish demands as they grow and develop unless someone assists them in redirecting self-aggrandizing drives. This clearly

⁶L. D. Crow, "Who's to Blame?" *Ohio Parent-Teacher*, vol. 33, no. 2, October, 1954, pp. 20-21.

becomes a duty of parents and teachers. Parents, however, are torn between what they believe is their duty and what they believe educators expect of them in the matter of child rearing.

Is it possible then that some children inadvertently have been trained by parents to develop tendencies toward delinquent behavior? Have teachers, too, permitted children to engage in self-centered behavior lest deep-seated conflicts be established or lasting feelings of frustration developed? In other words, have these adults been led to believe that, in the redirection of misbehavior, corrective measures should be used sparingly?

Areas of community responsibility. The ten delinquency inducers listed earlier in the chapter reflect community failure to meet its responsibility for the welfare of young citizens. In our discussion concerning adolescent physical, mental, emotional, and social development, we included a consideration of the various constructive or detrimental factors of influence by which a maturing young person is affected during his adolescent years.

According to the law, parents are primarily responsible for their children's welfare. Yet in order for them to fulfill their parental obligations adequately, they need the cooperation of other community agencies such as the school, the church, the courts, and other youth-serving agencies. Through its leaders each of these community organizations and institutions is giving voice to an increasing awareness of its particular area of responsibility.

Although world conditions continue to be unsettled, there is evidence that public indifference is giving way to a definite growing concern about youthful delinquency. Moreover, the fact that many attempts to prevent delinquency have been ineffective has motivated youth leaders toward (1) more intensive and extensive study of the basic causes of child and adolescent asocial behavior, (2) better preventive approaches, and (3) improved remedial techniques. We are not now facing a new problem. Youthful misconduct or immorality appears to be a concomitant of local, national, or world crises. During the war period of the 1940s, youthful defiance of moral and legal codes stimulated public concern and attempted amelioration. That resulting adult action was not successful is evidenced by the present situation. Whether we can hope for more successful results in the fight against delinquency that we now are waging depends upon the extent to which we have learned from our earlier mistakes. Hence we shall present likenesses and differences in emphasis, as expressed by national and local leaders of the 1940s and those of the middle 1950s.

Teen-agers in trouble with the law. Before presenting the opinions of youth leaders, we shall comment briefly concerning the usual procedures followed in dealing with young people who get into trouble with the

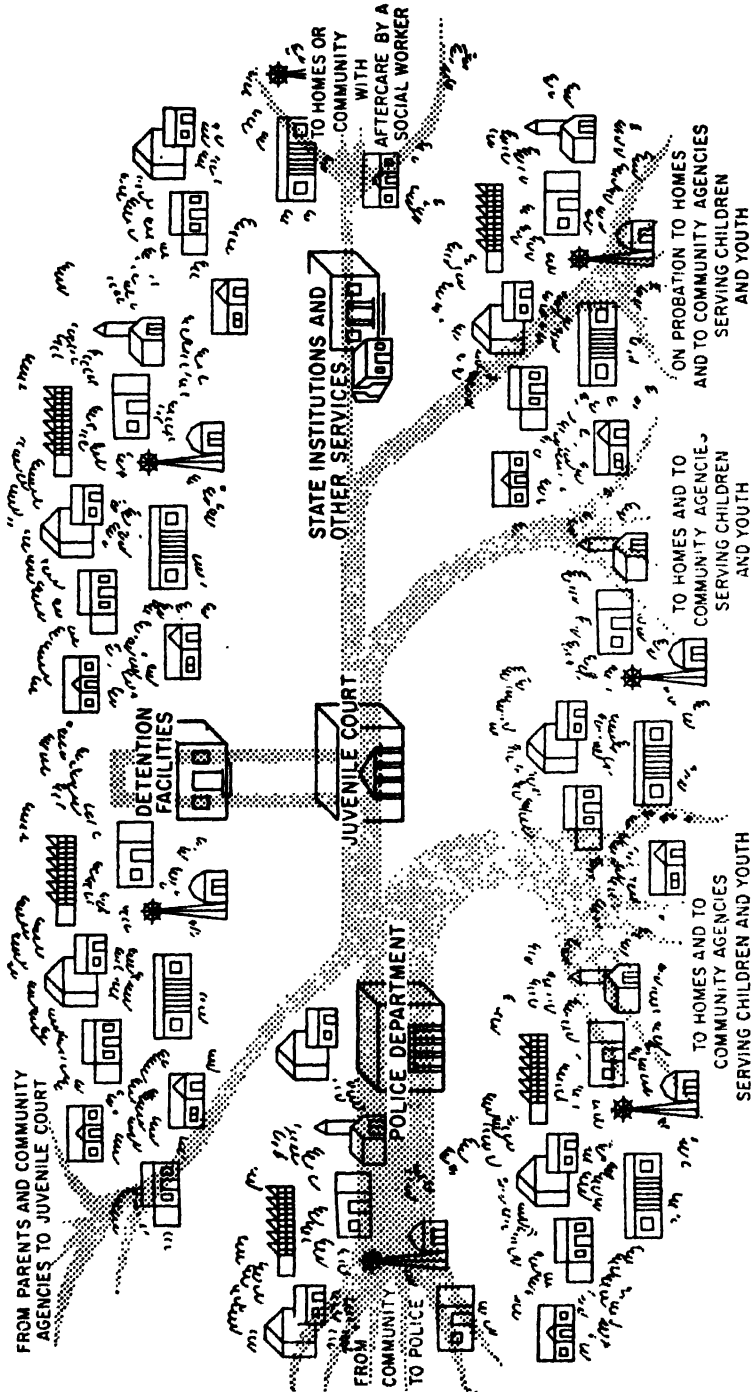


FIG. 45. Children in trouble with the law—where they come from and where they go. (From *Helping Delinquent Children*, Children's Bureau Publication 341, 1953, pp. 24-25.)

law. As we know, about 1 million young people a year are apprehended by the police. The most serious cases of delinquent behavior, about 450,000 offenders, are brought to the juvenile courts either by the police or by parents. Various dispositions of these cases are made (see Figure 45).

On the basis of the seriousness of the offense or of the number of "repeat" delinquencies, the young person may be returned to the care of his home and of community service agencies, placed on probation, or sent to a detention home for a shorter or longer period. Apparently incorrigible delinquents are sent to training schools, usually state institutions where, it is hoped, there may be some chance of rehabilitation before they are returned to their homes. In the following statements by leaders of various youth-serving organizations are indicated some of the weaknesses inherent in current treatment approaches to youthful delinquency, as well as suggestions for improvement.

THE PROBLEM OF DELINQUENCY AS VIEWED BY LEADING CITIZENS

The first edition of this book contained the expressed opinions of several leaders of youth concerning possible causes, preventive measures, and therapeutic suggestions in relation to juvenile delinquency. A few of those statements will be repeated in comparison with stated expressions of present-day thinking of leaders in education, religion, law, social, and civic agencies.⁴

Although new personnel now hold the official positions held by other persons in 1945, the response of the present leaders to the authors' requests for statements concerning the problem of juvenile delinquency was most gratifying. Some wrote brief statements; others sent recent magazine articles; still others furnished copies of addresses delivered within recent months.

First, J. Edgar Hoover's earlier statement will be compared with his present point of view.

Building for America's tomorrow. In 1945 Hoover said:

Children are not delinquent because they want to be, but because they haven't been taught to conduct themselves properly.

This sad situation is a challenge to the home, church, school, character-building organizations, and law enforcement, and all must do a better job of discharging the sacred trust imposed in us.

Parents can restore the American home to its position of former prestige by behaving themselves and winning the respect and admiration of their children. For bewilderment and shame, followed by delinquency, cloud the lives of

⁴Permission to use the quotations in the first edition was granted by the *Brooklyn Eagle* and by each of the writers.

many youngsters whose fathers and mothers do not realize the terrible price they pay for so-called "fun."

Schools and churches can help guide our active youth by enlarging their programs of wholesome activity designed to encourage good citizenship founded on respect for the laws of God and man. Much good work already is being done along these lines and by the fine, character-building and youth-serving organizations which have accepted the challenge. They should have our support and encouragement. Law enforcement can do its share by assigning intelligent and experienced personnel to handle juvenile cases, and this important crime-prevention work deserves the fullest cooperation and support from the public.

Building citizens for the America of tomorrow is a privilege, and, while much thought and work are required, the result will far more than justify the effort.

Effects of social disruption. In 1955 Hoover wrote:⁷

A prevalent idea is that juvenile delinquents come mostly from slum areas and poverty-stricken families. This is not true. Families in modern and well-to-do circumstances produce delinquents just as those families in lower-income brackets do. Nor is it true that most young criminals are "sick children." As a rule, they are as healthy, bright, and physically strong as those who do not commit crimes.

Our studies of the backgrounds of thousands of juvenile delinquents indicate that, rather than being the victims of economic circumstances or illness, most of them are the products of disruptive influences which have attacked wide areas of our society during the last generation, and especially since the start of World War II. No child is inherently bad. He is made what he is by his upbringing and his surroundings. It is thus apparent that something has gone wrong with the environment of a good many children, or we would not be confronted with our delinquency problem.

One thing which has gone wrong is that the "age of debunking" has seriously undermined the traditions, customs, and standards of adult conduct. For a generation the American public has been exposed to attempts to destroy, deflate, or besmear formerly universally accepted concepts and revered institutions. The debunkers have used virtually every opinion-molding media—popular fiction, newspaper columns, the movies, radio and television programs, comic books, even school and college texts. Their targets have included everything from patriotism to conventional moral codes, and from national heroes to our business institutions and our system of justice.

The minds of only a relatively small minority of Americans have been corrupted by such evil ideas, it is true, but we must face the fact that some have been. And when children grow up among adults who refuse to recognize anything as fine, good, or worthy of respect, it is not surprising that a certain

⁷ J. Edgar Hoover, "You Can Help Stop Juvenile Crime," *The American Magazine*, January, 1955, p. 89. Used by permission of J. Edgar Hoover and *The American Magazine*.

number fail to develop high moral standards or even to distinguish between right and wrong.

A comparison of Hoover's 1945 statement with his views in 1955 would seem to indicate that he now is placing greater emphasis upon the "disruptive influences" in our society as a cause of delinquent behavior, and upon the need for our developing high moral standards.

Proposals by Educational Leaders

The implications of Hoover's statements apply to the general public's responsibility for adolescent attitudes and behavior. School people share with parents the task of molding adolescent attitudes. Hence educational leaders devote considerable thought to ways in which the school can cooperate with parents and other adults in helping young people develop mature and socially acceptable modes of behavior.

Responsibility of the public school system. In 1945 John E. Wade, of New York, then superintendent of the world's largest school system, had this to say:

Our surveys have shown that chief among the contributing causes of maladjustment and delinquency are: homes unsupervised as a result of both parents going to work, broken homes, failure or inability of the home to make itself the center of the child's interest during nonschool hours, substandard entertainment outside of the home; unsatisfactory housing conditions, lack of opportunity for wholesome recreation, insufficient medical and nursing care, inadequate institutional facilities for the rehabilitation of delinquent minors, and the failure of parents to insist upon religious instruction for their children.

While the problem is not one that the schools alone can solve, we have undertaken to do the following, insofar as funds and personnel will permit:

1. Reduce the size of classes.
2. Assign additional and more experienced teachers to difficult schools and underprivileged areas.
3. Allocate additional recreational facilities to underprivileged areas.
4. Provide additional guidance service with emphasis upon attention to the needs of the individual child.
5. Concentrate the activities of the new Division of Child Welfare in localities most in need of its service.
6. Bring about closer cooperation between the schools and the various community agencies dealing with the prevention of maladjustment and delinquency.

In whatever we attempt to do we must at all times have the cooperation of the home and the church. Their function in the educational process is fully as important if not more important than ours. In the matter of character building, which is the first aim of education, the home, and the church, because of the love that parents and spiritual leaders have for their children, can be a more potent force than the school.

The child who harkens to the teaching of his mother and his spiritual leaders is not likely to become a delinquent.

Juvenile delinquency. William Jansen, the present superintendent of New York City's public schools, emphasizes the seriousness and breadth of the problem, the many possible causal factors, and the shared guidance and care responsibilities of all adults. At the same time, Jansen stresses certain definite educational obligations. The reader may be interested in the fact that Jansen already has begun to implement his recommendations, including the extension of trained guidance and school counseling services. Said Jansen in 1955:

As to the problem of juvenile delinquency, I should like to emphasize the need for a complete attack on this problem from every angle. The situation is serious; society may be facing a crisis. However, the situation is helpful in that at last society is becoming aware of the complexity of the problem. We shall make progress when individuals cease to put the blame on any one factor, and cease proposing a single cure. Let us capitalize on the current interest by moving ahead on many fronts. Here are some suggestions:

1. An educational program should be developed that points up the responsibility of parents for the behavior of their children. If we answer in the affirmative to the question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" how much more emphatic must be our answer to the question, "Am I my children's keeper?"

2. We must arouse among all adults a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of children. It would be especially helpful if we could have greatly increased adult participation in the voluntary agencies that work with children.

3. We must have more recreational facilities associated with our schools, churches, and parks. Such facilities are particularly useful in the evenings, on weekends, and during vacation periods. These are the times when youngsters get into trouble, not during the school day.

4. Guidance services, both in and out of school, must be increased and improved.

5. A larger teaching staff is essential if we're to provide smaller classes for special groups.

6. Social services must be better coordinated.

7. Religious institutions must work more closely with other social institutions.

8. Child care agencies must be extended.

9. Psychiatric and mental health facilities must be increased to care for those who are emotionally unstable or mentally ill.

10. Residential treatment centers, with educational and psychiatric facilities must be provided.

11. Improved and expanded probationary services must be developed.

12. Mass media: the radio, television, newspapers, magazines, publishers of comic books, and movie producers must be induced to cooperate in a socially wholesome program.

13. A central source for materials, reports of research and programs should be set up.

Juvenile delinquency, like adult crime, is a civic disease. The war against it can never cease. There never can be a complete victory, but we must constantly strive to improve our situation.

Analysis of the Problem by Religious Leaders

As could be expected, religious leaders are deeply concerned over modern trends toward materialism and individualism, with lessening appreciation of spiritual values. Two representative religious leaders offer the following suggestive answers to the problem.

Significance of religious morality. In 1955 Rev. Charles E. Bermingham, associate director of Catholic Charities of the Diocese of Brooklyn and formerly director of the Catholic Youth Organization, said:

Moral training and discipline are words being revived in the education of youth. It is at this level that religion and the Church make their greatest contribution. The normal child wants cogent reasons for a pattern of living. He finds this in an awareness of a Supreme Planner of life who is God. He is taught that God is a loving and just Father. God is not a vacillating "softie." Ultimately, He will ask for a reckoning and has promised both rewards and punishments. Aside from those youths who are pathologically disturbed, religious morality laid down by a living God is a source of stability to modern youth. The emphasizing of this factor in daily life is the important role of the Church toward the prevention of delinquency.

Value of religious education. Rev. Walter M. Howlett, executive secretary of The Greater New York Coordinating Committee on Released Time for Jews, Protestants, and Roman Catholics, Inc., declared in 1955:

The organized church and synagogue have a great responsibility in the field of child delinquency. If a child is given adequate religious nurture, he or she does not become a delinquent. Scientific studies prove this. An example of this is the study made by the late Judge Lewis L. Fawcett. He presided in the courts in Brooklyn for over thirty years. He states that in studying his records, that of many thousands of boys and girls who came before him charged with delinquency, only two boys of many thousands, who were receiving regular organized religious instruction, ever were found to be delinquent, and that not a single girl in all that time. Of course religious nurture should be given to the child in the home and church, but we might as well open our eyes to facts. We live in an age of specialization. Boys and girls have business hours like their parents and a regular working day. Unless religious education finds standing room in that day's work, there will be many boys and girls who will not receive it. Thus released time for religious education was introduced. In

New York City it came into being in February, 1941. Through this method, 300,000 more boys and girls of school age receive regular religious instruction now than was true fourteen years ago. Ninety per cent of those enlisted in released time go on for confirmation in church or synagogue.

Nationally, religious education on released time is in existence in forty-seven of the forty-eight states and in Hawaii and Alaska, with an estimated enrollment of 3 million.

One of the most effective causes of juvenile delinquency is broken homes or divorce. Scientific studies have shown that there is only one-tenth as many divorcees among parents who practice religious devotion as among those who do not go to church or synagogue regularly.

Prevention is much more important in the field of juvenile delinquency than a cure. There is no one cause, but the greatest single factor in aiding our boys and girls to become citizens of character is religious nurture. If parents practice partnership with God in their homes, their children's future is secure.

Law Enforcement and Delinquency

Importance of education. Opinions differ concerning the long-range value of penalization of the youthful offender. In 1945 New York's Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine declared:

The field of delinquency is as broad as the scope of a child's activities. He may be delinquent in his relations to his parents and his home, to his teachers and his school, to his fellows and their rights, and to the public and public welfare. The antidote for delinquency must be just as broad. It must be education in its fullest sense. All persons and educative influences with which the child comes in contact must effectively cooperate in the task of leading the individual boy and girl out of the selfishness of childhood through the egocentricity of adolescence into responsible citizenship of men and women.

The following statements issued recently by four law-enforcement leaders indicate awareness of the gravity of the present situation. As one reads their expressed opinions concerning the causes of delinquency and the most effective ways to treat young offenders, he will find that they differ somewhat in their emphases.

Emphasis upon morality and religion. In an address in 1955, New York's Police Commissioner Francis W. H. Adams said:

I believe that the family unit and family life provide the basis for our entire social structure and that if we are going to accomplish anything in solving the problem of juvenile delinquency, we must find some means to restore and renew the integrity of the family in our social and religious life.

Economics alone have had tremendous effect on the family unit. In earlier days, the simple facts of economic necessity served an important function in

keeping families together. And there was a realization that the family as a unit could only survive economically if it was governed by a standard of morality which was produced and maintained by the family itself.

We used to talk of what we learned at our mother's knee. Now we hear of what we learn from the psychiatrist and the social worker. And this alone seems to me to reflect the underlying change in our social life.

I believe, therefore, that no solution can be found that will protect our children, and those of generations to come, which does not accept as a basic principle the necessity for a religious and moral family life.

It may be that we can never return to the simple life of our forefathers. I think it is true that the complexity of modern life, and the necessity for security which preoccupies us all, precludes a return to the simple social organism which in earlier days was provided by the independent family unit.

I do believe, however, that if we are to make any progress, it must be with a full acceptance of the eternal validity of the principles of morality and religion, which must govern all of man's activities. I think, therefore, that the problem is one of adapting modern life to the ancient verities rather than one of seeking new principles to meet new conditions.

This cannot be done quickly. We cannot force morality upon either the young or the old. We have made enormous gains in the last twenty years in protecting our civil rights.

I do not believe that those gains should ever be sacrificed for purposes of temporary expediency.

The night stick was no answer when I was a boy and I do not think it is the answer now. At the same time, I believe that reasonable firmness both within and without the home is necessary in every generation, and I am convinced that we can make no progress toward renewing the integrity of the home unless we can provide what Mayor Wagner has so well described as a climate of law and order.

Need of emotional rehabilitation. In 1955 Edwin L. Garvin, former Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, said:

It is my definite opinion that today, more than ever, the problem of delinquency and its utmost seriousness is impressing itself on the consciousness of the general population. This is true not only because of scattered vicious and brutal crimes which are reported melodramatically in the newspapers, but because of an increasing awareness of findings that a rather substantial proportion of our young people are suffering from emotional disturbances of one kind or another which will sooner or later break out in delinquency or crime or in other personal and social maladjustment. These disturbances are not necessarily the fault of the young people involved.

It is still advisable to repeat over and over again certain basic concepts which are sometimes disregarded. The central one is that the talk we hear of punishment as a cure for delinquency, a "back-to-the-woodshed" movement, is simply unrealistic. It is the wrong approach. If we have learned anything through the ages, it is that punishment does not either cure delinquency or crime or

deter others from committing unlawful acts. Our reliance, rather, must be in therapeutic measures, in treatment and rehabilitation.

We have treatment agencies in our communities but unfortunately they are still inadequately developed. Our juvenile court movement has accomplished a great deal and it represents a legal institution which is everywhere accepted as a basic community resource. It is unfortunately true, however, that our juvenile courts are not operating as successfully as they should. In most of our cities and counties we do not have specialist juvenile court judges. Our juvenile courts are often parts of inferior courts, rather than being independent courts or parts of courts of record of general jurisdiction. But the basic deficiency is that of casework staff in the courts. Probation is the tool which the juvenile court uses, first for the social study which should be made in every child's case, and second for supervision of children placed on probation. We need perhaps ten times as many juvenile court probation officers as we have. This is no exaggeration. We need probation officers with professional training in schools of social work, a training which only a small percentage of probation officers now have.

The juvenile court and probation movement has received enormous impetus and assistance in its growth from The National Probation and Parole Association, a national private agency which for many years has studied these courts and has vigorously worked to develop improved services in hundreds of communities in all sections of the country. I have been actively connected with the Association since its inception. It has waged campaigns for improvement in standards of personnel and standards of administration. Through its Standard Juvenile Court Act it has helped the legislature in practically every state with the writing of juvenile court laws. It is constantly reexamining and improving standards everywhere. The Association is winning increasing confidence throughout the country. It has recently received substantial grants from leading Foundations, and prominent Judges all over the land, headed by Judge Bolitha J. Laws, Chief Judge of the United States District Court of Washington, D.C., are in cooperation, by means of a Judicial Council, to make sure that development of probation is along sound lines.

The necessity of parent education. Jeanette G. Brill, formerly a judge in New York's Domestic Relations Court, said in 1955:

Now is the time--since the enormity of the juvenile delinquency problem has reached into the consciousness of every American parent--to join hands and redouble our effort toward stamping it out. The most important step in this undertaking is to employ preventive and corrective measures, and a more active cooperation by parents in guiding their children on more constructive paths with a tomorrow in view.

When we find major crimes and criminal offenses being committed by youth between the ages of 14 and 17, and oftentimes at a younger age, we must ask the question, "Wherein has the home, the school, the church, the community failed our youth?"

In the City of New York, the Children's Court must and should have more

detention facilities. Very often Justices of the Children's Court are criticized for paroling boys and girls brought before them for the commission of criminal offenses and major crimes. These judges find themselves helpless, as the existing detention facilities are overcrowded, and thus with no other alternative, parole these youthful offenders in the custody of their parents; sending them back to the same insecurity which produced the delinquency.

For the youthful and adolescent offender we need a program of treatment that is both socialized and individualized and made to fit the special problems of this group if rehabilitation is to be successful.

Parent education, a strong factor in the deterrence of delinquency, has been overlooked. The problem and challenge of juvenile delinquency is definitely and essentially not only a problem and challenge of youth but of the community as well.

Bases of delinquents' attitude toward the law. In an exclusive interview with *U.S. News & World Report* on "Why Law Fails To Stop Teen-age Crime," Judge Samuel F. Leibowitz of Kings County Court, Brooklyn, gave this answer to the following question:¹

Q He [the delinquent] hasn't been brought into court until all these agencies have attempted to take care of the case?

A Yes, and, by the time he reaches court, he has already shown a propensity toward crime. Telltale danger signs have been flashing, warning those whose responsibility it is to correct him that he is plunging toward the edge of the precipice. The courtroom is the place where he experiences his first formal contact with the law—and this is where he must be brought up short and made to realize that crime doesn't pay; that it is easy as pie to get into trouble, but is as hard as the devil to get out of it.

We must realize that, in these days, we are not dealing with merely the mischievous kid who is just interested in a little "hell raising." Today we are up against the tough, cynical young criminal. And what is the atmosphere in these courtrooms? Since the advent of these special juvenile courts, it has been the fashion to conduct the proceedings with an air of the utmost informality. Even the court attendants are prohibited from wearing uniforms. The judge sits behind a desk with as little formality as a clerk in an office.

In my judgment, this is just plain foolishness. In our large cities, cases are rushed through with the speed of an express train. The volume of business is terrific; the probation service woefully understaffed and underpaid; the care and attention that can therefore be given to each defendant must of necessity be inadequate. To the young offender this whole process of going through the machinery of justice is just a huge farce. This informal courtroom atmosphere is certainly not calculated to impress the young criminal with the dignity and solemnity of the law.

¹ *U.S. News & World Report*, p. 65, Jan. 14, 1955. Reprinted from *U.S. News & World Report*, an independent weekly magazine published at Washington, U.S.A. Copyright, 1955, United States News Publishing Corporation.

It is interesting to note that Police Commissioner Adams does not consider the use of the policeman's night stick to be an effective preventer of youthful delinquency. Yet he believes that young people should be treated firmly both within and outside the home in a social atmosphere that represents a "climate of law and order." Moreover, many serious-minded citizens are encouraged by his emphasis upon the significance to family life and modern society of a return to a full acceptance of the eternal validity of the "principles of morality and religion."

Judge Garvin agrees with Police Commissioner Adams that punishment is neither a cure nor a preventive of crime or delinquency. According to Judge Garvin, youthful delinquency is an outgrowth of emotional disturbances that may be caused by conditions outside the youth's control. Hence he stresses the value of rehabilitation of these emotional deviates. Although the juvenile court movement indicates a recognition of the fact that the youthful offender should be treated differently from the adult criminal, the judge asserts that our youth-treating agencies are inadequate. Few, if any, of the juvenile court judges are especially trained; probation officers have value, but more and better-trained men and women are needed. He has great faith, however, in the work of the National Probation and Parole Association.

Judge Brill also emphasizes the need of better programs of prevention and cure, and of greater parental cooperation. She views juvenile delinquency as the result of home, school, and community failure to guide "children on more constructive paths with a tomorrow in view." She is much concerned about unhealthful home conditions, and believes that, in New York City at least, more detention facilities are needed so that youthful offenders who require rehabilitation treatment are not paroled to the care of inadequate parents. For many years Judge Brill has been an advocate of parent education. The authors have been privileged to work closely with her in her program of alerting men and women to their responsibilities as parents. Unfortunately, community apathy has interfered seriously with the achievement of desired expansion of her parent-education projects.

In Judge Leibowitz' statement we find an expressed attitude toward the background causes of delinquency that is similar to that of the other contributors. He differs from them concerning the treatment to be accorded the offender when the latter is brought to court for the first time. He regards the delinquent as a "tough, cynical young criminal." The informal atmosphere of the juvenile court, the large volume of cases, and the "woeful" understaffing of the probation service result in the youthful delinquent receiving inadequate care and attention. Judge Leibowitz frequently has expressed his belief that, as a result of our present informal and perhaps soft treatment of delinquent behavior, young offenders are

not impressed by the dignity and solemnity of the law. Since Judge Leibowitz currently is dealing with many delinquent young people, his attitude represents a practical evaluation of present conditions that offer a challenge to every adult who is involved in any way with the experiences of young people *before* they reach the courts.

Opinions of Community Welfare Leaders

The following statements represent the respective points of view concerning youthful delinquency that have been expressed by the leaders of various community welfare organizations. As could be expected, each leader's approach to the problem is influenced by the special kind of service rendered by his organization. Although certain basic causes of adolescent asocial behavior are recognized by all, they differ in their opinions concerning specific causes as well as in their recommendations for prevention and treatment.

Importance of whole-community cooperation. The 1945 statement of Katherine Lenroot, then Chief of the Children's Bureau, stressed the need for Federal, state, and local cooperation in meeting the existing wave of youthful delinquency. Miss Lenroot said:

A program for the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency cannot be an isolated community activity. It must be developed as an integral part of community services essential to the well-being of all children in war and in peace. It must draw on all resources—local, state and Federal. It must represent a banding together of the whole community in an attempt to do something about juvenile delinquency. A committee of the local defense council, council of social agencies, or other organization that has broad responsibilities for children and youth is the most appropriate group in a community to assume the responsibility for a community program to prevent and control juvenile delinquency.

As representative of present-day thinking, statements have been selected which were contributed by leaders of each of four differing social-welfare organizations. The first excerpt is from a recent speech made by Martha Eliot, the present Chief of the Children's Bureau. This is followed by statements that represent the points of view of the vice-president of a local Social Service and Children's Aid Society, the New York City Park Commissioner, and the director of Community Services of the American Social Hygiene Association.

Value of rational approach. Martha M. Eliot, Chief of the Children's Bureau, said in 1954:

In coming to grips, then, with this many-sided problem of delinquency and its prevention and cure, we must face frankly the role of each aspect of society

and our community life, including those of the home, the schools, the churches, the community health and welfare services, the law-enforcement and correctional institutions. We must accept the fact that society itself is largely responsible, and that an upswing in juvenile delinquency may reflect increases in the tensions of society itself because of local, national, or international situations. We must also accept the fact that we as individuals and as groups of individuals make up our society and that, if we will, we can overcome many of these conditions now, and then we can prepare ourselves and our communities to bring up the reserves that will strengthen our action programs as they are needed when national and international tensions rise. . . .

If we are to work toward nondelinquent communities, we must resist efforts to attack the problem of delinquency merely through measures of punishment and repression. The issue at stake is not whether punishment and repression work. Perhaps as an expedient they would work for a period of time if severe and dramatic enough. But expediency is not the only test. By such a process we might indeed create enough fear among our children to abolish delinquency. But we might also end up by rearing a generation of children who are better fitted for life in a totalitarian country than for life in a democracy, children who have lost that priceless gift of democracy—the opportunity to use their individual capacities to choose between various courses of action, not through fear of retaliation, but through a rational approach to life, an inner concept of right and wrong, and concern for one's fellow man.

Significance of youthful unhappiness. In 1955 Mary Childs Draper, vice-president of the Brooklyn Bureau of Social Service and Children's Aid Society, declared:

Certain things we know to guide us, and one is that the boy or girl who gets into trouble is unhappy. His or her delinquency is a symptom of unhappiness, just as fever is a symptom of something physically wrong. Here in the Brooklyn Bureau of Social Service and Children's Aid Society we have experts trained to detect that fever and what lies behind it, just as surely as your family physician can detect the cause of a fever from a physical background. Some people blame conditions in the home; others, failure by church or school; still others, lack of recreational facilities. Our case workers, out of their long experiences with many hundreds of delinquent and pre-delinquent children, have learned that there is no one cause, just as there is no rule-of-thumb approach or cure. They will tell you that the problem lies in the individual boy or girl's reaction to all these factors in their environment, plus the fact that life today is surcharged with tension.

Need of recreational facilities. In an address in 1954 New York's City Park Commissioner Robert Moses said:

What can we do affirmatively for youth? Speaking for the Park Department, we can build and operate facilities for healthful recreation and athletic

competition where the need is greatest. This may not be the sole answer to the youth problem, but it is surely one of them. I do not for a moment minimize the contribution to be made by doctors, welfare agencies, police, and courts to the task of providing, under difficult urban conditions, a normal and happy childhood for all who can enjoy it. Above all, there is no substitute for good parents, good homes, and helpful church, religious, and school influences. All the efforts of all concerned will be needed, and we should therefore dissipate none of our energies in petty differences over method and procedure.

...
We are woefully short of men, material, and equipment. Uncontrolled vandalism costs us an enormous sum every year. We are miserably short of police. All of our large and most of our small parks are wholly unsafe at night, and many of them in broad daylight. It is a crime to invite the public into places which are manifestly dangerous traps. There is no sense in building parks which will shortly be reduced to rubble by a vicious minority. It is my firm conviction that the public is ready and willing to pay for service and safety in the park system and is sick of coddling young goons. . . .

There is always loose talk by well-meaning persons about backyard play spaces—simple, informal playgrounds on vacant lots and private operation of play spaces open to the general public. These things just don't work, not to speak of the difficulties of obtaining adequate private endowments and the limitations of passing the hat annually for private handouts. Just keep this one little figure in mind: It would require an endowment of almost half a million dollars to operate one small playground!

Importance of education for personal and family living. Esther Emerson Sweeney, director of Community Services of the American Social Hygiene Association, said in 1955:

We believe that, although we would pursue a program of education for personal and family living if there were no problem of juvenile delinquency—because of its countless positive values for the individual and society—such a program is bound, in terms of its very nature, to play an important preventive role. Consequently, we believe that education for personal and family living is a contribution to the prevention of juvenile delinquency, providing for young people, as it does, insights into patterns of human behavior, understandings of social responsibilities, motivation toward sound interpersonal relations, and opportunities to give serious consideration to the reasonableness of the moral code.

As an Association, we have been vigorous in working for social change in many areas which have a bearing on juvenile delinquency. We have urged communities all across the country to develop consultant and treatment services for families experiencing internal conflict, and to develop social services in their courts which would help families considering separation or divorce.

Similarly, we have urged communities to repress prostitution and allied conditions which, if permitted to exist, offer an unwholesome community environment for youth, suggest to young people that laws can be violated with

impunity if there is enough police protection (while at the same time youngsters are expected to be law-abiding citizens in the very towns where others are not), and, of course, expose young people to the emotional and physical hazards of promiscuous sexual relations.

Each of these social-agency leaders refers to the significance in a young delinquent's life of his home, school, and general community experiences, and the value to a developing child and adolescent of "good" parental rearing. Martha Eliot then condemns attempts at behavior control through fear of retaliation, except as a temporary expedient. Rather does she suggest that delinquent behavior can be prevented by the inculcation into young people's attitudes of a democratic, national approach to life based upon personal appreciation of the concept of right and wrong.

To some extent Mary Draper agrees with Martha Eliot that delinquency is rooted in a young person's life attitudes. No one area of experience can be held accountable for adolescent delinquent behavior, however. In terms of her experiences, the society offender is an unhappy boy or girl who gets into trouble because of the effect upon him of the maladjustive influences of a life "surcharged with tension."

Robert Moses appreciates some of the valuable contributions of doctors, welfare agencies, and courts, as well as the fact that there is no substitute for good home, religious, and school influences. Recognizing young people's need for wholesome, energy-releasing recreational activities, he advocates the extension of park facilities that are well policed and safe from the antisocial and dangerous activities of currently coddled "young goons."

Apparent in Esther Sweeney's statement is a conviction that delinquency or moral turpitude grows out of family and community apathy to the detrimental effects upon a young person of exposure to the "emotional and physical hazards of promiscuous sexual relations," as well as adult condoning of adolescent (also adult) violations of the law.

As members of the board of directors of the education section of the American Social Hygiene Association, the authors are well aware of, and thoroughly in accord with, the association's program for personal and family living. Although projects of this kind of necessity move slowly, considerable headway has been made toward the realization of the association's purposes and objectives as listed by Esther Sweeney, both in the area of preventive education and in the field of therapeutic rehabilitation of adults as well as adolescents. The degree of success achieved by the ASHA to this point can be explained partly in terms of the untiring efforts of its active members, and partly as a result of the close working relations it has established with other interested groups, e.g., parents, school people, local community agencies, Federal and state bureaus, and military personnel.

CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

There is much current evidence of community cooperation to stem the rising tide of juvenile delinquency by getting at the roots of the problem. Parents, church groups, businessmen, industrialists, educational leaders, community councils, and others are doing much to give youth some mobility within the limits of desirable social acceptability. The increasing number of parks and afterschool playgrounds, community centers, teen-age clubs, and camps; the continuing provision for better housing conditions, including school buildings; the improving control of crime comic books, radio and television programs; the more tactful supervision of adolescent social activities; and the greater availability of counseling services for teen-agers and their parents—all these represent areas of community-sponsored attempts to solve this vexing problem.

Some assistance may be gained from observing England's apparent degree of success in reducing the number of delinquents. The British are emphasizing respect for the law and are prepared to deal harshly with repeated violations. They believe that a healthy fear of the law is useful in the solution of the problem of juvenile delinquency. This does not mean that an offender is never given a second chance; it suggests that he is less likely to get a third chance. They believe that misguided leniency is one of the factors that cause juvenile misdemeanor to become juvenile crime.

In the United States there still are differences of opinion relative to the value of harsh treatment. More and more, however, there seems to be a general tendency to tighten up. The courts are moving away somewhat from so-called soft handling or coddling of young offenders. Yet there are certain limitations to the administration by the courts of punishment as a cure. Juvenile-court judges are influenced in their disposition of cases by the lack of adequate penal institutions, the shortage of trained personnel, and their fear of public disapproval, especially of parents and relatives, if in their sentences they exhibit objective consideration for public welfare rather than subjective "understanding" of youthful impulses.

Delinquency is a state of an individual. The boy or the girl who is a potential or actual juvenile delinquent must be treated individually. However, those elements of society which are responsible for this young person's maladjustment (or that of all other delinquents) must combine to form a social program reflecting the behavior and attitudes of all members of society and requiring the concerted action of all citizens in their home, school, business, community, and government relationships, if desirable environmental changes are to be effected.

The development of delinquency is similar to the development of any other form of behavior. When a young person becomes delinquent, there may be inherent in him certain potentialities of emotional maladjustment or socially disapproved behavior. Since individuals possess within themselves differing degrees of strength or weakness to combat unhygienic environmental influences, any treatment of the individual delinquents should include a consideration of these factors.

A young person possessing a physically and emotionally strong constitution may be expected to make an excellent personal adjustment in a wholesome environment if given sound guidance. Likewise, in a similar environment, with similar guidance, a weaker individual usually succeeds in attaining emotional stability and socially acceptable behavior.

The strong person may be able to, and often does, fight his way through many unfavorable environmental situations and thereby achieves a degree of desirable adjustment that may seem to be strengthened by the very intensity of his struggle. It is the potentially unstable young person who, if he is unfortunate enough to find himself in a vicious environment and denied wise guidance, is likely to achieve not adjusted but maladjusted behavior, and to become not a respected leader but a delinquent.

Delinquency and the home. Although the home situation does not constitute the only causative factor of youthful delinquency, the potency of the effect upon young people of parental attitudes and behavior cannot be denied. The truth of the above statement is affirmed by men and women who have engaged in extensive and intensive study of the causes of delinquency. Some of their conclusions and recommendations are presented here.

Comments made by State's Attorney John Gutknecht in his answers to several questions are enlightening. When asked, "Can anything be done to keep children from becoming delinquent?" he replied:

First, emphasize the need of more discipline in the home. Continually we find that no matter what kind of a record a child of 16 or 17 or 18 has, the parents come into court entirely defensive about their child, seem to recognize no duty on the child or on themselves to help society. They seem to be fighting their government and fighting society, instead of recognizing that if the child doesn't learn discipline early, he can never find his place in society. It's the weakness of the parents that too often results in the crime of the child.

As a result of their study of 1,000 delinquents, the Gluecks¹⁹ concluded that the home conditions of many delinquents seem to be characterized by one or more of the following factors:

¹⁹ *U.S. News & World Report*, p. 69, Jan. 14, 1955. Reprinted from *U.S. News & World Report*, an independent weekly magazine published at Washington, U.S.A. Copyright, 1955, United States News Publishing Corporation.

¹⁹ S. Glueck and E. T. Glueck, *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents, Their Treatment by Court and Clinic*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, pp 80-82.

1. Evidence of foreign-born parents, resulting in clash of adult and adolescent customs and standards
2. Substandard educational equipment of parents, which may lead to lack of respect for parents on the part of adolescent children
3. Underprivileged economic home conditions, which tend to encourage young people to satisfy through socially undesirable means their normal cravings for attractive surroundings
4. Unwholesome parental attitudes, resulting either in adolescent resentment and hatred of the home situation or in the following of the parental pattern
5. A broken home or lack of supervision in the home
6. Mental illness, mental defect, or other peculiarities in a blood relative, with a possible inheritance of the constitutional weakness
7. Indifferent moral standards or actual criminality among adult members of the family, serving as undesirable behavior models for impressionable, immature young people.

The role played by parents is clearly presented by J. Edgar Hoover, when he suggests:¹¹

Almost invariably, parents are to blame for the development of young criminals. When a child goes wrong, we usually find that he has been exposed to neglect, unhappiness, insecurity, parental conflict, drunkenness, or other bad influences at home.

How can we become better parents?

The experiences and observations in the FBI indicate that a person's financial circumstances, education, or I.Q. rating have little to do with his qualifications for parenthood. But we have found that good parents are

1. Parents who try to understand their children and find the time to cultivate their friendship and love.
2. Parents of integrity who face facts and live by the truth.
3. Parents who live within their means and give their children examples of thrift, security, and stability.
4. Parents who are industrious and teach their children that most of life's good things come only from hard work.
5. Parents who have worth-while goals in life and seek to have their children join them in their attainment.
6. Parents who have common sense, a capacity for friendship, and a sense of humor.
7. Parents who live in harmony with each other and do not quarrel in the presence of their children.
8. Parents who have ideals and a compelling urge to serve rather than be served.
9. Parents who are unswervingly loyal to their children, but who can express righteous indignation and chastise them when it is necessary. (That old proverb, "Spare the rod and spoil the child," is as valid today as it ever was.)
10. Parents whose decisions are controlled, not by what their children desire, but by what they need.

¹¹ In "You Can Help Stop Juvenile Crime," *The American Magazine*, January, 1955, p. 90. Used by permission of J. Edgar Hoover and *The American Magazine*.

In reviewing thousands of cases we have found that men and women who possess those ten qualifications almost never have delinquent children. Thus one of the most effective of all measures we could take to check juvenile crime would be for thousands of fathers and mothers to pattern themselves more nearly to those standards of parenthood.

Gutknecht's reply to the question, "Don't the parents understand the juvenile-delinquency problem?" gives added insight into the severity of the problem and the need for cooperation of all, especially parents, in the solutions that may have permanent value. In his words:¹²

The average parent is very much interested in this problem. He's very co-operative on general issues. You meet him at P-TA meeting and he's with you 100 per cent. He thinks it's happening all around him, but can't happen to his own child.

Then the day comes that he comes into court with his own child, and he is often as irrational as a mother lion with her cubs- purely defensive, not recognizing that the reason the child can fight society is that the child too often successfully fought his parents.

And, of course, the next thing we can do- and I've been very glad to see the steps that have already been taken by the industry- is to control the comic-book problem. I am certain, regardless of the lectures by some of the professors in sociology, and so forth, that everybody who is intimately connected with the work of the courts dealing with teen-age criminals and delinquents will recognize that vicious, brutal and lustful comic books cannot help but turn many a child to crime.

You say a healthy mind, maybe, can meet that problem. Well, society doesn't have to protect itself from the healthy minds. If society has a problem with 10 per cent of its minds that aren't healthy, then that's more of a job than the police force of America can contend with.

In addition to the factors already named, reference should be made to delinquent-provoking conditions that may exist in apparently well-adjusted homes. Among these are questionable business practices of an apparently successful father, parental sentimentality, and encouragement by parents of childish cruelty toward animals. Insufficient adolescent participation in home responsibilities, with an accompanying surplus of free time, which the young person may employ in undesirable social activities, is conducive to the formation of gangs of boys who hang around street corners with no constructive activities for the utilization of their boundless energy.

What can be done in the home? So subtle are the influences to which a child is exposed in his family relationships that it may seem that no one adequate answer can be given. However, there are at least three ways in

¹² *U.S. News & World Report*, p. 69, Jan. 14, 1955. Reprinted from *U.S. News & World Report*, an independent weekly magazine published at Washington, U.S.A. Copyright, 1955, United States News Publishing Corporation.

which improvement can be encouraged: (1) the right to parenthood should be in direct ratio to an individual's physical, mental, and emotional fitness to be a parent; (2) an extended and detailed program of parent education by men and women qualified to offer it should be made available to all present and future parents; and (3) provision should be made by community agencies for remunerative and personally satisfying work opportunities for all citizens and the consequent elimination of slum areas. Although delinquency is a responsibility of society as a whole, it cannot be denied that the roots of delinquency lie in unadjusted home conditions. Hence it is in the home that the work of delinquency prevention must begin.

Delinquency and the school. Most delinquents show a history of dislike of school, and they are apt to be truants. When they are questioned concerning their unsatisfactory school records, their answers seem to place emphasis upon factors such as inability to master the subjects of study, with consequent discouragement and retreat from embarrassing classroom experiences; harsh and unsympathetic treatment by teachers; regimentation of pupils in oversize classes; lack of opportunities for play and recreation; and illegal detention from school on the part of parents.

Educational leaders are aware of these teen-age criticisms of school procedures and attitudes and are gradually eliminating or modifying those school factors which in the past have militated against the educational progress of all children within their limits of achievement. When the citizenry as a whole recognize the importance of investing public funds in well-equipped and well-staffed schools, rather than in prisons and reformatories, forward-looking educational programs will be accelerated.

The delinquent boy or girl has been found not only to have home problems but also to be a misfit at school. Hence modern educational procedures and practices are being adapted to the learner in school so that these aids will be of value to each individual throughout his educational advancement. Teachers are friendly, sympathetic persons who attempt to understand adolescents and their problems. Consideration is given to a program of activities that is adapted to learner needs and to individual differences. It is a live, vital program that is varied in terms of abilities and interests of learners.

New teachers are trained to be pupil-minded rather than merely subject-matter minded. They are encouraged to know each pupil, his assets, and his liabilities, and to administer guidance in terms of his discovered potential. In addition, special psychological services are offered both within the school and as adjuncts to the school, available to the school personnel when needed.

In this connection, the achievement of the ideal of "all the schools for

all the children," as outlined by Wade (page 333), and the complete list of suggestions as presented by Jansen (page 334) give us an excellent educational program that can be adapted to the individual needs of all pupils.

The importance of the role of the school can be understood better by reading the findings and observations made by *Newsweek*:¹⁴

For one thing, delinquency very often starts with truancy, which Denver juvenile court judge Philip B. Gilliam has called "the kindergarten of crime." The Gluecks discovered that 95 per cent of their delinquent group were truants, while only 10 per cent of the non-delinquent boys were, and then only occasionally. That it is possible for the school to make inroads on this particular problem is indicated by the accomplishments of Gary, Indiana. There, the number of youngsters sent to court for truancy dropped from 350 cases a year to none, after a special program was inaugurated which included smaller classes, counseling for parents and some free time during school hours for special interests.

Commissioner of Education Brownell believes that under good conditions, a school may actually prevent delinquency. Such schools, he has said, "find out what kind of a person each pupil is and uses the information about each child so that all who deal with him may act on it. They maintain close contacts with homes and neighborhoods. They try to make up for lacks, and supply resources otherwise absent. . . . This all takes time, staff and money. Above all, it takes a desire to see that every child is treated as an important human being, not just as an additional number in the school enrollment."

Some feel that there may be an even bigger role for the schools to play in the future. Everything we know about delinquency points to the importance of detecting the signs as early as possible, so that a youngster can be helped while he is still at the "pre-delinquency" stage. Is it possible to spot the potential delinquent scientifically? Dr. Fritz Redl, chief of adult research for the National Institute of Mental Health, for one, thinks not. "No one can tell if a child will turn out to be delinquent five years later," he has declared. "Some children prepare for delinquency pleasantly and quietly."

But on the other side are those who claim it is possible to spot the delinquent as early as the first grade. The results of the Gluecks' investigations has given tremendous support to this idea. The 500 delinquent boys they studied showed their first signs of trouble at a little over 8 years of age on the average. Focusing on family life, physical characteristics, social and personality traits, the Gluecks made various tests, formulated prediction tables and now think they can pick out the potential delinquent very early in life.

The delinquent and the community. Community indifference to, or actual responsibility for, delinquency cannot be treated lightly. As long as community leaders are unaware of the deplorable condition of some of their community neighborhoods or do nothing officially about it, they are a little like the old lady who is reported as having objected strenuously

¹⁴ "Juvenile Delinquency," pp. 20-21.

to suggestions that the slums of London be eliminated. Her disapproval of any such plan was based on the fact that people like herself would thereby lose their opportunity to gain eternal salvation by obeying the Biblical admonition that good people should visit the "fatherless and widows" and help those in distress. How could she do this, if there were no longer any available slums in which she could carry on her good work?

Worse than community apathy is the actual contribution to delinquency through the permitting of commercially run questionable dance halls, gambling devices, beer gardens and grills; obscene or low-standard magazines on newsstands; and advertisements encouraging the "sophisticated" use of cigarettes, alcohol, and the like. There is an almost general lack throughout the country of adequate recreational facilities. Those which are adequate, from the point of view of uplifting rather than degrading influences, are often hampered in their programs by insufficient funds. Hence they are unable to compete with the better-equipped and more glamorous commercial forms of entertainment, which may not be wholehearted.

Many communities have begun or are in the process of inaugurating a program of city planning. Sanitary conditions, comfort, beauty, and decent standards of living are the goals toward which such programs are aimed. Opportunities for youthful participation in community service and recreational projects also are being made available. In crowded city neighborhoods it is difficult to provide sufficient wholesome recreational facilities, however. Hence the young people are likely to form themselves into street-corner gangs that soon become the centers of organized participation in unlawful activities.

In recent years several cities have been making use of local men who talk the language of the youngster. They visit the trouble spots to help the boys before they get into the clutches of the law. Two such projects are reported in *Newsweek* as follows:¹⁴

New York City's Youth Board sends "street-club workers"—men between 20 and 30—into a neighborhood to win a gang's confidence, eventually channeling the energy of the boys into more normal social pursuits and sports. The results so far have been encouraging. Teen-age gang wars have abated recently as a result of street-club workers' efforts and in case after case the gangs have ceased being sources of trouble, after Youth Board efforts to change a gang into more of a club. One street club worker summed it up this way: "If we can go into a neighborhood and break the pattern by which older gang boys lead their younger brothers into antisocial activity, then we've got something. Maybe not much, because the problem is bigger than we are. But maybe, too, a society that's willing to spend a couple of billion dollars

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

on a new highway will decide some day to spend that kind of money to rehabilitate its kids."

The Chicago Area Project attacks the problem on the broader canvas of the entire neighborhood. Picking some of the most troublesome areas in the city, this project has enlisted aid from the people who live there—even ex-convicts, in some instances—to help the people change the pattern of their lives. That is a job no outside social worker can do, the Project authors reason. A run-down of what Steve Bubacz, one "alley-wise" leader, does in the course of his work gives an idea of how the Project works. "Mothers complained that their sons who were shoeshine boys were staying out too late; Steve investigated and induced the local saloonkeepers to refuse the kids admittance," John Bartlow Martin reported in *Harper's*. "A couple of junk dealers were buying hot, or stolen, merchandise from neighborhood children and encouraging them to steal; although unable to obtain convictions the Committee put on so much pressure that today the dealers telephone Steve before buying any doubtful junk. The Committee has closed several blind pigs and taverns which have sold liquor to minors. When 14-year-olds turned up drunk consistently the Committee discovered the identity of their bootlegger and tipped off the FBI, which sent him to Leavenworth. . . .

There is a trend toward combining reasonable penalization with attempted rehabilitation of the offender. In line with this philosophy, ideal treatment can be pictured as setting up special courts for the handling of delinquents. Therapeutic, rather than penal, juvenile court sessions are held informally in small rooms, rather than in large fear-inspiring courtrooms. These meetings are conducted by specially selected judges, whose attitude and training reflect sympathetic understanding of adolescent problems and who, unsentimentally, may be able to guide the young delinquent toward a more desirable form of living.

Physicians, psychologists, psychiatrists, social caseworkers, and probation officers cooperate with these courts in the work of rehabilitating the young offender. Cooperation with the home and other social agencies is encouraged. Here again community budgetary planning is a factor. Some such juvenile courts are functioning at present, but many more are needed to meet the needs of our young delinquents. Of course, as conditions that encourage delinquency are gradually eliminated, we hope that there will be a decreasing need for juvenile courts and juvenile aid societies.

Apart from the whole problem of suitable job placement, which will be considered in connection with the vocational adjustment of young people (see Chapter 16), employers too have a part in the rehabilitation of delinquents. One of the causes of reverting to former delinquent behavior after treatment is the fact that it is often difficult for a young offender to obtain a job, even though he wants to make a new start. Employers often are afraid that there may be a recurrence of the earlier difficulty. Their

fear may be grounded in fact. However, unless such boys or girls are given an opportunity to make a normal adjustment under normal conditions, there can be little hope of improved attitude or behavior.

Other community agencies that are potential delinquency promoters are newspapers and broadcasting and motion-picture organizations. Many columns of our daily newspapers cannot be devoted to detailed accounts of criminal acts and sex offenses, or our motion-picture films and radio and television programs present the "blood-and-thunder" variety of entertainment, without exciting unduly the emotions of energetic and

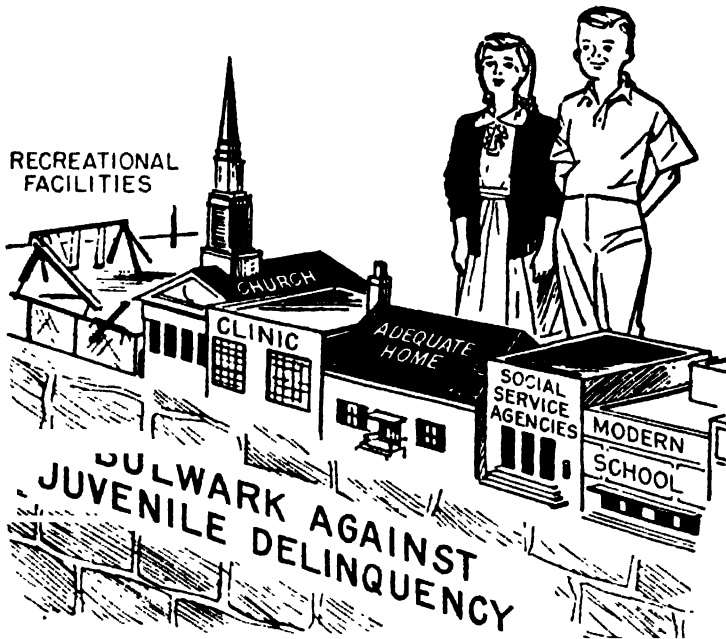


FIG. 46. The combining of forces as a bulwark against juvenile delinquency. (From *Helping Delinquent Children*, Children's Bureau Publication 341, 1953, p. 37.)

imaginative young people. Fortunately, there is a growing attitude of desirable censorship of such programs.

A good beginning has been made in our fight to combat delinquency. However, it is perhaps not too old-fashioned to believe that results will not be commensurate with the efforts expended unless there is a return to religion on the part of American people.

The school and other community agencies that are dealing actively with juvenile delinquency are illustrated graphically by the Children's Bureau in Figure 46. Although all serve as a bulwark against juvenile delinquency, the home, the school, and the church appear to be of greatest importance.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Throughout the chapter many recommendations have been made to meet or alleviate the problem of juvenile delinquency. Most of these suggestions can be summarized in brief statements. The constructive goals offered by former Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in her address before the National Conference on Juvenile Delinquency, held in Washington in 1954, are excellent thought-provoking ideas and ideals. Among the values that we should try to build in each other and in our children, Secretary Hobby listed:¹⁵

- a feeling of trust in themselves and in others;
- a recognition of their worth as persons;
- a respect for their own rights and the rights of others;
- a courage to attempt and a pride in achievement;
- a curiosity for new knowledge; and
- a capacity to care and to share.

Additional recommendations for the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency can be summarized as follows.

1. An extension of parent education
2. A renewed emphasis upon parental responsibility for the behavior of children
3. Greater vigilance by the police for the discovery of delinquent behavior
4. Wider utilization and extension of juvenile courts
5. Closer cooperation among home, school, church, courts, and other social agencies
6. As rapid elimination of slum areas as is possible
7. An extension of health services
8. An increase in recreational opportunities for all young people
9. A greater use of school facilities for community projects
10. A reduction of class size in schools
11. An increase in school personnel and guidance service
12. An increase in trained personnel for social work
13. An extension and enforcement of regulations governing the employment of minors
14. The establishment in every community of a youth commission consisting of parents, adolescents, and leaders of all community, social, and civic organizations
15. The provision of opportunities for young people to establish reasonable codes of morals for the direction of their conduct

¹⁵ *Report on the National Conference on Juvenile Delinquency*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Children's Bureau, 1954, p. 3.

16. Improved control of radio, television, and motion-picture programs
17. Decrease of emphasis in newspapers and news casts upon incidents of violence and immoral behavior
18. The banning of "cheap" magazines that feature lurid unrealistic stories, including undesirable comics
19. Lessening adult concern with material possessions and materialistic advantages
20. A general return to religion and an increased appreciation of moral values

In conclusion, "Here, in brief, is what judges and law-enforcement officials told *U.S. News & World Report* about teen-age delinquency":

The Causes

A general and growing disregard for constituted authority
 Weak discipline in home and schools
 Juvenile courts too lenient
 Too many "repeaters" turned loose on probation
 Lack of good institutions for reforming young delinquents
 Shortage of trained probation officers to handle youngsters turned loose
 Too many vicious "comic books"
 Shortage of policemen trained in handling youngsters

The Cures

Parents should show respect for law and teach it to their youngsters
 Firmer control—spankings when needed
 Quit coddling young hoodlums
 Crack down on "repeaters," put them in institutions
 Provide reformatories that reform, staff them with psychiatrists
 Train more probation officers, let them concentrate on youths who can be saved
 Control "comics," encourage other reading
 Train more police, put them out walking neighborhood beats

SOURCE: *U.S. News & World Report*, Jan. 14, 1955, p. 67. Reprinted from *U.S. News & World Report*, an independent weekly magazine published at Washington, U.S.A. Copyright, 1955, by United States News Publishing Corporation.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Describe a case of juvenile delinquency that seems to be rooted in the home; another rooted in the school, a third rooted in the neighborhood.
2. Arrange an interview with a known teen-age delinquent. Discover all you can about the deep-seated causes of his behavior, his attitudes toward his delinquent behavior, and persons or influences upon whom he places the blame for his asocial behavior.
3. List ten or twelve influences, in order of importance, that you believe are closely associated with the cause of juvenile delinquency. Explain why you placed certain ones at the top and others at the bottom of your list.
4. Explain what parents can do to reduce the spread of juvenile delinquency.
5. Recommend changes in the school program that might help to mitigate delinquent behavior.
6. What may be the basic explanation of the great rise in delinquent behavior in the light of greater emphasis upon human relationships in teaching?
7. To what extent do you believe asocial behavior can be reduced?

8. Compare adolescent delinquent behavior today with delinquent teen-age behavior twenty-five years ago.

9. Evaluate Superintendent Jansen's suggestions relative to the problem of juvenile delinquency.

10. In what ways can training in family living help prevent juvenile delinquency?

11. To what extent, if any, do you believe that harsh treatment of the delinquent boy or girl will be effective?

12. Write a story about the pictures found in Figure 46, page 353. Explain the functional relationship that should exist among the various agencies pictured.

13. Examine and interpret Figure 45, page 330.

14. From your own experience give evidence of excellent (poor) treatment that has been accorded a boy or a girl who, because of unacceptable behavior, has been involved with the law.

15. Indicate how the suggestions of former Secretary Hobby might stimulate better adjustment among growing children and adolescents.

16. What additional suggestions can you make for the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency?

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Chapter 13

SIGNIFICANT LIFE VALUES

As was explained in Chapter 8, an attitude can be regarded as an affective by-product of experience. Attitudes expressed by an adolescent of any age reflect the effect of environmental influences upon his inner urges and his acquired interests. A young person's developing ideals represent the goals or life values he is attempting to build for himself. They have their origin in his gradually habituated attitudes toward self, self and others, religion, and morality. The functioning of these attitudes in his daily experiences characterizes the actualization of whatever life values the adolescent is struggling to achieve.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONAL IDEALS

Most children are conformists. Their attitudes and behavior patterns reflect imitation of adult example. Their wants and interests are relatively simple and usually can be satisfied in terms of adult care of their needs and adult guidance of their behavior. Physical and physiological changes and expanding environmental influences that occur during the teen years stimulate adolescents to experience many, sometimes conflicting, wants and interests. Moreover, developing adolescent attitudes are affected potentially by the impact upon them of differing adult and peer-group ideals and standards of conduct.

Adolescent attitudes and group standards. An adolescent often is uncertain concerning the value to himself of imitating the conduct "models" of any one or more of his associates. Through a kind of trial-error and trial-success process he attempts to effect a compromise between his own interests and attitudes and what he believes to be significant behavior ideals of his group. To the extent that he thereby achieves personal satisfaction and group approval, his developing attitudes are strengthened, become constructive ideals, and represent worthy life values.

A young person often finds himself in a situation, however, in which his expressed attitudes seem to fulfill a personal want but fail to achieve for him the social approval he desires. If there is a conflict between an adult's expressed attitudes and those of his group or groups, resulting emotion-induced problems can be resolved in one of several ways. Personal attitudes or ideals can be modified in terms of group ideals;

group standards can be defied or ignored; superior leadership ability can enable the supposed nonconformist to change or modify group attitudes more nearly in accordance with his own ideals.

In dealing with his peers a young person may utilize any or all the problem approaches listed in the foregoing to achieve self-realization. Seldom, if ever, however, is he a strong enough leader to influence the attitudes of his elders. Consequently, when adult and adolescent interests or ideals clash, severe struggles between them may result. The young person then is compelled to readjust his ideals in terms of adult standards or to establish a set of values that is satisfying to himself, regardless of adult acceptance of his attitudes.

Basic life values. In the past, a newborn infant was considered, variously, to be good and pure or to be conceived and born in sin. According to the first belief, any deviation during life from inherent purity was explained in terms of the influence of the "wicked world" upon the "naturally" good child. The second interpretation of innate human nature placed upon adults the responsibility for "driving the devil out of the child" by means of rigid upbringing. More recently we have come to accept the theory that the child inherits certain potentialities, neither good nor bad, that can be developed through formal and informal learning.

Whether a young child grows up to be a *normal* or *adjusted* adult depends upon the connotation of the terms. Not only is normalcy relative but the term often is interpreted to imply absence of any defect. The term *adjustment* also lends itself to loose usage, especially from the cultural point of view. Concerning the idea of the well-adjusted man, Maslow says:¹

It may puzzle the lay reader to discover how hostile psychologists have become to this seemingly sensible and obvious idea. After all everyone wants his children to be well adjusted and part of the group, popular, admired, and loved by the friends of their own age. Our big question is, "Adjusted to *which* group?" Nazis, criminals, delinquents, drug addicts? Popular with whom? Admired by whom? In H. G. Wells's wonderful short story, "The Valley of the Blind," where all are blind, the sighted man is maladjusted.

Adjustment means a passive shaping of oneself to one's culture, to the external environment. But supposing it is a sick culture? Or to give another example, we are slowly learning not to prejudge juvenile delinquents as being necessarily bad or undesirable on psychiatric grounds. Crime and delinquency and bad behavior in children may represent psychiatrically and biologically *legitimate* revolt against exploitation, injustice, and unfairness.

Adjustment is a passive rather than active process; its ideal is attained in the

¹ A. H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1954, p. 338.

cow or in the slave or anyone else who can be happy without individuality, even, e.g., the well-adjusted lunatic or prisoner.

This extreme environmentalism implies infinite malleability and flexibility in the human being and unchangeability in reality. It is therefore *status quo* and fatalistic. It is also untrue. Human beings are *not* infinitely malleable, and reality *can* be changed.

Rather than to regard an adolescent as a well-adjusted individual, it would be more appropriate to consider the degree to which he is a healthy, integrated person. His ideals are based upon the fulfillment of his own fundamental needs as well as upon consideration for the needs of others. Everyone is concerned about his physical well-being, but he also wants to experience security in his relationships with other people. He wants safety, freedom from pain, and happiness that he can share with those who are near and dear to him.

If we were to accept adjustment to one's culture as a passive process, there would be no need for an adolescent to struggle toward the establishment of personal ideals or life values. The maintaining of a passive attitude is contrary to human nature, however. A young person is a thinking, feeling, doing individual. He constantly is attempting to gain self-realization through self-actualization. He must give overt expression to his inner drives. Further, he does not live in a vacuum but in a world peopled with many different kinds of individuals. If he is to achieve a nice balance between self-serving and others-serving attitudes and activities, he must develop ideals by which his behavior can be guided toward the attainment of his goals. Moreover, he needs to acquire an objective understanding of the relationship that exists between life values which are self-serving and his chances of becoming a useful, contented, and socially accepted group member.

Materialistic versus nonmaterialistic values. A group of graduate college students were discussing the apparent rise in juvenile delinquency. Several of the group expressed great concern over this problem, especially in relation to their own adolescent children. Various possible causes for adolescent asocial attitudes were listed and evaluated.

After he had listened attentively to what the others said, one of the men, the father of a 14-year-old boy, summarized the discussion by saying emphatically: "I agree that broken homes, low socioeconomic status, inadequate recreational facilities, failure in schoolwork, and similar conditions are causative factors of adolescent delinquency. I believe strongly, however, that the one cause that includes most of the others is our mad scramble for material possessions. Many adults seem to have lost interest in anything that does not have money value. They laugh at you or think you are naive if you even mention the term 'spiritual values.' Our young people are exposed to stories about 'smart' business practices, cheating or

worse. What kind of examples are we adults setting for our children? It's a wonder that there is not more delinquency in this materialistic society."

Apparently stunned for a moment by the speaker's vehemence, his listeners sat quietly, but soon expressed agreement with his point of view. The question then arose concerning what could be done about the situation. It was decided that adolescents need to be guided toward greater appreciation of nonmaterialistic life values. They admitted, however, that such attitudes could be inculcated in youth only by adults who themselves were sensitive to values other than those to which price tags are attached.

This incident is characteristic of a growing trend in the direction of reevaluating the components of a good life. Yet the increasing availability of laborsaving devices, improved transportation and communication, and other wonders of our mechanical age is a potent arouser of an urge to possess or to utilize material things that in earlier cultures were unknown or available to only a few.

The democratic ideal of equality of opportunity for self-realization within the limits of ability to achieve is not completely understood by all individuals. Young people, encouraged by some of their elders, are placing great emphasis upon material satisfactions and the experiencing of self-bolstering gratifications. The swift pace of modern living can interfere with the development of serene and appreciative attitudes.

Fifty-two college juniors (twenty-three men and twenty-nine women) were asked this question, "Are you able to relax completely for at least fifteen minutes without engaging in any kind of activity such as reading, listening to the radio, watching television, participating in conversation, or doing one or another kind of handwork?" With the exception of five students (three men and two women) the answer was a definite "No."

The general reason given for the negative response was "lack of time." The students asserted that attendance at college, preparation of assignments, college club meetings, part-time work, home chores, out-of-college social engagements, and similar time- and energy-consuming activities left no time for quiet relaxation. In addition, many of the forty-seven students who had responded in the negative said that they habitually retired at midnight or later, and rose early. Some reported that they would feel guilty if they were not active; others claimed that sitting quietly would give them the jitters.

One of the girls who had answered the question affirmatively admitted to having learned the hard way that there is more in life than "going after things." She explained that she was very ambitious during her four years in high school and the first year in college. She studied diligently; at the same time, she engaged in part-time work to supply herself with attractive

clothes and other desired luxuries. She also was a popular member of various social groups.

As a result of her many activities she suffered a "nervous breakdown" that kept her in bed or close to the home for a period of more than six months. Any form of exciting activity was denied her. For the first few months of enforced inactivity she slept fitfully during the night; hence she came to discover the beauty of the rising sun. Relaxing strolls through nearby open country sensitized her to the pleasures that can be derived from watching the setting of the sun, the rising of the moon, the rustle of leaves, and other natural phenomena, all of which she previously had taken for granted because of her great interest in material advancement.

This young woman claimed that she now was enjoying good mental as well as physical health. She advised the other members of the group that they would be much happier and more contented if they could learn, as she did, to become less concerned about utilitarian values and to devote more of their attention to the development of what she termed "appreciative values."

In spite of what is known as materialistic pressure, an adolescent tends to build up in his thinking a set of high ideals or value standards, in terms of which he is likely to form destructively critical judgments concerning the "rightness" or "wrongness" of the conduct of his associates. He also attempts to pattern his own behavior to fit his lofty ideals. Because of his relative immaturity and inexperience, however, the adolescent idealist may suffer disillusionment when admired adults or peer-age pals fail to measure up to his idealistic expectations. He becomes discouraged and depressed or suffers a feeling of guilt when he fails to direct his own behavior according to his unrealistic conduct standards.

Ideals and character building. The meaning of the term *character* sometimes is confused with that of *personality*. An individual's integrated personality includes his so-called character traits, i.e., attitudes, ideals, and value standards. Interpreted psychologically, these traits are considered in terms of degree of possession. Viewed as traits of character, however, an individual's attitudes, ideals, and standards are evaluated as "good" or "bad," according to their constructive or destructive effect upon himself or other persons. It is difficult to define character exactly because of its elusive nature. Lay persons variously describe an individual's character as "strong" or "weak" in terms of their personal evaluation of what constitutes desirable behavior. A more thoughtful approach to an interpretation of character places emphasis upon contribution to the economy of happiness, i.e., the total amount of happiness one's own as well as the happiness of others.²

² See J. N. Washburne, "Definitions in Character Measurement," *Journal of Social Psychology*, vol. 1, pp. 114-112, 1931.

Various types of attempted character measurement have yielded more or less valid results.³ There is general agreement, however, that an individual's displayed behavior and character reputation are influenced by his developed attitudes as these determine his situational reactions. Character development is a dynamic process that involves progressive interrelationships between inner urges and environmental influences. Yet the character traits that emerge as a result of continuing interaction of inner and outer factors rarely, if ever, represent an exact ratio of one to one. The attitudes, ideals, and life values that become habitual motivators of an adolescent's behavior certainly are affected by environmental forces. Fundamentally, however, the kind of person an adolescent becomes, the character traits he gradually develops, are rooted in his innate power to profit from his experiences with people and things about him.

A young person's religious ideals and his moral or ethical standards evolve in accordance with his ability and willingness to understand and evaluate himself and his experiences in the framework of his cultural background.⁴ He learns to recognize the extent to which he is controlled by cultural mores, and he gradually frees himself from dependence upon their influence. The gaining of personal freedom of action does not imply, however, that the young person's attitudes and ideals will come to be directed toward self-indulgence and defiance of socially acceptable standards of conduct. Rather does he achieve freedom of choice through the development of self-control. He attains a degree of realistic self-discipline that reflects the influence upon him during his early years of wise adult guidance of his uncontrolled, childish impulses.

The transition from childhood conformity to adult standards and dependence upon parental care and guidance to adult self-determination and self-dependence is not effected without adolescent experiencing of uncertainty, doubt, bewilderment, thwarting, and possible conflict. According to Caruthers:⁴

Much sobering inspiration may be gained by considering and observing those qualities necessary in facing the persistent problems of life. Remember the stamina it takes to stand up under major disappointments and traumatic experiences. Consider, also, the persistence and self-control necessary for achievement. Observe the skilled musician: how many thousands of times he has practiced, what mental and physical effort he has put forth; and the satisfaction obtained from progress and accomplishment. This is discipline in nearly all its phases.

Perhaps maximum development is reached when the adolescent accepts the various phases of discipline and transforms them from external authority to internal authority. We may appropriately regard learning, knowledge, and

³ See the Selected References at the end of the chapter.

⁴ T. J. Caruthers, "Discipline as a Means of Development," *Phi Delta Kappan*, vol. 35, no. 3, p. 139, December, 1953.

personality as resultants of the interaction of external forces and internal characteristics. Thus we see the possibilities of continuous learning and the continuing development of personality.

The utilization of a positive approach to experiences in achieving these ideals results in the establishment of a sound, forward-looking set of personal values. The individual can achieve thereby a contented, happy, calm, serene, and peaceful personality. This discussion of the development of personal ideals can be summarized in the words of Maslow:⁶

The tastes, values, attitudes, and the choices of self-actualizing people are to a great extent on an intrinsic and reality-determined basis, rather than on a relative and extrinsic basis. It is therefore a taste for the right rather than wrong, for the true rather than the false, for the beautiful rather than the ugly. They live within a system of stable values and *not* in a robot world of *no values at all* (only fashions, fads, opinions of others, imitation, suggestion, prestige).

THE ADOLESCENT AND RELIGIOUS VALUES

Basically, present cultural values are related directly or indirectly to religious concepts, beliefs, forms of expression, and extent of influence upon individual and group attitudes and behavior. An individual's ideals, conduct standards, and appreciation of the meaning of life are inextricably interwoven with the kind and amount of his religious experiences during his formative years. Attitudes toward religious values acquired during adolescence exercise a potent influence upon developing personality and character trends.

Significance of attitudes toward religion. Among primitive peoples, as well as in more civilized societies, organized religion has played an important role in establishing moral or ethical codes of behavior. The history of great religious movements gives evidence, however, that various religious organizations or denominational institutions have tended to differ in their emphasis upon what constitutes acceptable life values. Yet all religious faiths share a basic concern over the "ultimate destiny of man." The religious concept involves an individual's relationship to his God, to himself, and to the other persons of any age that, broadly interpreted, constitute his human environment.

From the religious point of view the most important aspects of an individual's life's values are his spiritual sensitivities. The connotation of the term *religion*, even in its broadest interpretation, differs among individuals. According to Edwin E. Aubrey:⁷

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 378.

⁷ E. E. Aubrey, "Scientia, Scientific Method, and Religion," in A. C. Wilder (ed.), *Liberal Learning and Religion*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1951, p. 46.

The term "religion" carries a variety of meanings. To some, it means assent to a theologically formulated system of beliefs. To others, it denotes a body of customary practices consisting of rites, mores, and private acts of devotion. To still others, it is an intimate personal experience of communion with God or of acute decision in which eternal values are at stake, or of standing under the judgment of the Ultimate. All of these are legitimate definitions, and these various aspects in religious life do not always appear in any one sequence.

Considered perhaps from a more affective point of view,

. . . religion implies an ultimate reality to which supreme allegiance must be given. To this ultimate reality men have from time immemorial given a name—God. The religious man finds warrant for all of his conceptions of worth, of right, of duty, and of human destiny in his relationship to this ultimate reality. There is a wide difference in the ways in which men define this concept of God, ranging from highly personal to abstract philosophical terms; from emphasis on the transcendent to emphasis on the immanent; from a frankly supernatural conception to one that endows the cosmos itself with spiritual purpose and power. However, religion affirms overwhelmingly a reality that transcends the flux of events and constrains men toward the true and good.²

The foregoing is an attempt to present a broad interpretation of religion and religious values. As the reader will discover later, the so-called religious problems experienced by adolescents grow out of a commonly accepted but erroneous identification of religious attitudes or belief with theology, a specific form of religious dogma, or a particular religious organization or institution. It is probable that most young people acquire their early religious attitudes and ideals as a result of association with one or another religious institution. Too much emphasis upon dogma or specific organizational taboos may have an adverse effect upon a young person's later religious appreciations.

Religious education in a modern world. In the United States, as in other parts of the world, there have been established many organized religious bodies, denominations, or sects that share the responsibility of providing religious education for young people. It has been claimed that in some communities, especially in large cities, the church³ is failing to meet adequately its educational responsibility. Hence it is losing prestige as a social agency whose primary function should be to guide the develop-

² American Council on Education, Committee on Religion and Education (ed.), *The Relation of Religion to Public Education*, published as an appendix to *Religion's Place in General Education*, by N. C. Harner, Committee of Publications of Presbyterian Church, Richmond, Va., 1949, p. 110.

³ The term *church* as used in this discussion applies to any organized religious group, i.e., Mohammedan, Greek Orthodox, or Roman Catholic, Jewish, Anglican Catholic, or Protestant.

ment of sound and positive attitudes, or ideals upon which can be built acceptable interpersonal and intersocial relationships. The reason for this criticism, whether or not it is valid, can be found in the fact that in our mechanical age the church continues to stress spiritual and non-materialistic values as opposed to compelling drives to gain material possessions.

Religious leaders are faced with the problem of meeting the challenge of a relatively popular mechanistic explanation of human nature. Moreover, to some extent psychological science has assumed a negative rather than a positive approach to the study of human behavior; more attention has been devoted to human abnormalities, shortcomings, and mental and emotional deterioration than has been given to positive human potentialities, superior behavior, and mental and emotional good health. Sociology apparently also has tended to become so concerned with societal inadequacies that group strengths have been overlooked or treated lightly. It must be admitted, however, that there have been instances of similar failure on the part of organized religion to stress positive life values because of too great concern with the damnation of the "wicked."

Social scientists disagree concerning the significance of religion in the life of an individual or a group of individuals. Some express pessimism concerning the value of religious education; others, in a spirit of sincere optimism, state their belief that in the development of positive religious values among young people lies our greatest hope for the amelioration of existing social inadequacies and the improvement of present inter-world attitudes. Yet in spite of conflicting points of view among social scientists and their sincere desire to improve group morale through well-planned programs of social reform, religion and religious education still continue to exercise a considerable influence upon society's attitudes toward moral and spiritual values. The extent to which, and the way in which, programs of religious education should be organized remain controversial issues. The present situation is described by Hintz as follows:

At no time in our cultural history has there been such lively and intense discussion of the issue of religion in education as is now prevalent. The enormous interest centering around this subject at the present time is indicative of the widely recognized need for a thorough-going re-appraisal of the purposes and practices of American education at all levels. The sharp differences of opinion and viewpoint which mark the present controversy over the role of religion in our schools and colleges are in some measure symptomatic of a widespread confusion not only about the meaning of education, but about the meaning of religion itself. With great vehemence and fervor people of various

* H. W. Hintz, *Religion and Public Higher Education*, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y., January, 1955, p. 5 (pamphlet).

and divergent persuasions are proclaiming the need for more religion, for less religion or for no religion at all.

As the adolescent is struggling to evolve for himself satisfying standards of conduct and personal ideals, and to gain some understanding of those life values that can have meaning for him, he cannot avoid the effects upon his developing personality and character of adult attitudes toward religion. Hence we now shall consider some of the problems associated with adolescent reactions to religions as a phase of the growing-up process.

Adolescent religious experiences. Perhaps in no other phase of adolescent development are individual differences more pronounced than they seem to be in the area of religious experiences. There probably are no two teen-agers who react in the same way to the transition from childhood religious concepts to mature acceptance or rejection of religious values. Differences among adolescents developing religious attitudes and experiences can be considered to be the resultants of many variables: family attitudes toward religion, kind and amount of religious training received during childhood, religious attitudes of peer associates, adult example, influence of secular education, and extent of preoccupation with study, work and/or social activities. The most significant developmental factor, however, is the inherent nature of the adolescent himself. The kind of individual he is will determine the effect upon his religious attitudes of his changing physical, emotional, and social experiences.

Contrary to general opinion, the religious attitudes of a maturing young person, in common with his attitudes toward other aspects of experience, do not necessarily change suddenly and radically with the onset of puberty. Some adolescents appear to achieve a gradual transition from their childhood concept of a personal God who rewarded them when they were good and punished them for their naughtiness to a belief in a Supreme Being, an acceptance of the supernatural, and an appreciation of their relationship to the cosmic whole. They may achieve a deep and abiding faith, having intellectual as well as emotional components. Religious values may serve them as behavior stabilizers; from their religious appreciations may emerge their life-controlling ideals and general life values.

Even when religious growing up is relatively painless for an adolescent, doubt about certain religious tenets may be experienced occasionally, and questions concerning differences in religious practices need to be answered. The young person may think through his doubts and answer his own questions or he may seek help from his parents or from his pastor. If he belongs to a young people's church group, he may discuss his questions with the other members of the group. Usually he discovers

that his doubts and questions are not peculiar to himself. Adolescents may "thrash out" their problems together or they may invite an adult in whom they have confidence to meet with them and clarify their thinking.

Not all adolescents are able to achieve an understanding and an acceptance of religious values that are broader and more comprehensive than their earlier childhood concepts. One individual may experience serious doubts concerning the value to him of religion in any form. At first these doubts are related to religious forms and ceremonies; later they center around the content of religious dogma. Eventually this adolescent may reject religion completely. He becomes cynical about religious matters and scoffs at his peer associates who display interest in religious belief. Another young person, who during childhood had been a regular attendant at his church school, begins to doubt some of his earlier religious teachings. He experiences feelings of guilt; to allay these feelings he develops a degree of religious fervor that excites him to sudden "conversion."

His intellectual doubts thereby are resolved and religion becomes for him a highly emotional, mystical experience that, for a longer or shorter period of time, satisfies all his adolescent wants or urges. Religious attitudes may be so strongly emotionalized that the boy (more often the girl) is motivated to join a religious order and thus be separated from the "wicked" world, to become a missionary who will save the souls of faraway "pagans," or to develop a great, sometimes irrational, interest in social reform.

What the attitude toward religious values may be when either the adolescent rejecter of religion or the emotionalized believer becomes a mature adult is unpredictable. Although the rejection may seem to be the result of intellectual decision making, it may be based upon emotional reactions that are as intense as those that lead to conversion. Hence to the extent that either of these adolescents is able to achieve mature emotional stability, he is likely to modify his religious attitudes. Thereby he achieves a compromise between his childhood and adolescent appreciations of religious values. He then is able to accept religion as both an intellectual and an emotional motivating force in his life.

Various studies have been undertaken to discover the kinds of changes in religious belief that can be expected to accompany adolescent maturational growth and experiential development. Probably one of the most often cited studies in this area of investigation was conducted by Kuhlen and Arnold.¹⁰ Statements of various beliefs were presented to 547 young

¹⁰ R. G. Kuhlen and M. Arnold, "Age Differences in Religious Beliefs and Problems during Adolescence," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, vol. 65, pp. 291-300, 1944; see also Chap. 3.

people ranging in age from 12 to 18, and representing school grades 6, 9, and 12. The subjects of the study were asked to respond to each of the statements in terms of their present belief, i.e., Believe, Not Believe, or Wonder About. By checking in the last column for any one or more statements, the responder would be indicating that he had thought about the religious concept contained in the statement but had not yet arrived at a satisfactory conclusion concerning it. The results of the study are presented in Table 32.

A study of the presented data will confirm the investigators' interpretation of them as representative of three general age trends: religious beliefs become increasingly abstract; tolerance in regard to religious beliefs and practice increases; areas of indecision such as the truth of every word in the Bible, the actuality of God, the hereafter, and heaven and hell represent matters of serious concern to older adolescents. These uncertainties may be the resultants of advanced study in areas such as the natural sciences and social studies, or discussions with peer or adult associates; or they may represent an attitude of suspended judgment.

A common cause of anxiety among "God-fearing" parents and other older adults is the fear that college attendance may result in an older adolescent or a young adult losing his belief in God and developing definitely antireligious attitudes. This popular belief does not seem to be in accord with fact. Temporarily a college student may give evidence of some skepticism, especially if the assuming of an attitude of uncertainty concerning spiritual values appears to be the fashion in his group. Most college students are intensely interested in religious values, however. Religion is one of the most popular discussion topics of college men's "bull sessions." At these meetings philosophical, religious, and social values usually receive serious and thoughtful consideration. Displayed attitudes of cynicism, skepticism, or flippancy are discouraged or not tolerated.

An adolescent or young adult may not experience too great doubt concerning the value to himself of religious belief. His earlier concepts may change but they tend to be crystallized as they become more meaningful and comprehensive. At the same time he may rebel against continuing the religious practices in which he had engaged during childhood. He refuses to attend church school or church services. He becomes neglectful in the observance of certain church-required obligations.

Because of his association with other young people whose respective church affiliations demand that they adhere to specific religious observances that differ from those of his own church, the adolescent considers any such obligations superficial, insignificant, and unrelated to fundamental religious truth. This adolescent's attitude is strengthened by the fact that he admires and respects the other teen-agers.

Table 32. Changes in Specific Religious Beliefs during Adolescence as Shown by the Percentage of 174 Sixth-, 243 Ninth-, and 130 Twelfth-grade Children Who Checked Various Statements Indicating Belief, Disbelief, or Uncertainty (Wonder)

Statement	"Believe"			"Not believe"			"Wonder about"		
	6	9	12	6	9	12	6	9	12
God is a strange power working for good, rather than a person	46	49	57	31	33	21	20	14	15
God is someone who watches you to see that you behave yourself, and who punishes you if you are not good	70	49	33	18	37	48	11	13	18
I know there is a God	94	80	79	3	5	2	2	14	16
Catholics, Jews, and Protestants are equally good	67	79	86	9	9	7	24	11	7
There is a heaven	82	78	74	4	5	5	13	16	20
Only good people go to heaven	72	45	33	15	27	32	13	27	34
Hell is a place where you are punished for your sins on earth	70	49	35	16	21	30	13	27	34
Heaven is here on earth	12	13	14	69	57	52	18	28	32
People who go to church are better than people who do not go to church	46	26	15	37	53	74	17	21	11
Young people should belong to the same church as their parents	77	56	43	13	33	46	10	11	11
The main reason for going to church is to worship God	88	80	79	6	12	15	4	7	6
It is not necessary to attend church to be a Christian	42	62	67	38	23	24	18	15	8
Only our soul lives after death	72	63	61	9	11	6	18	25	31
Good people say prayers regularly	78	57	47	9	29	26	13	13	27
Prayers are answered	76	69	65	3	5	8	21	25	27
Prayers are a source of help in times of trouble	74	80	83	11	8	7	15	10	9
Prayers are to make up for something that you have done that is wrong	47	24	21	35	58	69	18	17	9
Every word in the Bible is true	79	51	34	6	16	23	15	31	43
It is sinful to doubt the Bible	62	42	27	18	31	44	20	26	28

SOURCE: R. G. Kuhlen and M. Arnold, "Age Differences and Religious Beliefs during Adolescence," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, vol. 65, p. 293, 1944.

Adults often find it difficult to discover what the thinking of an adolescent is when he suddenly departs from former practices. For example, the parents of 14-year-old William are hard-working, religious, sincere, and respected members of their neighborhood community. The boy also is a good school and community citizen who from early childhood was a regular attendant at his parents' church. He suddenly refused to go to

church, asserting that it is not necessary since he can pray in his own way and church is "inadequate."

His attitude caused William's parents to fear that he would become an atheist. They brought their problem to the dean of his high school, asking his assistance in the matter. The latter then appealed to the boy's love for his parents, pointing out the distress they were suffering because of his apparent rejection of religion. The boy admitted that he had not considered his parents' feelings and promised to go to church with them. He is fulfilling his promise, but no one but himself knows to what extent he is profiting from his church attendance.

Although little formal investigation has been undertaken to determine specific age changes in religious practices, it is generally conceded by parents and religious leaders that there is a marked decline during adolescence from childhood practice. In most religious denominations the change from childhood dependence to adolescent beginnings of self-responsibility is given recognition through the application of certain rites or ceremonies, such as confirmation or *bar mizvah*. The young person may experience considerable emotional satisfaction during the period of preparation and the ceremony itself; he may accept with great seriousness his "new" church status. He may become increasingly lax about Sunday school attendance or participation in other religious activities, however.

For some young adolescents the complete or partial withdrawal from religious practices is more or less temporary. In later adolescence or early adulthood they are likely to become active church workers. They teach in the Sunday school, attend church services regularly, and participate enthusiastically in other religious activities. But some young people drift away from the church, especially if they leave their childhood home community. They develop new interests and engage in other activities, with the result that as adults they have no church affiliation.

Some adolescents transfer their affiliation from the church of their parents' faith to another denomination. The cause of the transfer may be either a change in religious conviction or the influence upon an individual of a close associate, often of the opposite sex. Many individuals, of course, maintain a steady loyalty to one church that, begun in early childhood, continues throughout life. Even though they leave the neighborhood in which the church is situated, they remain active in it, unless the traveling distance is too great. If they move to another city or state, they immediately seek out and affiliate themselves with a church similar to the one of which they had been members, and participate in its religious activities.

In the light of the various adolescent religious experiences described in this section, it can be concluded that there is no "typical" adolescent atti-

tude. Some of the causal factors of difference now will be discussed briefly.

Causal factors of adolescent religious attitudes. One of the most significant factors of influence upon an adolescent's religious attitudes is the religious atmosphere of the home. A child's first experiences with religious concepts grow out of parental precept and example. Whatever he receives in the way of religious training is provided in the home or is gained from the teachings of the church with which the parents are affiliated. In past generations great emphasis was placed upon the teaching of religious dogma; the increased liberal thinking that is characteristic of our modern culture is reflected in less rigid religious tenets and teachings, except for some still-existing religious institutions.

A child reared in the home of strict adherents to certain specific denominational observances and taboos is likely to experience much mental confusion and emotional conflict when, as an adolescent, he is exposed to more liberal religious attitudes. For example, parents for religious reasons may disapprove of activities such as dancing, smoking, card playing, engaging in recreational activities on the Sabbath, or attending theatrical performances and motion-picture programs. These taboos may not affect a child to any great extent, especially if his peer neighbors are similarly restricted. When he attends high school, however, his own changing interests and the less restricted behavior of his classmates may constitute for him an intolerable situation. He becomes even more disturbed if he had been taught to fear God's wrath and eternal damnation.

The authors recall the experiences of two high school students whose mother, a member of a rigid religious sect, displayed a fanatic attitude of insistence that her children respect the church's taboos. Going to motion-picture houses was strictly forbidden. The older daughter secured a part-time job in order to obtain money to attend movies, whereupon the younger girl, by threatening that she would report her sister's breaking the taboo, forced her sister to give her money for the same purpose. When the school dean attempted to persuade this mother that she should be more liberal in her attitude, the latter swore that no child of hers would ever go to the movies, in spite of the fact that they already were doing so. She added that the girls had given themselves to the "devil," and that she prayed every night that their souls might be saved. The older girl's teachers were not surprised when, in defiance of her mother's unbearable attitude, she later bore a child out of wedlock.

The adolescent child of religious but liberal parents is likely to have less difficulty in readjusting childish religious concepts in terms of increasing maturity and broader experiences. He may display relatively little interest in religious values, however, even though he continues accustomed religious practices. Instead, he develops an attitude of extreme

concern over social inequalities; he may become a radical, sometimes unrealistic, advocate of sweeping social reforms.

Contrariwise, an adolescent whose parents are irreligious and who consequently has received no religious training may suffer a feeling of insecurity; he may envy his peer associates who as children participated in religious experiences which were denied him. A young person of this kind often seeks what to him is needed security by affiliating himself with the religious institution of a close friend, and thereby develops strong religious attitudes. Another adolescent may accept religious ideals as his conduct standards, and learn to respect his church-attending friends, without developing any personal religious convictions.

Perhaps the most severe religious conflicts are suffered by the offspring of mixed marriages, especially if each parent is a devout member of his particular church. In some such families, the child is expected to attend the church of each parent; in others, the stronger willed parent is likely to guide the child's religious training, with consequent display of resentment by the other parent. If neither parent has strong religious convictions, the child experiences little, if any, church training. As a result, he either may drift along in the wake of his parents or attend a church of his own selection. In large families the situation becomes increasingly complicated. This point is illustrated in the following story of Maud's experiences.

Maud, an energetic 15-year-old girl, is one of a family of ten children. The father is Jewish and the mother is an Irish Roman Catholic. The home attitude toward religion reflects differing and confused attitudes. The father does not seem to care whether any or none of the children espouses his religion or leaves it alone. The mother would like all the children brought up in her faith, as often as so can, she takes them to her church. As they grow older they seem determined to be individualists. Some have become Roman Catholics, some have accepted Judaism, one has become a Protestant, and one has repudiated religion.

Maud is very much confused and does not know which way to turn. She began by attending her mother's church. At some of the Sunday school sessions she asked questions which implied some doubt in her mind about the absoluteness of some of the tenets. Since she did not receive what to her were satisfactory answers, she tried Judaism but felt she was permitted to drift too much on her own. At present she is investigating several Protestant denominations. She is unhappy; she feels the need of religious security but is not mature enough to make a decision. It seems to her as though she were on a shopping tour and is becoming increasingly confused by what she sees.

Questionable behavior of religious leaders, Sunday school teachers, and apparently "good" church members can stimulate adolescent attitudes

of religious doubt, confusion, or disillusionment. An adolescent can become bored, or, in his own words, "disgusted," with long sermons that deal only with dogmatism or mysticism. The maturing young person, encouraged by his high school teachers to think for himself and to make practical application of the theories he is studying, wants to discover how religion can function in his own life. He is seeking answers to questions about religion that are bothering him. He does not find the desired answers in sermons that seem to him to deal only with Biblical matters or concepts which he cannot understand.

A child usually enjoys attending Sunday school. He likes to listen to or read simple Bible stories and to sing stirring hymns. He thrills to the awards he receives for good attendance. He is willing to memorize excerpts from the Bible or answers to questions in the catechism, even though he may not understand the meaning of what has been memorized. For example, a little girl who could recite the catechism without a single error had no conception of the meaning of the word "sponsor."

Unless Sunday school procedures are adapted to meet the maturing interests of the adolescent, he soon will become disinterested. Moreover, as we know, an adolescent tends to be critical of the attitudes and behavior of all adults; hence he is not only critical of, but is disillusioned by, the bickering and jealousies of some adult church leaders and by the unethical practices of supposedly devout churchgoers.

The religious attitudes of a college student may not be too much affected by advanced study; as a result of his secondary school experiences, an adolescent who is passing through the doubting stage can become very much confused concerning the validity of some of his earlier religious beliefs. The subject matter of his study and/or the attitudes of his teachers tend to pose questions about the role of religion in the establishing of life values.

The mentally slower churchgoing adolescent is not likely to be bothered so much as is the brighter high school student by apparent inconsistencies between religious and secular education. The latter's reactions to seeming differences of emphases are dependent in great part upon the degree of strength of his religious faith. If his church affiliation represents the following of family or community convention, his awakening interest in objective and nonreligious study of natural and social phenomena may weaken his former religious beliefs. Any conflict that arises is resolved in favor of the secular approach. The young person, temporarily at least, may develop an attitude similar to that expressed by a boy known to the authors who said with youthful conviction, "Religion is bunkum, fit only for children and old folks who don't know any better."

The adolescent whose religious doubts are limited to questions con-

cerning differences in denominational rites, ceremonies, and similar matters, but whose fundamental religious faith is strong, is likely to interpret secular learning in terms of religious belief. He is willing, perhaps eager, to learn all that he can about the world of people and things, but his faith is not shaken by his study. Yet he may be bothered by what to him appear to be teacher-displayed nonreligious, atheistic, or agnostic attitudes. His own resulting emotionalized attitude toward such an instructor may affect adversely his interest in the subject taught.

For example, as a high school freshman, Mario, a devoutly religious boy, became very much interested in his general science course and decided to major in the natural sciences. At the first session of a course in advanced science the instructor greeted the class with these words, "This term we shall devote all our attention to scientifically proved facts. There is no place here for mysticism or traditional beliefs about the universe. So if any of you believes in religion, you'd better forget about it. Science and religion don't mix." Shocked by this statement, Mario, after the class period, spoke to his teacher about it and expressed his doubt concerning its truth. The instructor responded, with a laugh, "Don't worry, fellow, you'll grow up one of these days." The effect of this man's attitude upon the boy resulted in his earning a barely passing mark in the course. In spite of this unfortunate experience, Mario is now completing successfully his college major in science and is planning to become a high school teacher in that field. Recently he commented upon the fact that he is firmly convinced that there is no wide gulf between science and religion; when he is a teacher, none of his pupils will be exposed to the shock which he experienced.

Current trends toward religious reconstruction. Many national, state, and community leaders, including church pastors, businessmen, industrialists, educators, government officials, and other men and women interested in individual and group welfare, are cooperating in a loosely organized program aimed at the revitalization of religion as a motivating force in the lives of the general citizenry. Existing world confusion and conflict, rising incidence of adult crime and youthful delinquency, increasing trends toward individualistic defiance of democratically invested authority, unabating concern with materialistic values, and continuing display of moral laxity probably have their origin in the lack of any universally accepted code of ethical standards and in a general nonrecognition of, and unconcern about, wholesome and constructive life values.

Thinking people are gaining deeper insight into the problems experienced by young people who are attempting to effect a compromise between the supposedly constructive ideals of the democratic way of life and the grim realities of the world in which they live. Cooperatively achievable standards for the attainment of the "good life" need to be

established. There is a growing conviction among many individuals and societal groups that guiding the development of adolescent life values is a function of religion. According to Landis:¹¹

In a world of indefinite standards, the emphasis upon religious duty and obligation is probably not sufficiently great to help adolescents and youths in maintaining standards. Elasticity in personality is required in a complex society, but few people can maintain integration in their life plan without some core values about which they can build. A religion that fails to provide these core values fails to meet its obligation to youth.

Many religious organizations are accepting the challenge of providing "core values." There are observable attempts to reduce traditional emphases upon sectarian dogma and taboos. Although fundamental religious principles are upheld, increased consideration is being given to the application of these principles to the solution of problems inherent in modern living. Sectarianism still exists and probably will continue so long as people differ in their emotional reactions to church rites and ceremonies, their attitudes toward music and pageantry, and their interpretation of the Bible and formulated creeds. Yet organizations such as the National Council of Christians and Jews and other interfaith groups exemplify a sincere effort on the part of church leaders to discover basic religious values and to encourage church adherents to live together amicably within the framework of their common beliefs. In this connection we again quote from Landis:¹²

If the system of religious control could be built on a rational understanding of the laws of man's moral nature and of human obligation from the outset, many could accept the system who now do not, and those who do accept would not have to go through the experience of debunking the childhood system of religious beliefs and their sanctions in order to maintain some degree of logical consistency in their views concerning the nature of life, God, and the universe.

The church is adapting its traditional organization of planned activity to meet the personal interests and social needs of maturing young people. Church-school teaching approaches are geared to meet adolescent religious doubts. Questions concerning dogma and practice are encouraged. Bible study classes and other stimulating group discussions (led by adults or youths) are planned for older adolescents. One of the authors recalls the intellectual clarification and emotional satisfaction gained from membership in a group of 18- to about 25-year-olds, the meetings of which, under the leadership of a widely read and stimulating clergyman, were devoted to discussions on the history of religious belief.

¹¹ By permission from *Adolescence and Youth*, 2d ed., by P. H. Landis. Copyright, 1952. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, p. 183.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 184.

In addition, adolescents are encouraged to engage in various church-sponsored recreational and service programs, e.g., both-sex young peoples' societies, picnics, bazaars, clubs, social gatherings, voluntary services to hospitalized children, teaching of church-school classes, and similar youth-intriguing activities. Some churches also sponsor, with the aid of trained personnel, premarital and parent-child counseling services. Without neglecting their strictly religious responsibilities, many churches are becoming effective social-service agencies.

During his maturing years an adolescent can be expected to experience satisfying religious security if both his parents have been reared in the same religious faith and if all the members of the family attend the same church and participate wholeheartedly in church activities. Parents, as well as other adults, need to practice the religious observances to which they expect young people will adhere.

There is a growing movement toward providing increasing opportunities for young people to receive religious education. Many public-school systems, especially in urban communities, are cooperating with church-sponsored programs of weekday religious instruction by releasing pupils from regular school attendance for an hour or more one day a week. Further, in some secondary schools and colleges religious clubs have been established and maintained as regular extraclass projects. In large communities especially, each club is sponsored by a particular religious denomination, i.e., Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Judaistic respectively.

Public opinion differs concerning school-released time for religious education and religious clubs in public schools. Those people who favor such programs claim that thereby religious values receive increased public recognition, desirable character qualities are strengthened, and interfaith cooperation is fostered. Opposition is based upon claims that released-time instruction may be characterized by verbalism only, and that religious instruction divorced from practice and other educational experiences is inadequate. It also is claimed that a released-time program is likely to separate young people into subgroups in terms of their religious affiliation and to encourage among the various groups an attitude of religious intolerance rather than one of cooperation.

Other evidences of increased interest in religion-pointed education include the rising number of parochial schools that have been and are continuing to be established, particularly in urban areas, and the display of interest in religious values among institutions of higher education. Many books and articles have been written on the subject of the role of religion in higher education. Public college and university faculties are participating, either as a faculty group or in conjunction with student representatives, in planned discussions concerning religious values and the college student. In the spring of 1955 the faculty of Brooklyn College held an

all-day general and small group discussion program concerning the theme "Religion and Public Higher Education." In preparation for this program Howard Hintz, chairman of the department of philosophy, prepared a preliminary paper that dealt with the relation of religion to liberal higher education. Two short excerpts from this paper are of interest:¹³

During the past decade particularly, the question of religion in education has received increasing attention from scholars, teachers, administrators, public officials and concerned citizens generally. The chief concern of the vast majority of those who have discussed the subject within recent years can be summed up in the term "secularization." The substance of the argument is that the secularization of modern life is reflected in the secularization of public education at all levels. The waning influence of the churches (despite increasing membership) and of religious thought over the everyday affairs of contemporary life is as marked in the public schools and colleges as it is in business, in politics, and in the professions. One of the most serious results of the neglect of religion, as most of the critics see it, is the weakening of the general moral and ethical fibre of modern society.

What are we proposing, then, that the public universities do about religion? What proposals are we suggesting that faculty members and administrators of all persuasions consider seriously and sympathetically?

Basically, that religion be given a fair and open hearing in the curriculum and in the college community—as a whole. . . . On a *minimal* basis, these approaches would include an increased number of solid elective courses in religion, the recognition of religious influences and values in all the academic disciplines, the orientation of counseling program¹⁴ and services to meet the spiritual as well as the intellectual needs of students and the support and encouragement of student religious organizations.

ADOLESCENT MORAL VALUES

Developing ideals, changing religious understandings, and broadening moral concepts represent integrated and integrating life values. The patterning of any of these areas of character development during adolescence is not an isolated process. As we have traced the changes in attitudes toward ideals and religion that take place during the formative years, we could not avoid referring also to those elements of character formation that are rooted in the young person's developing attitudes toward *morality*. At this point, therefore, the discussion will be limited to a consideration of moral concepts and their influence upon adolescent attitudes and behavior.

Moral concepts. The terms *moral* and *ethical* often are misinterpreted. Morality, morals, or moral behavior carries a religious implication, while

¹³ Hintz, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12, 53.

ethics and ethical standards have social or cultural significance. Another common error of interpretation is to limit the application of the term moral or immoral to unacceptable sex behavior. By dictionary definition, *morality*, derived from the Latin word *moralis*, connotes moral conduct (rectitude, chastity, virtue), or conformity or degree of conformity to conventional rules, without or apart from inspiration of guidance by religion or other spiritual influence; ethics refers more directly to the study and philosophy of human conduct, with emphasis on the determination of right and wrong, or the basic principle of right action.

If morality is conceived as conformity to group standards, group-accepted moral codes are pointed at achieving a *good* society. The interpretation of the term *good* may vary among social groups, however. Moreover, certain behavior may be in accord with a group's moral standards at one time but later be condemned, partly because of the long-range ill effects of the formerly approved behavior.

History offers many examples of the effects upon individuals and society as a whole of group differences in codes of morals and in changing attitudes within a group toward what is good behavior. Important in the daily life of an adolescent, for example, are differing cultural attitudes toward the acceptability of smoking, drinking, premarital sex relations, respect for authority, and other forms of conduct that may be severely condemned by his parents and their close friends, but condoned, if not entirely approved, by the cultural group of which his high school or college friends are members.

Viewed more widely, variations in moral acceptability may exercise a tremendous effect upon a society's possibility of advancement or even survival. For illustration we need only to recall the effect of a lowered moral code upon Rome, the accepted "rightness" of the Spanish Inquisition and other examples of religious persecution, and socially approved child labor during the early days of industrialism. Our present problems associated with rising divorce rates, the struggle between democratic and totalitarian world powers, and differences of opinion concerning the *rightness* of utilizing atomic power in the waging of war represent some of the major differences in moral codes that constitute fundamental effectors of future cultural advancement or deterioration.

The adolescent's development of a moral code. A child's behavior tends to be influenced by his parents' approval of what they consider to be right or good conduct for him and their disapproval of wrong conduct or naughtiness. He has little, if any, concept of morality as such. His strivings to be good grow out of his fear of punishment for wrong acts, his desire to please his parents, or perhaps a need to feel superior to other children who are not so obedient or so cooperative as he is.

A child's knowledge of right and wrong is usually associated with

concrete experienced situations. He may know that he must not steal money, but to take a desired toy from another child does not mean stealing it, until or unless he learns that this too is a disapproved form of behavior. To the extent that the child gradually gains some understanding of moral concepts, he interprets the possession of them in an either-all-or-none fashion, e.g., one must *always* tell the truth, a lie *always* is wicked.

By the time a child approaches adolescence he begins to recognize the fact that there are differences of opinion among adults as well as within his peer group concerning what is considered acceptable or unacceptable behavior. The mentally more alert the young person is, the sooner will he discover these differences and attempt to adapt his behavior in terms of particular group standards. Difficulties arise, however, when the apparent moral codes of the various groups with which he is associated differ so widely that his childhood-habituated behavior is approved by the members of one group, tolerated by others, and condemned by still others.

The adolescent becomes confused by the discrepancies in the moral codes to which he is exposed. At first he may be uncertain concerning the management of his own behavior. Consequently, he attempts to conform to the standards of whatever group in which he finds himself. If the difference is between his parents' code of conduct and that of his peer associates, he tends gradually to accept the latter. Eventually he acquires his own moral code that is related closely to his developing ideals and his changing religious attitudes. The personal and social effectiveness of the moral values as expressed in his behavior depends to a great extent upon the environmental factors that have operated in the building of his code.

As in other areas of adolescent development, home and school experiences are potent factors of influence. The young person's growing appreciation of moral values is affected by the attitudes of his peer associates, and by examples of adherence or indifference to moral standards as these attitudes are presented in newspapers, books and magazines, on radio, television, and motion-picture programs, or are expressed in the behavior of adult members of his community.

Relatively few individuals are born, grow up, and die in an isolated community in which a traditionally rigid moral code continues to control group behavior from generation to generation. Most adolescents who are growing up in modern cultures are enabled to experience and evaluate the functioning of many different conduct standards. Opportunity is not lacking to acquire knowledge of right and wrong. For the adolescent to know what constitutes socially accepted or disapproved behavior is necessary; otherwise through ignorance he may engage in forms of conduct that are personally humiliating or socially harmful.

For an individual to *know* what is right does not always guarantee that his actual behavior will be guided by his knowledge. Many adolescents are able to answer correctly all or most of the items on a test designed to discover extent of recognition of generally accepted moral concepts. Yet in their behavior, at least some of these same young people fail to apply one or more of the conduct standards which, in the form of test items, were answered correctly. The cause of such discrepancies may be rooted in the adolescent's still immature control of strong urges to engage in self-satisfying but socially disapproved acts, e.g., sexual indulgence; fear of failure to achieve much-desired goals, e.g., cheating in an important examination; need for peer status, e.g., stealing to obtain things possessed by schoolmates of a higher economic status than his own; youthful rebellion against adult authority or what to him represent too strict laws, e.g., driving his father's car without parental consent at 70 or 80 miles an hour on a road where the legal speed limit is 45 miles. Many more such examples could be cited.

The fact that the teen years tend to be a period of unrealistic idealism may cause an adolescent to set high standards of conduct for himself which he cannot achieve. He then is likely to become discouraged; his conscience hurts; his guilt feelings arouse emotional tensions; he may experience violent reactions of anger that are directed not only at his own inadequacy but also at other persons who are involved in any way with the failure situation. A very important but difficult responsibility of adults, therefore, is to guide the adolescent toward building for himself a high behavior-functioning code of morals, and at the same time encourage him to keep his ideals within achievable limits.

A MATURE PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

The end of adolescence or the beginning of adulthood does not represent an abrupt or sudden change of status. The maturing process is gradual and varies from individual to individual and among the various developmental phases of any one individual. Hence it is difficult to determine at what point in his life an individual can be considered to be completely mature.

Meaning and aspects of maturity. Childhood and adolescence are regarded as stages in an individual's life during which growth and maturation of the organism and developmental experiences gradually are preparing him for the assumption of self-interested and self-directing activities on the adult level. As compared with his earlier experiences, the mature adult enjoys freedom of decision making and action, is self-motivated toward establishing and fulfilling purposeful life goals, and desires contentment and a feeling of security in his life relationships.

By the time they reach legal adult status many young persons are well on their way toward experiencing the advantages of being an adult, which in their earlier years they so much coveted. Others find the reaching of adult status to be a disappointing and sometimes disillusioning experience, mainly because they are not yet ready to assume personal responsibility for their acts, or for their own or others' welfare.

Physical and intellectual maturity normally are attained by the late teens or early twenties. The age at which an individual's interests, attitudes, emotional reactions, and social adjustments can be considered to be those of a mature adult varies in terms of the degree of stability and consistency of his developed life values. Some adults in their attitudes and behavior display emotional immaturity, inadequate interpersonal adjustments, and confused appreciation of moral standards.

Since the determination of degree of maturity in those qualities of personality and character that affect human relationships does not lend itself to objective measurement, their subtle elements probably can be evaluated only by means of their impact upon personal-social interactions. According to Cole:¹⁴

A true adult is a person of adequate physical and mental development, controlled emotional reactions, and tolerant attitudes; he has the ability to treat others objectively; he is independent of parental control, reasonably satisfied with his point of view toward life, and reasonably happy in his job; he is economically independent; he is not dominated by the opinions of those about him, nor is he in revolt against social conventions; he can get along in ordinary situations without attracting unfavorable attention; and, above all, he has learned to accept the truth about himself and to face reality instead of either running away from it or making believe it is not there.

Significance of a philosophy of life. Contrary to the opinion of some lay persons, the development of a philosophy of life is not an achievement that is limited to the intellectually superior, highly trained scholar. Every adolescent and adult, often unaware of what he is doing, constantly is building and rebuilding a philosophy of life. His philosophy grows out of his attitudes toward the various values that have been discussed.

Adolescents are prone to take peer-age pals into their confidence concerning their ambitions, interests, and views on the meaning of life; at the same time, they encourage the others to tell what they think about everything. Through participation in this kind of interchange of ideas, opinions, and ideals, adolescents are striving to establish an attitudinal system or set of values. With increasing maturity and broadening experiences, some of their value-appreciations may change somewhat. Yet there may be retained a degree of permanency and consistency within attitude

¹⁴L. Cole, *Psychology of Adolescence*, 4th ed., Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, 1954, p. 676.

clusters. As an adolescent continues mentally to reconstruct or revise his earlier developed beliefs, he is engaging in the task of evolving a philosophy of life that, by the time he reaches adult status, will be ready to play a significant role in determining his reactions to new adult experiences.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The period of adolescence is the time of religious decision. Evaluate.
2. What factors and influences contribute to adolescent indecision concerning religion?
3. What changes in attitudes toward religion are observable today that were less significant fifty years ago?
4. Explain present-day attitudes of adolescents toward organized religion.
5. Cite examples to illustrate individual conflict over religious values.
6. To what extent do the social taboos of a religious group affect individual adjustment to members of other peer groups?
7. Compare moral and ethical values with religious values.
8. Toward what goal should the school aim its moral teaching?
9. What is meant by moral maturity?
10. To what extent should an adolescent's participation in religious practices be motivated by fear?
11. In what ways are attitudes associated with life values?
12. What should be the relationship between materialistic and religious values?
13. Present the bases of adolescent religious ideals.
14. Discuss the relationship between science and religion.
15. Evaluate the released-time program as a means of developing religious values. Keep in mind that more than 3 million American children and adolescents are participating in the program.
16. List the factors and influences that contribute to the development of the religious attitudes of adolescents.

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PART FOUR

ADOLESCENT ADJUSTMENTS

Chapter 14

HOME ADJUSTMENT OF ADOLESCENTS

Many of the close family intimacies that are experienced by an adolescent in his parents' home are likely to become much cherished memories. Yet during the teen years a young person sometimes comes to believe that he must be a changeling, since real parents could not possibly be so nonunderstanding of his new interests and needs.

PROBLEMS OF PARENT-ADOLESCENT RELATIONS

As we know, an adolescent often finds that the attitudes of his enlarging social groups differ greatly from those that he has acquired in the home. Some of these differences may be relatively insignificant, but to the adolescent they may take on catastrophic proportions.

Basic problem areas. The conflicts that arise between an adolescent and his parents do not limit themselves to differences of opinion on large issues. There often is constant argument concerning matters that may seem relatively unimportant to the parent although they loom large in the mind of the developing adolescent. In some instances the family group displays ideals and attitudes toward society in general, and toward the adolescent in particular, that are too different from those accepted by the majority of American people or by a particular group. The teen-age boy or girl then may be faced with serious problems of adjustment. Conflicts may arise between the adolescent and his family that are difficult to resolve if neither is willing or able to compromise.

Differences of opinion between experienced parents and their experiencing son or daughter may lead to inner conflicts on the part of the young person. The parents may neither know about nor understand these conflicts. Other resentments may have their roots in brother-and-sister relationships, relationships with other relatives, relationships between parents, financial matters, home responsibilities, and adolescent social activities. "Intolerant" parents and "intolerant" boys and girls often come to grips concerning such matters as home chores, spending money, apparent favoritism of one child over another, dates, selection of friends, vocational choice, parental rejection or overprotectiveness, and youthful impatience with parental opinion.

In their struggle for independence adolescents cannot tolerate family

interference or domination by grandparents, uncles, aunts, or cousins. A word, a look, or a gesture often is sufficient to set off the spark of youthful antagonism. It takes all the tact and understanding that stable parents possess to handle their young firebrands. If the resentment is kept smoldering within the young person and not brought to the surface in a mild or violent eruption, the task of the parents is even more difficult.

Adolescent attitudes toward the family. The authors have obtained from thousands of young people between the ages of 12 and 20 their questions concerning problems connected with home and family life. Certain disturbing home situations are referred to over and over again by these adolescents. Some of their most common questions are presented here.

1. Should parents treat us as if we were children?
2. How much of my experiences should I tell my parents?
3. Why do my parents laugh at me when I confide in them and tell them my dreams?
4. Should parents open their children's mail?
5. Should a girl have the right to choose her own wardrobe?
6. Are parents always right?
7. Must a boy agree with his family's political views?
8. Why is it that when a girl of 13 asks her mother a question pertaining to life, the mother often puts it off and never answers?
9. When and how should a teen-age boy or girl be punished?
10. Should my parents make all my decisions for me?
11. If my mother approves of my doing something, my father is sure to disapprove. This leads to arguments. What can I do about it?
12. Should parents have arguments in the presence of their children?
13. What can an adolescent do about a broken home?
14. What should be the relationship between a boy or a girl and a stepparent?
15. I have a stepfather who is grand but I do not feel that I can call him Father. What can I call him?
16. How can quarrels be avoided among brothers and sisters?
17. Should my brother, although he is younger than the rest of us, be loved more than anyone else by my parents?
18. Why is it that younger brothers and sisters refuse to take our advice but tell us to mind our own business?
19. Who should have the use of the radio or television?
20. Should brothers and sisters borrow one another's possessions without permission?
21. Should an adolescent be compelled to take care of a younger brother or sister?
22. Should a younger brother or sister insist on staying around when a girl has a guest?

23. Should boys be made to help with the housework?
24. How should a girl or a boy treat grandparents or other older relatives in the home?
25. Should other older relatives interfere with parents' decisions concerning their sons and daughters?
26. Should a boy or girl have a definite allowance?
27. How can a boy get his parents to understand that a fellow needs some spending money besides carfare?
28. How much should a boy or girl know about family finances?
29. If a teen-age boy is working, what part of his salary should he give to his parents?
30. Should parents allow young people to choose their own friends?
31. How old should a boy or girl be before he or she is allowed to date members of the opposite sex?
32. How can a father be kept from interfering with a girl's dates?
33. What is the correct time to come home from a date?
34. Should a younger brother be allowed to stay out later than his older sister?
35. How can the time for coming home at night be decided when parents disagree on the time?
36. Should children make extreme sacrifices for their parents?

Many of these problems may seem trivial to the adult and cause him to smile at the seriousness with which they are asked; to the adolescent nothing that would seem to interfere with his striving for adult status is unimportant. The situation becomes even more unmanageable if the parents or older members of the family do not realize what is going on in the thinking of the teen-ager. Adults tend to criticize young people for becoming increasingly vocal in demanding their rights. It is unfortunate that some young people tend to place too much emphasis upon their *rights* and to ignore their *responsibilities*. However, it is much more wholesome for resentments to be voiced than for them to be repressed and allowed to fester, breaking forth later in the form of a warped adult personality.

The authors also asked more than 4,000 adolescent boys and girls to state briefly those parental attitudes that seemed to them to be disturbing factors in their relationships with their parents. They reported a long list of items. Only those of major importance, however, are presented here. The items, arranged in order from the most serious to the less serious, are listed separately for boys and girls.

The items for girls indicate that parents

1. Object to automobile riding with boys at night.
2. Scold if school marks are not so high as those of other students.
3. Insist that food be eaten even though disliked.

4. Insist that brothers and sisters be taken on trips.
5. Insist that exact reports be made on money spent.
6. Hold up sisters or brothers as models.
7. Won't permit use of automobile.
8. Nag concerning personal manners and habits.
9. Insist on their approval of friends.
10. Object to automobile riding with boys during daytime.
11. Pester concerning boy friends.
12. Fuss at the way lipstick is used.
13. Worry about health.
14. Object to going to dances.
15. Insist on overprotection.
16. Won't permit free choice of subjects in school.
17. Refuse to extend the privilege of selecting own clothes.
18. Won't give an adequate regular allowance.
19. Won't permit entertainment at home.
20. Insist upon criticizing what clothes are worn and how they are worn.

The items for boys indicate that parents

1. Won't let them use the automobile.
2. Insist that they eat foods which they dislike.
3. Scold if their school marks aren't so high as their friends'.
4. Insist that exact reports be made on money spent.
5. Pester them about table manners.
6. Hold their sister or brother up as a model.
7. Won't permit a free choice of vocation.
8. Object to dirty hands and fingernails.
9. Object to rowdy behavior with other boys.
10. Won't give an adequate regular allowance.
11. Tease them about their girl friends.
12. Demand that they take their sisters or brothers with them when they go out.
13. Brag about them to other persons.

The recognition of adolescent dissatisfaction does not mean that every young person should be encouraged to follow his own impulses and urges without proper guidance. It does mean that adults should examine their own attitudes very carefully, so that they may achieve a proper balance in their thinking between the rights to which young people are entitled and the responsibilities that they should meet.

If parents themselves are emotionally disturbed, if their own marital relations are not well adjusted, if quarreling and bickering are the order of the day, then there is certain to arise within an adolescent member of

the family a seething tempest, which may or may not find outlets. Such home conditions are likely to result in youthful confusion, conflict, and perhaps delinquent behavior.

Parents whose adolescent sons and daughters are achieving wholesome attitudes and habit patterns in their relationships with other people are meeting successfully the test of intelligent parenthood. Some parents, as well as their teen-age children, need specific and practical assistance in the solving of the more or less serious problems of home adjustment. Each emotion-arousing situation must be considered on its own merits, as well as in its relation to the entire homelife pattern, and must be treated accordingly.

Parental overprotectiveness, apparent favoritism of one child over another, inability of parents to understand some of their children's adjustment difficulties, parental example of undesirable attitude or behavior are some of the factors that give rise to adjustment difficulties among young people. No matter how carefully we may attempt to analyze human relationships into cause-and-effect sequences, we are forced to admit that certain subtle personality interrelationships cannot be analyzed out of a total situation. For example, it is difficult to understand the attitude of James's mother toward her son. The boy's father died some years ago, and the boy is living with his mother. His mental ability is well above normal but he is a consistent failure in his schoolwork and appears unable to adjust to other people.

His behavior is markedly abnormal. He walks slowly through the halls at school, arriving at his classes late. He never speaks above a whisper; when he is questioned, he mumbles unintelligible words. At times he stands motionless, his lips moving as though he were talking to himself.

He has had difficulties of this kind since he was a child. He never causes trouble and is quiet and unassuming. If he can be encouraged to smile, his smile is warm and winning; but he cannot be induced to take part in any activity or to make friends with boys and girls of his own age.

He definitely needs psychiatric treatment. If he could be helped, he would be a worth-while boy. His mother, however, will not cooperate. She insists that there is nothing wrong with him and that she will not give her consent to having him taken to a hospital or a clinic for the care that he so desperately needs.

As long as parental consent is needed for the treatment of a young person who is mentally ill, little can be done for him by those agencies which are interested in his welfare. Moreover, many of our educational and community leaders recognize the need of removing children from unfavorable conditions before uncooperative or delinquent behavior patterns become fixed. This is difficult to accomplish, since foster parents cannot be found easily for children of this type. One suggestion for meet-

ing this problem is that of the setting up, at community expense, of well-equipped and well-staffed boarding schools. However, it is almost impossible to provide a home atmosphere in institutionalized living, no matter how informal and kind the organization and supervision of a school of this kind may be. Thus the child is denied his right of experiencing intimate home relationships. If the home is unfavorable, institutionalized living may be the lesser of two evils.

Parents may get off to a bad start in their attitude toward their children, even though they themselves are basically normal in their behavior. Such parents usually respond to guidance given them by interested advisers. Hence many young people who in their early years give evidence of a nonconforming attitude can be led toward satisfactory adolescent adjustment.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING HOME RELATIONSHIPS

Since the home wields a powerful influence over the attitudes and behavior of young people, men and women do not dare to take lightly their responsibilities as parents. Parental influence upon a child begins long before he is born, so young men and women should prepare themselves early for future parenthood. They should develop good health habits, refraining from participation in activities that may affect their physical constitutions. Excessive smoking and drinking, the keeping of late hours, insufficient or badly balanced diet, and promiscuous sex relations are not conducive to the bearing of healthy children.

Not only should young men and women prepare themselves for desirable parenthood, but they also should use intelligence and discretion in the choice of their mates. They owe it to their unborn children that both parents shall be healthy individuals who can give to their children a sound heritage.

Much has been done in recent years for the education of parents and prospective parents in the care and training of young children. Childhood conduct is the basis upon which adolescent habits and attitudes are built. A pampered child is often an irresponsible adolescent. Stubbornness, self-will, indolence, pretense, excessive timidity, or carelessness do not suddenly change with the advent of adolescence into cooperation, industry, courtesy, poise, and carefulness. In fact, outstanding behavior patterns of childhood, whether they are good or bad, tend to become intensified as the individual develops and matures, unless environmental factors stimulate changes.

Adolescence is a training period for both the parent and the child. If the parent is able to adjust his own attitudes and behavior to the needs of his growing boy or girl, the latter will be helped immensely in the solu-

tion of those problems which are inherent in the growing-up process. In the following pages the problems of young people connected with their adjustment to home and family life are treated under six headings:

1. Rights and responsibilities of young people in the home
2. Effect upon adolescents of the marital attitudes of their parents
3. Sibling relationships
4. Effect upon adolescents of the attitudes of grandparents and other relatives
5. The teen-ager and family finances
6. Parental responsibility for the social life of young people

Under appropriate headings, suggestions are presented in as detailed and specific form as possible for meeting some of the common problems of adolescents in the home.

Rights and Responsibilities of Young People in the Home

It is very difficult for the average parent (especially the mother) to realize that a boy or a girl between the ages of 12 and 20 is gradually taking on the stature of young manhood or young womanhood, and that parental ties must gradually be allowed to relax. The young person is no longer satisfied (if he ever was) with "You should do this because Mother says so."

Parental attitudes toward child at different ages. In school the adolescent is expected to think things out for himself and is introduced to the relationship that exists between cause and effect. He is trained to exercise his own judgment, under guidance, in matters concerning his own welfare. He is constantly told that he is no longer a child. When a young person thus stimulated at school returns to his home, he cannot suddenly remove his attitude of growing independence as he would a coat. He is bound to resent attempts on the part of his parents to treat him as though he were still a child.

An adolescent should enjoy the same opportunity for self-direction in the home that he experiences in school life; his opinions, crude though they may seem to an adult, should receive respectful attention. If his attitudes and opinions need guidance, this should be undertaken with the same seriousness on the part of the parent as is shown by the young person. Never should his opinions be met with a smile of tolerance, a laugh of derision, or a "What do you know about such things? You are too young even to think about them."

If an adolescent attempts to do something in the home that lies within his power of execution, he should be encouraged to continue the activity, even though his first attempts are inept or bungling. This procedure may try the patience of parents. It is much easier for them to say, "Here, let

me do it. You are taking all day." The task will undoubtedly be done more expeditiously and efficiently by the parent; but the young person is thereby deprived of needed practice and the recognition of himself as an active member of the family group. To encourage a young person to assume certain specific home responsibilities is desirable; but to expect an adolescent to shoulder complete care of the home is not only most unfair, but is sure to develop antagonism between parent and child, as well as possible youthful maladjustment.

At the present time there are many families in which both the father and the mother are working away from the home. Consequently, a high school daughter may be compelled to be responsible for the complete care of the home, the buying and preparation of food, and the family laundry. It is asking too much of a growing girl to assume the full responsibility for household chores and perhaps to look after younger brothers and sisters besides.

An interesting story illustrative of this point has come to the authors' attention. Ruth is an attractive, intelligent girl in her last year of high school. Both her mother and her father work, and an aged, crippled grandmother is in the home. Ruth's mother need not work but, since she enjoys her job, she is loath to give it up. Consequently, Ruth has been taking care of her grandmother and has had complete charge of a five-room apartment, besides going to school. The parents, realizing that this is too great a burden for their daughter, have suggested that the grandmother be sent to a home for old people. Ruth loves her grandmother and will not listen to this suggestion, but instead has decided to leave school, to which the parents have given their consent. Ruth's mother cannot understand that she should give up her job and encourage her daughter to finish her commercial course at high school.

A young person should not continue to be tied to his or her mother's apron strings. Even during childhood it is undesirable for a boy or a girl to be too dependent upon his parents. During adolescence it is inexcusable. An adolescent boy or girl should never be referred to as "Sonny" or "my little girl." Parents should in no way intimate in the presence of their friends that their son or daughter thinks he has grown up but that he is still "my baby." Adolescent pride resents this parental attitude.

The weaning process should be begun early and continued until, in early adulthood, the individual is completely independent except for such guidance as is needed by everyone at any age in time of crisis. Children who were delicate or unusually attractive during their babyhood are often the worst victims of parental protection.

Parents, as they attempt to be objective in their attitude toward their children, need to be careful lest they cause them to believe that they are unwanted. One adolescent stated it thus, "My parents seem to reject me.

They act as though I have interfered with their lives." It can be recognized that once this youthful attitude has been developed, it may be difficult for the parents to regain the confidence of their child.

Mothers and fathers should encourage their adolescent children to think for themselves in matters that are within the realm of adolescent decision. They should allow young people to take upon themselves a reasonable amount of responsibility for home welfare. Finally, by their words and actions, they should make it clear to their teen-age sons and daughters that they, as parents, are aware of their children's developing maturity and are proud of it, but are ready and willing to advise them whenever adult assistance is sought.

The problem of opening the adolescent's mail. If complete sympathy and understanding exist between the adolescent and his parents, letters received by him are shared with his parents. However, a young person should have the satisfaction of opening his own mail. If the family attitude is good, the contents of the letter are then read to the parents, or the letter is given to them for reading. The fact that a young person does not want his parents to read his letters, or that a parent feels that it is necessary for him to open and read a letter before his child sees it, indicates a fundamental difficulty of which the reaction toward the letter is no more than a symptom.

It is natural for a parent to be interested in his child's social life and to want to know what the latter's friends are saying to him. However, this understandable curiosity should be curbed until the recipient of the letter is present to open it. This is a right that accompanies the growing-up process. If the parent opens the letter because he is suspicious of its contents, his so doing is an acknowledgment of his own failure as a parent to train his child in desirable social relations.

The average young person resents the opening of his mail only because he wants to feel the same independence in his social relations as that enjoyed by older members of the family. He is usually eager to share the contents of his letters with his family if he has had the first reading of them. An adolescent who is afraid of his parents' reactions to any letter that he receives is thereby acknowledging that his relations with its writer are undesirable. A parent can usually recognize a situation of this kind. If he is intelligent, he will endeavor to win (not demand) his child's confidence and advise him concerning his proper course. If a parent is too insistent in his attempts at censorship, he is likely to encourage the adolescent to have letters sent to another address. There is usually an obliging pal who will help out in such a situation.

Parental authority and the adolescent. Everyone, no matter what his age, training, or previous experience may be, should realize and admit that someone else, even though this other person may be younger and

less experienced, may have a better understanding of a particular situation than he has. If during childhood a young person has been led to recognize the reasonableness of his parents' decisions, there will be relatively little conflict between parents and child during the latter's adolescence. Then when differences of opinion arise concerning desirable adolescent behavior, the young person will be likely to have confidence in parental judgment and be willing to be influenced by it.

Arguments in the home are sometimes caused by such factors as age differences, changes with the times in the general social pattern of behavior, differing cultural backgrounds, and educational inequalities between parents and children. Such family disagreements, especially if the parents are dictatorial in their attitude, encourage young people to look upon their parents as intolerant or narrow-minded. Adolescents often express the wish that their parents could be more understanding. There is a fallacy in the thinking of these boys and girls. What they do not seem to realize is the fact that they themselves are often as intolerant in their attitude as they accuse their parents of being.

The fundamental difficulty in cases of this kind is that neither parent nor child is able or willing to understand the point of view of the other. The parent's stubbornness of attitude is duplicated in the child's. Consequently, compromise is difficult, if not impossible. Either the parent wins and the child becomes a thwarted or frustrated individual; or the parent gives up the struggle and allows his immature son or daughter a free hand, thereby depriving the young person of needed behavior guidance.

A parent is not always right, but his judgment is usually more far-reaching than that of his inexperienced child. When differences of opinion arise, the parent and the child should give serious consideration to the following questions:

1. Is the matter important enough to make an issue of it?
2. Is parental opinion based upon sound, practical reasoning and consideration of the best interests of the child?
3. Will the fulfillment of the child's wish harm him in any way or is parental denial of it based upon a personal whim or on an outgrowth of personal adolescent experiences?

Two girls in their late teens were discussing the bringing up of children. One of them, whose adolescent activities were completely dominated by her parents, stated definitely that her children would be given all the freedom of decision that they wanted. The other girl, whose parents were giving her almost complete freedom of action, retorted that her children would do as she decided, since she now realized the dangers connected with her own freedom from parental control. So parents are always wrong! This is true only if they go to extremes in their attitude toward their teen-age children's interests and wishes.

There must be a possibility of compromise. In matters of relatively slight importance, such as the suit or dress to wear, young people should be allowed an opportunity to feel that their opinion, attitude, or behavior is respected. However, if a young person's attitude, opinion, or behavior is harmful to himself or to others, the wise parent attempts to guide his child, and patiently but firmly indicates the reasons (which must be basically sound) for parental encouragement of adolescent acquiescence with parental wishes.

Young people rarely, if ever, should be criticized by their parents for their behavior in the presence of others, except members of the immediate family. Even then the criticism should not take the form of a comparison of one child's conduct with that of another. Sometimes public reproof is the only kind that the young person receives from his parents. Undesirable behavior in the home is overlooked because "anything goes" with the family. Discourtesy to parents or other members of the family by the adolescent boy or girl is not frowned upon, chiefly because good manners and consideration for the other person are not habitual in the family group. It is only when such parents see their son's or daughter's actions through the eyes of people outside the family group that they become excited about the undesirable behavior of their children.

If the same emphasis upon cooperative and controlled behavior holds in home relationships for all the members of the family as is expected outside the home, parents will have little occasion to be embarrassed by their adolescent child's behavior in public. Habits of courtesy, cooperation, and self-control, developed and practiced in the home, will then extend beyond the family circle, and parents will be able to feel confident that the son or daughter will be habitually considerate and charming at all times. A boy or girl who in the home is allowed to preempt the most comfortable chair, select the most desirable piece of meat, or dominate the conversation cannot suddenly change into a model of propriety in public. If for any reason whatever an adolescent displays undesirable behavior in the presence of people outside the family group, the wise parent ignores such behavior until he is alone with the adolescent and then voices his disapproval and discusses with his child the reasons for his attitude.

The kind and extent of guidance that should be given to adolescents when their actions merit parental disapproval is important. More important is the fact that penalties should never be administered when the parent is in an emotionalized state. There is danger that a reproof or a penalty emotionally administered may not "fit the crime." The young person is quick to recognize this. He may accept the parental disapproval or he may try to argue himself out of it, but his private opinion will be that Father or Mother "is on the rampage again." Moreover, a parent who becomes emotionalized over his son's or daughter's misdeeds may

not be consistent in his attitude toward that which constitutes desirable adolescent behavior. Conduct which at one time may stimulate strong parental disapproval at another time may be completely overlooked. As a result, the adolescent is alert in recognizing a parent's good days and bad days. Hence parental guidance must be objective and consistent.

Parents often are at a loss to discover the attitude that they should exhibit toward adolescent misbehavior, in order that it may be reasonable, fit the seriousness of the offense, and be effective. Usually the kind and effectiveness of parent-child consideration of an offense during the early years of the child determine the kind to be employed with the adolescent. In some homes nothing more is needed than a quietly voiced expression of disapproval, with reasons. Long harangues, reference to the disgrace brought upon the family, or comparisons between the disapproved behavior and that of other children in the family or of the parent in his youth are seldom effective.

Perhaps one of the most desirable influences upon young people's behavior is the temporary denial of privileges when the girl or boy neglects to meet his responsibilities. There must be, however, a reasonable relationship between the seriousness of the misdemeanor and the severity of the denial. In every instance the penalty should be related to the misdeed. For example, a young person and his parents have agreed upon a specific time for his return home after a social engagement, but the adolescent arrives home late, with no valid reason for the delay. The first instance of this kind merits an expression of parental disapproval. The second offense should be penalized by the denial of permission to attend one other such social activity. The boy or girl should then be given another trial, with the reminder that he is to be home at a certain time. If the young person is again late, he should be denied the privilege of going out with this particular group but should be encouraged to have social engagements with other groups, the members of which are also expected by their parents to practice punctuality.

It is the responsibility of an adolescent to respond with improved behavior to the suggestions of his parents. It is the right of an adolescent to expect his parents to agree between themselves upon the kind of adolescent behavior that is desirable or undesirable. If a father and mother differ in their attitudes concerning desirable teen-age activities, their discussions of this matter should be held when the child is not present. They must arrive at an agreement, so that they present a solid front to the adolescent. Too often a young person bemoans the fact that if one parent says it is all right to do a certain thing, the other parent may object. This divided parental attitude causes bewilderment in the adolescent. How can standards of conduct be determined if parents themselves differ in such matters? Usually the young person plays up to the lenient parent,

even though he may recognize the fact that the other parent's attitude is probably the correct one.

Either too much rigidity or too much laxity on the part of parents tends toward the weakening of adolescent confidence in parental judgment. Moreover, parents should not set behavior standards for their teenage children which they themselves do not follow. In homes where parents themselves are controlled, considerate, and cooperative, adolescent children usually follow the same pattern of behavior, except as immaturity of judgment may cause them to err. Reasonable and objective guidance will soon improve such behavior.

Decision making. Conflict often develops between parents and adolescent boys and girls because of the tendency of the former to deny to the latter any freedom of choice in personal matters. The attempt on the part of the parents to dominate the lives of their children is closely allied to the fact that the parents still consider the adolescent to be a child whose judgment cannot be trusted. A few of the most common conflict-producing situations are discussed briefly.

1. *Selection of Clothes.* A young child cannot be trusted to select his or her own clothes. Although he may be allowed a choice between two articles of clothing, both of which would be appropriate, final selection should rest with the parents. However, as the young person progresses through his teens, he should be given more and more freedom in this matter. By example and precept he should be trained toward an appreciation of suitability, attractiveness, and good value in clothes. He should also understand the limitations of the family budget. From that point on, the young person should be given considerable freedom of selection.

During early adolescence a parent should accompany his child on shopping tours and by suggestion guide the buying. As the boy or girl advances into the upper teen years, he or she should be encouraged to do most of his shopping alone, except as the parent may be invited, as a friend would be, to help in the selection. If an article of clothing is bought that does not meet the parent's standards of appropriateness or good value, he must be tactful in his appraisal of it. He should be quick to recognize the young person's reason for the choice, but he should do no more than suggest that, although the particular article has certain desirable features, he personally might have selected something different. The young person, as he wears the clothing, will probably come to agree with the parent's judgment. Although he is not likely to admit that he made a bad decision, he will probably exercise better judgment the next time.

This is an important phase of adolescent training. As an adult, the boy or girl will need to use his own judgment in such matters, since he will not always have his parents at hand to give him advice. Hence he needs

practice in the selection of clothes while he is still in the position to do so under guidance. Moreover, most adolescents receive some training in high school concerning appropriateness of dress. They want to apply this training without too much parental interference. Also, an outstanding means of asserting one's developing maturity is through personal dress and grooming. Adolescence is the ideal time to help the young person to set up for himself (not to have set up for him) accepted standards of attractive appearance.

2. *Smoking and Drinking.* Many parents are concerned about the possibility of their teen-age children developing the habit of smoking or drinking hard liquor. At present these are difficult matters to handle. It is generally agreed that for adolescents smoking or drinking, even in moderation, is unnecessary and may be harmful. If parents smoke and if they drink an occasional cocktail or glass of wine or serve these in their home, it is natural for young people to want to be included among those who take part in such activities. Not to allow the adolescent ever to smoke a cigarette or to take a drink when he sees his elders do so is very hard on him. It might be possible to encourage him to indulge once in a while on a special occasion, but he must know why his parents believe that it is undesirable for him to do this often. If parents themselves are controlled in their smoking and drinking, young people usually are willing to conform to their parents' wishes in these matters.

Parents who themselves neither smoke nor drink must be intelligent in their attitude toward their children's possible interest in doing these things. To attempt to give the impression that such things are the invention of the devil and that no decent person indulges in them will do no more than cause the son or daughter to lose faith in parental good judgment. Young people are likely to meet fine and attractive adults who do smoke and occasionally drink liquor. Parents who are complete abstainers should admit to their children that some fine people do these things but that they themselves believe such practices to be unnecessary and perhaps injurious to the health. They should also stress the fact that they would like their children to use similar controls in their own health habits. Over-indulgence in sweets, starchy foods, gum chewing, and the like can be handled similarly.

3. *Possession of Pets.* There may be disagreement in families concerning a desire on the part of adolescents to own pets. Frankly, there is no better way to develop attitudes of kindness and responsibility in a young person than for him to own and care for a dog. If the home is in the country or in a suburban area where the animal has plenty of play space without encroaching upon the rights of neighbors, parents should encourage their young people to have a dog. In fact, it is often desirable for children to own a dog even before they reach adolescence.

If the home is in the city, it is much more difficult to allow the child this privilege. To keep a dog confined in an apartment or in a small house on a busy thoroughfare is unfair; hence the city parent must weigh the advantages and disadvantages of encouraging his child to have a dog, a cat, or any other pet around the house. However, if the adolescent is allowed this privilege, whether it is in the city or in the country, the pet should be the young person's personal possession, not only to play with but also to care for in every way. The purpose of an adolescent's having a pet is defeated if the child has all the fun, while the parents carry all the responsibility.

4. *Having One's Own Room.* Fortunate is the boy or girl who has a room of his own. More fortunate is the one who is allowed a reasonable amount of freedom in the decoration and arrangement of his room. This is an excellent medium of self-expression. A young person's ideal of attractively decorated walls or interesting color combinations may cause an adult to shudder. If a parent can live through the various phases of his adolescent child's developing appreciation of beauty, the room of the older adolescent will probably be almost austere in its simplicity. This last is especially true if other rooms in the house reflect parental good taste in furnishings and decorations.

Let the adolescent's imagination run wild if it must, but insist that the contents of the room be kept in a reasonable state of cleanliness and orderliness. Even though there are servants to do the heavy cleaning, the day-by-day care of his room should be the adolescent's own responsibility and pride. This should include the making of his bed and the picking up and putting away of his clothes. He must receive training in his parents' home that will help him to keep his own home neat and attractive. The generic "he" is used advisedly here to include both boys and girls. Many mothers who give excellent training to their daughters in the care of personal belongings fail to give a similar training to their sons. Boys as well as girls should take care of their own personal belongings, learn to make their own beds, and help with the household chores.

Returning to the consideration of a young person's room, this place should serve as a haven of peace to its occupant. He should feel free occasionally to enjoy the privacy of his own domain without an anxious or curious parent's coming in to find out what he is doing. Of course, if the adolescent makes a practice of withdrawing from family activities to the solitude of his own room, there is probably something wrong. The retiring from the family group may be the symptom of family maladjustment which requires the intelligent attention of parents. The boy or girl should not be scolded or teased for his attitude, but the reason for it should be tactfully sought. He may feel that his presence is not wanted, or he may be passing through a phase of mental superiority, which causes

him to be bored by ordinary family conversation or activity. Whatever the cause, it is the responsibility of the parent to discover it and to draw the young person back into the family circle.

To sum up the discussion of the rights and responsibilities of young people, it should be emphasized that the habit patterns developed during adolescence and the guidance in decision making received during this period have a tremendous effect upon the young person's success as an independent adult. A dominated adolescent usually is a futile and indecisive adult. Parents who do not give teen-age children an opportunity to learn by their own mistakes are depriving them of a rightful heritage. A dominating adolescent tends to become an aggressive, self-asserting, and self-satisfied adult. It is the responsibility of parents to guide their adolescent children toward habits of cooperation and consideration for others.

Effect upon Adolescents of the Marital Attitudes of Their Parents

No human being is perfect. No matter how well a man and woman may be mated, there are times when the actions of one will cause emotional disturbance in the other. It is natural and desirable to express dissatisfaction with the conduct of a spouse when it annoys or hurts. To have it out with the other person is far better than to nurse a grievance, real or fancied, and thereby develop a silent antagonism, of which the mate is conscious without knowing what the cause may be. Such matters are the personal concern of the married couple. Children should not be drawn into the situation.

Husband-wife behavior. Consider the effect upon a young person who wishes to be loyal to both parents if in his presence these parents engage in emotionalized quarreling and bickering. Which parent is right? The adolescent on the side lines is mature enough to realize that both parents may be justified in some of the things that they are saying to each other, but that many of the accusations made are foolish and even unjust. Shall he interfere? Shall he take sides?

Loyalties are strained and the young person is confused. His attitude toward the marital relation may be affected by the friction in the home. He may decide that he will never marry lest he inflict similar torture upon his own children. As he grows older, he realizes that family arguments are not necessary and he will probably marry; but he will carry with him into his adult life the scars of emotional upsets experienced during periods of parental friction. Moreover, as the adolescent listens to unfair recriminations of one parent against another, he learns to discount similar outbursts against himself.

Effects of a broken home. Although a broken home is not the only or even the major cause of adolescent delinquency, it does create an abnor-

mal home situation which is likely to affect a young person's emotional development. Loss of a parent through death not only deprives the developing adolescent of the wise counseling and guidance of that parent but may develop too close a bond between the remaining parent and the child.

If the home is broken because of incompatibility between the parents, the young person is affected not only by the break itself but also by the parental friction that led to the break. If the boy or girl has experienced constant parental disagreement and then is deprived of one of the parents through divorce or separation, he is exposed to further conflict without adequate emotional stability to meet it.

The parent with whom the child remains may be very bitter toward the mate who is no longer in the home. Hence he is almost certain to make disparaging remarks to the child concerning the other parent. This is hard on a maturing young person, even though his loyalty may be given to the parent with whom he lives. If he really loves the absent parent, the situation is tragic for him. To expect an adolescent to be friendly with both parents, perhaps living with each for a part of the year, or living with one and visiting the other, demands emotional adjustment to a degree that he has not yet attained.

Parents who are separated from each other (mothers especially) often encourage their children to visit the other parent and then insist upon receiving a full account of what was said and done during the visit. If the separated mate has remarried, the young person may be catechized about the new husband or wife. The adolescent does not know how to meet a situation of this kind. If the visit was a pleasant one and he reports it truthfully, he may be faced with a fit of hysterics or accusations of favoring the other parent. In order to avoid a scene, the boy or girl may give a wrong picture of his visit, leaving the desired impression that he did not enjoy it.

In this way an adolescent may learn to deceive his parent, and develop the habit of employing the same technique in matters concerning his own activities. The important fact is that the child has lost respect for his parents and is no longer willing to submit to their domination. He is like a ship without a rudder, unable to steer his way to the safety of the home port. Hence he may find his satisfactions outside the home. If he develops undesirable habits as he seeks to assert his maturing personality, he has no one to whom he can turn for wise counsel and emotional security. The whole situation is intensified if the adolescent cannot find a place in the life of either parent and is left to the care of other relatives or strangers.

Too many young people experience the tragic results of the broken home. Let us consider the situation of Lois. Her mother and father are divorced. Because of the mother's lack of responsibility, the court ap-

pointed the grandmother to be the guardian of the girl. This did not prevent Lois' mother from seeing her and continuing to have a bad influence upon her.

Lois was a truant. During her long periods of absence from school she was employed illegally, since she was only 14 years old, but she earned good pay. At home she was uncooperative and stayed out until three o'clock in the morning. During one of her periods of truancy, Lois, in collusion with another student of the same high school, gave a false address in order to escape follow-up by the attendance bureau.

Her grandmother and an interested aunt were asked to cooperate. As a result of several conferences with them and Lois, the girl's adviser was able to persuade Lois that she was not living up to her abilities. She gave up her job, refrained from seeing her mother, did not stay out late at night, and transferred from an academic to a commercial course.

After graduation from high school Lois obtained a good secretarial position. Her grandmother died and her mother drifted out of her daughter's life. Now Lois is married and the mother of two fine children. A feeling of responsibility for her "wayward" mother has motivated her husband and herself to trace the woman. To the present they have had no success, but they keep on trying. Moreover, parental example has made Lois determined that her children shall never suffer the deprivation of good home life that she had experienced. Fortunately, her husband, who is devoted to his wife and family, agrees wholeheartedly with his wife.

It is true that one cause of adolescent maladjustment or delinquency may be found in the fact that the children of broken homes have inherited those personality characteristics of either or both parents which caused the marital friction and the final break. However, the broken home itself deprives adolescents of any supporting props that might have kept them straight. For this reason some writers claim that the family unit should be kept intact, even though parents cannot get along together. If both parents are unstable, the adolescent has little potentiality of normal adjustment. If one parent is definitely responsible for the discord in the home and the other is emotionally stable, a young person would probably have more chance of achieving desirable adjustment if he remained with the emotionally stable parent and the other were completely removed from the situation. The sensible solution is for both parents to take their marital and parental responsibilities seriously, so that the home may represent closely knit family unity.

The presence in the home of a stepparent is often the basis of emotional unrest among young people. It is a family situation in which great tact and understanding must be practiced by everyone. The bringing into the intimate relations of family life of a comparatively or completely strange

person, entitled by his position in the family to a certain amount of authority, is likely to cause some degree of conflict, no matter how co-operative each member of the family may be. The period in the child's life in which the stepparent comes into the family, the cause of the actual parent's absence from the home, and the attitude of the child toward the latter are factors which must be considered in a discussion of this relationship.

No matter how much independence of action a young person may consider to be his right, it is normal for him at the same time to desire security and affection in his home relationships. The presence in the home of an uncooperative or disagreeable parent, the absence of one or both parents, or the presence of a stepparent may seem to deny a child that feeling of security which he craves.

If one parent is removed from the family by death, parental separation, or divorce, the effect upon a child of this breaking up of normal family unity may be either that the child becomes more closely bound to the remaining parent or that the void caused by the absence of the other parent leads the child to experience a feeling of great loneliness. The latter condition is likely to occur if the absent parent had been much loved by the child.

The bringing into the home of a kind, understanding stepparent may do much to bring back the atmosphere of family unity, especially if the child is young enough to form new attachments and thus gradually forget the absent parent. As half sisters and brothers appear in the family, the attitude of the older child toward them is influenced to a great extent by the parental attitude toward him in relation to the younger children. If all the children are treated alike, especially by the new parent, many half brothers and sisters are as devoted to one another as are real brothers and sisters.

It is more difficult for an adolescent to adjust to new family relationships than it is for a young child to do so. The older girl or boy has become accustomed to certain routines of family behavior and consequently he may be unwilling or unable to include another person in the family unit. A strong bond of affection may have developed between the teenager and the remaining parent. Hence the new parent may be viewed as an interloper who is robbing the son or the daughter of the love or attention that is rightfully his. Or the adolescent may have built up an ideal image of his absent parent, which causes him to be very critical of this new person who is attempting to take the place in the home of the beloved parent. Great anguish may result from the sight of this "stranger" sitting in the favorite chair of the absent parent or using articles around the house that are closely associated with memories of him.

As has been said earlier, maturing adolescents tend to resent too great

restriction of their conduct. Even in well-adjusted family units, parents find that it is not always easy to guide their teen-age children toward socially desirable behavior. It is often very difficult for a new parent to win the cooperation of an adolescent stepchild in matters concerning the latter's activities. No matter how tactfully and sympathetically the young person is approached, there is likely to be a suspicion of adult motives.

One resentful 17-year-old boy admitted that his new stepmother did not interfere with his activity. In fact, she was more lenient with him than his mother had been. "But," said he, "I am just waiting. She is a regular snake in the grass. She is all smiles and honey now. She thinks she can fool me and make me forget Mother, and then she will tell me off. She can wind Father around her little finger but I'm onto her game." As a matter of fact, this woman had known and admired the boy's mother. The two women had been close friends, and during the last illness of the mother the latter had asked the other woman to look after her husband and son.

This stepmother was genuinely sorry for the boy and very fond of him. She also respected his loyalty to his own mother. She was not able to break down his antagonistic attitude toward her until she herself became ill as a result of nursing him through a long and critical illness. As a result, they became fast friends, but the boy's feeling for her is that of a boy toward a loved older sister rather than a mother.

Not all stepmothers or stepfathers are so wise or so well equipped to meet a situation of this kind as the woman just described. The stepparent of an adolescent is often afraid of his new son or daughter. Sometimes the more he tries to win over the young person, the more mistakes he makes. The stepparent may be too lenient. For example, one of the reasons for Ralph's waywardness was the fact that his stepfather hesitated to discipline the boy, for fear of endangering the friendship that existed between them. This story is typical of the attitude assumed by some stepparents of adolescents.

Until he was 16 years old, Ralph was a fine lad. He was making a good home and school adjustment and had reached his senior year at high school. Then, for no apparent reason, he changed. He became boisterous and a constant source of trouble. He was abusive, argumentative, and given to truancy. He became involved in difficulties with other boys and was accused of being the father of an unborn child. Although he denied this, he did admit that he had had illicit relations with girls. The boy seemed unable or unwilling to distinguish between right and wrong.

His own father had died when he was young, but he and his stepfather were very friendly with each other. The stepfather has always been interested in the boy and very kind to him but, in order to avoid the

development of any antagonism between them, was always a little hesitant about disapproving of the boy's actions. Ralph's mother was very much concerned about her son's behavior and felt that it might have been better if her husband had exercised his authority, even though it was that of a stepfather. Ralph's attitude did not improve. He failed to be graduated from high school and joined the armed services. His parents know nothing about his present whereabouts. They heard that he had received a dishonorable discharge from the Army, and then disappeared. They still are hoping that he has not got into other serious difficulties and that eventually they will hear from him.

Stepparents, no matter how honest their intentions, are normal human beings, with all a normal person's emotional reactions. They are sometimes driven by their stepchildren's attitude to lose their own emotional control. This may cause family disagreement, not only between themselves and the children but also between themselves and their mates.

If there is disharmony between the adolescent and the new parent, the cause may be found in the uncooperative attitude of the young person himself, of the new member of the family, or of the remaining parent. Sometimes the real parent may be torn between his loyalty to his child and his love for his new mate. Consequently, an attempt at compromise between the two loyalties may lead to a tension that is recognized by all three and resented by the two victims of the disturbed emotional attitude. Sometimes a situation of this kind cannot be adjusted until the young person leaves the family home.

Adolescents often are uncertain as to how they should refer to the new mother or father. This problem may arise even though there is a very good relationship between the stepparent and the adolescent. The young person dislikes to call the new parent by the term that was used for the actual parent. One of several procedures can be followed. If the stepparent is not much older than the adolescent, the use of the first name seems to work well. If the latter had been accustomed to call his actual parent Mother or Father, the terms "Ma" or "Pa," or "Mom" or "Dad" can be used.

Another factor that needs consideration is whether or not a child should assume the surname of the stepfather. This is a legal matter, but no general rules can be given for making the change. If the child is very young when the mother remarries, this may be wise. If, however, the child has reached adolescence, he may wish to continue his own identity by using his own father's surname.

The introduction of a stepparent to friends and acquaintances may also lead to embarrassment unless the young person can be objective about it. If the surnames are different, the mother can be introduced in this fashion: "My mother, Mrs. Brown," accompanied by a comment con-

cerning the stepchild's esteem for the new parent. If the stepfather is to be introduced, the boy or girl should say, "This is Mr. Brown, my second father. He is just grand!" or something to that effect.

Sibling Relationships

Even though young people are the children of the same parents and are exposed to relatively similar environmental stimulations, all the children of a family do not possess similar temperaments, share similar interests, or think similar thoughts. There are bound to be differences of opinion about many things. However, if courtesy and consideration for others is the habitual attitude in a home, there will be no lasting resentments among the young people, and a temporary disagreement will very soon become a subject of amusing reminiscence.

Causes of disagreements. If disagreements among adolescent brothers and sisters are not too frequent and if they are not born of fundamental resentments, they are both natural and desirable. Sister-brother relationships give a young person opportunities for practice in adjusting to his peers. An only child misses this fundamental social training, in that he is denied exercise in adjusting to differing personalities and slightly different age interests in the intimate relationships of the family group.

Age differences may be the basis of sister-brother discord. Younger children tend to resent domination by older children, no matter how well intentioned such apparent domination may be. The older boys and girls often think that the little ones are "getting away with murder" because the latter seem to be enjoying privileges that had been denied the teen-agers when they were children. The tendency on the part of children to tease older brothers and sisters is another cause of quarrels.

Parental attitude is an important factor in the relationships that exist among the children. If parents are careful to accord to each child the rights and privileges to which he is entitled, and at the same time expect individual responsibilities to be assumed cheerfully, there is usually an excellent attitude among the children toward one another. No member of the family should be granted privileges that are denied others unless there is a valid reason for the denial and all the children understand the situation. The same principle holds for the granting of special privileges.

Parents cannot "play favorites" with their children. They must be careful that their attitude toward each child is such that antagonisms are not aroused. A delicate baby does not necessarily remain a delicate child and adolescent. As soon as he gains normal health, he should be expected to receive the same treatment as is given to the other children in the family. There should be no ugly duckling or Cinderella in the family.

Much has been said and written about girls being the father's favorites

and boys the mother's. This situation does not necessarily exist. If a child, whether boy or girl, looks like or has the personality characteristics of a beloved mate, there is a tendency on the part of the parent to feel especially drawn to that child. It is equally easy to discover and dislike traits in a child that are disliked in a mate. An amusing corollary of this fact is the quickness with which a parent may be heard to say, "He is just like his father!" or "That is her mother all over again!"

Must an only child be spoiled? Not necessarily. Because of a common belief that only children are pampered and petted unduly, parents of only children are sometimes tempted to be overobjective and almost too strict in their guidance of an only child. According to a study reported in *The Adolescent in the Family*, by Burgess, only children are emotionally more closely tied to, and more dependent on, their parents than are other children, but they also tend to be better integrated into the social group and to follow social codes more fully than do other children. Middle children seem to have more social contacts than do other children, but they may feel more self-conscious. In general, however, it is probably true that family relationships are dependent upon many factors and that no one factor can be held accountable, of itself, for any family adjustment or maladjustment that may be apparent.

Unless parents themselves set an example of quarreling or give in to one child to the exclusion of others, there is little stimulation for dissension among young people. If a quarrel does arise over individual rights or responsibilities, the parent should keep out of it unless one child is definitely unfair in his accusation of, or demands from, another. The parent must always stand on the side of justice. If an older brother teases a younger brother or sister, tempting as this may be, the parents should discourage rather than encourage such an attitude on the part of the boy. No adolescent is always right, and very often, an adolescent must be taught to recognize this fact.

Attitude of adolescents toward younger siblings. An adolescent should be an example of desirable behavior to the younger members of the family. Most adolescents recognize this responsibility and try to live up to it. However, they dislike intensely to be held up by their parents as a model. They do not want their actions to be under constant scrutiny and criticism in the light of the possible effects of their behavior upon little Johnny, Mary, or Joe. Neither do they take kindly to criticism from younger children. Parents should not allow the latter to interfere unduly with the activities of their older brothers and sisters. It is the parents' responsibility, not the children's, to decide whether or not their adolescent sons or daughters are doing desirable things.

Similarly, there are limits to the right of older boys and girls as they appoint themselves to be guardians of the morals of their younger broth-

ers and sisters. In general, this practice is not desirable. A few years' advantage in age does not give a boy or girl the right to dominate a younger child. This again is the parents' responsibility. It is permissible for an older child to suggest to a younger one that certain conduct is not desirable, but that is all. If an older boy or girl notices that a younger child is developing a bad habit, he should take up the matter with his parents. Where there is a mutual attitude of liking and respect among children of different ages, suggestions made by either to the other are usually accepted in the friendly spirit in which they are given.

In large families it is sometimes necessary for younger children to be placed temporarily in the care of older ones. At such times the authority of the older child should be as definite as that of the parent; but the latter must be sure that this temporary authority is used with discretion.

Parents must not expect too much from their adolescent children in the matter of taking responsibility for the care of the younger children. A teen-age boy or girl should not become a slave of the family. Adolescents should rarely be asked to take younger children with them to social engagements. Each group should have social activities suited to its own-age interests. Five years' difference in age is significant when one is 15 and the other is 10. There is no appreciable age difference when one is 40 and the other 35. Parents must remember this fact and discourage a young child from tagging along with his adolescent brother or sister.

No boy or girl objects to giving up some of his free time in order to care for younger children if this does not happen too often. One member of the family (often the oldest girl) should not always be the one to sacrifice her plans in order to stay home with her little brothers or sisters. This is especially annoying to a girl if an older brother is never asked to make a similar sacrifice. Parents have failed to plan an equitable distribution of family responsibilities if adolescents resent the younger children and if they look upon each new baby as a burden on their own shoulders. Of course a mother's unexpected illness may make it necessary for an older daughter to take charge of household affairs. This situation should be no more than temporary; all the members of the family, including the father, should share in performing home chores until the mother is well again or until other arrangements can be made.

At this point a word should be said for the overworked mother. Although children should not be asked to assume an unfair share of family responsibility, every adolescent should be expected to give his or her mother some assistance in the care of the home. The mother should not be expected to do everything. Father, as well as children, should help with the household chores, marketing, looking after younger children, and the like. Even little tots should be trained to take care of their own toys and to perform simple little tasks around the home. If routine duties

are well organized, the doing of them can be turned into a kind of game in which each member of the family vies with others in doing his job well and cheerfully. In such homes there are rarely neurotic mothers, disgruntled fathers, or resentful adolescents.

Effect upon Adolescents of the Attitudes of Grandparents and Other Relatives

Much has been written concerning the effect upon children of interfering relatives. The problem may be serious during the childhood of an individual. Some doting grandparents or aunts or uncles intentionally or unintentionally spoil the child. Others are very generous with their advice to parents concerning the proper rearing of children. On the whole, a young child is not usually too much affected by this interference except to the extent that he may learn to wheedle out of his relatives certain privileges that are denied him by his parents.

Adolescent attitudes. There may be definite clashes between adolescents and older relatives. It is often difficult for an adolescent to accept parental guidance of his behavior. It is almost impossible for him to tolerate any attempts at control of it on the part of other relatives. Moreover, if a grandparent lives in the home of the adolescent, there may be a constant rivalry between the teen-ager and the grandparent for the attention that each craves.

Too often a grandparent demands little attentions from an adolescent, which in themselves are unimportant but which loom large to the older person if they are not granted. An intelligent parent usually learns to accept his growing child's apparent dislike of demonstrated affection. A grandparent may not be able to accept the will for the deed, and he may become unduly miserable because of his grandchildren's apparent neglect of him. If he voices his hurt, the young people are torn between pity for the older person and annoyance at the criticism of their own behavior. At one and the same time an adolescent may feel that a grandparent is a nuisance around the house and experience a consciousness of guilt because of this feeling.

Grandparents and other adult relatives outside the immediate family circle are prone to be very much interested in the social activities, dress, and manners of their adolescent relatives. Too often they feel called upon to give well-meant advice as they criticize both the adolescent and his parents for the young person's attitudes and behavior. In this way many a family disagreement has been started, especially if the relative tends to place the blame for adolescent misbehavior upon the in-law parent, thus stimulating bad feeling between the parents, which in turn is reflected in adolescent attitudes.

Family attitudes toward interfering relatives. It is probably unpsychological to offer suggestions in the form of specific do's and don't's, but a few seem necessary in this connection.

Relatives should not live with the immediate family of adolescents. There are instances that would seem to give evidence of the desirability of having grandparents live in the home of a married son or daughter. These are rare. Whenever there appears to be an excellent adjustment in an arrangement of this kind, this usually has resulted only after struggles, or because the members of the family are unusually stable persons. All old people should be enabled to have their own homes and to pay for the care that they need in time of sickness. The feeling of independence thus stimulated will make it easier for them and their families to remain good friends. There will then be less likelihood that the family will suffer from attempts on the part of old people at a kind of domination that is really the overt expression of a basic feeling of insecurity and dependence.

In general, it is also undesirable for uncles, aunts, cousins, or married sisters and brothers to live in the close family circle for a long period of time. The presence in the home of persons who are at the same time both like and unlike the members of the immediate family creates an abnormal situation. To what extent should the relative share in household chores? Whose interests or wishes should be given first consideration—those of the immediate family or those of the relatives? These and similar problems may arise and be difficult to solve tactfully.

No matter how friendly the relationship may be, there is usually some degree of strain caused in the home by the presence of other relatives. Family discussions of personal matters cannot be so free as they otherwise would be. Family activities may have to be adjusted to meet the interests of the relatives. The sharing of family expenses, the vying for attention, and the guiding of adolescents in their behavior may all contribute to possible family dissension.

When young people marry, an agreement should be arrived at with the parents and other relatives of both that any children that may be born are to be reared by the parents themselves. Grandparents and other relatives should offer no suggestions or advice unless requested to do so. This is a difficult agreement to make in the early days of marriage, when each mate is anxious that his parents will approve of the other. An objective attitude on this subject can be achieved only through education as it touches people of all ages.

Both grandparents and teen-age children must be given to understand that parents, and parents alone, are responsible for the guidance of their adolescent sons' and daughters' behavior. Grandparents and other relatives should not tell young people what to do; nor, unless they are authorized to do so by the parents, should they criticize the younger members for what they have done. Adolescents must learn that they

should not go to their grandparents or to other relatives for consolation if their parents deny them certain desired privileges.

Adolescents should be held up to a consistent standard of consideration and courtesy in their dealings with their relatives. Young people should be ready and willing to do things for members of the larger family group; but they should no more be expected to be slaves to the whims of their grandparents, uncles, and aunts than to the whims of their younger brothers and sisters. Demands upon the time of young people for care of, and attention to, other members of the family should be met by the teenagers to the extent that such demands are not excessive or likely to interfere unduly with schoolwork or with rightfully earned recreational activities.

Young people should be expected to be on friendly terms with all members of the family and to visit them occasionally. However, parents should not demand that their adolescent sons and daughters give up their own plans in order to be present at every meeting of the older members of the family group and to be responsible for entertaining these older people, whose interests may be very different from those of teenagers.

Some of these suggestions may seem too objective and cold-blooded as applied to the relationships of people who are bound not only by ties of blood but also by ties of family affection. This possibility of criticism is granted, but it is for the preservation of family good will and affection that the suggestions are offered. Fortunately, in many homes family interrelations are excellent. There are respect and affection on the part of the young people for the older relatives. The latter do not in any way interfere with the lives of adolescents except insofar as they show friendly interest in teen-age activities. In such families are found well-adjusted people living happy lives. There are too many family groups in which this fine adjustment has not yet been achieved, and where there are resulting friction, conflict, and unhappiness. It is to the members of such family groups that these suggestions are offered.

The Teen-ager and Family Finances

One of the most important responsibilities of adult life is the management of financial affairs. The handling of money is a part of the growing-up process, and every boy or girl needs experience in using money in order to develop a better understanding of its value. An adolescent must learn that before money can be used it must be earned.

The adolescent's allowance. If money flows too freely into the hands of a young person, he may develop a wrong notion of its worth. Hence every teen-age schoolboy and schoolgirl should be given an allowance and should receive definite guidance in budget making.

The size of the allowance depends upon the expenses that are to be

covered by it and upon the source of income. The adolescent should gradually be given more money and greater freedom in spending it. The allowance should be set up for definite purposes. Before the amount is decided upon, one or both of the parents should work out with the son or daughter a weekly budget of expenses. If the purpose is to cover school expenses, that fact should be definitely agreed upon, and the use of the money should be restricted to that purpose.

It might be desirable to have the budget include small articles of wearing apparel such as gloves, handkerchiefs, ties, and the like. Rarely are coats, hats, suits, underclothing, and so forth, included in the weekly budget. These are seasonal items and cannot well be included in the weekly allowance of relatively untrained young people. However, as a boy or girl approaches the late teens, especially if he is attending college, it might be desirable to change the weekly budget to a monthly one, making it large enough to include most of the personal expenses. The budget should include a definite sum to be used for recreational purposes and a small amount for emergency spending, with the understanding that if the money is not needed, it will be deposited in a savings account, either through the school bank or in a personally arranged account in the local savings bank.

An adolescent should be held to a strict accounting for the expenditure of his allowance. Rarely should he be allowed to borrow on his next week's allowance; nor should he be encouraged to solicit funds from members of his family. An alert parent watches his child's spending. If it appears that the allowance is not large enough to meet reasonable expenses, it should be increased. If the young person needs money for gifts, club dues, or philanthropic purposes, the parents should expect some of this money to come out of his regular allowance. The remainder can be supplied by the parent as a gift of money to son or daughter.

The size of an allowance is less important than the training derived from its use. Many generous parents feel that an allowance is cold and objective. They prefer to provide the money whenever it is needed or to supply it in the form of gifts. Although a young person so treated may receive more money than the one who is given an allowance, he is denied thereby the satisfaction of spending his own money and of acquiring the education that is possible through this activity.

The adolescent and the family budget. Adolescent boys and girls have a right to know the economic status of the family. Too many parents seem to feel that they should grant all their son's or daughter's requests for money, even though doing so involves foolish personal sacrifice. "Keeping up with the Joneses" is a bad attitude to encourage in a young person. The state of the family exchequer should not be kept a dark secret. Young children should know that parents cannot afford to satisfy

all their wants. Adolescents should be fully informed concerning the family's financial limitations. They should be included in family conferences relative to what should or should not be purchased in terms of available funds. Such matters as rent, cost of clothes, and the amount to be spent for a summer vacation should be discussed frankly and intelligently with teen-age members of the family.

A son or daughter sometimes should enjoy the privilege of deciding what should be done with any extra money that is available. Young people should have the opportunity to sacrifice some of their own interests for the benefit of other members of the family. Of course they need parental guidance in such matters. One young girl insisted upon giving up her college course when her father died, believing that it was her duty to support her mother. Since the girl was thoroughly acquainted with the state of the family finances, her mother was able to convince her that if for a few years they denied themselves certain accustomed luxuries, the girl would be able to complete her education so that they both could enjoy the larger income that would result from the extended training.

Whether there is much or little money in the family, its members are drawn closer together if they share a full knowledge of the extent to which occasional extravagances or temporary denials of wants are in order. If parents are sincere in their desire to do all that they can for their children within their financial limitations, young people usually reciprocate by modifying their own desire to meet the family income.

Young people who are engaged in a full- or a part-time job often are much concerned over what proportion of their wages they should give to their parents. Some parents expect a working child to turn over to them the entire salary. The boy or girl then is given an allowance by his parents. Other parents do not require their working sons or daughters to give them any part of the money earned. But these procedures are unwise. Half of the satisfaction of earning money is gained from the management of it. On the other hand, no young person should be allowed to expect his parents to support him entirely if he is in the position of earning money toward his own support. It is true, however, that an adolescent who earns money needs guidance and supervision in spending it.

A gainfully employed adolescent should share with his parents the cost of his living expenses. The amount of money that he should give to his parents for board or room will depend upon the size of his pay check and of the other expenses that must be covered by it. A high school or a college student often works at a part-time job in order to defray some of his school expenses. If his parents do not need his financial assistance, the amount of money that he gives to them may be very small, perhaps no more than fifty cents a week. However, even that small amount may stim-

ulate in the adolescent a feeling of pride that he is a wage earner in the family.

If the adolescent is working full time, he and his parents should agree concerning the amount of his salary to be turned over to them. The remainder of the money should be his to budget in terms of his needs and interests. In this way he develops gradually an understanding of the value of money and a feeling of financial independence.

Most adolescents are enabled through guidance to use money with discretion. For example, Anna was failing in her work because she could not concentrate. She was also suffering from a serious skin condition. To add to her troubles, financial conditions in the home were desperate. These were new experiences to Anna, for she had had a happy childhood as a member of a closely knit family of moderate means. Her father was a shoemaker, whose success in his own business had enabled him to provide a comfortable one-family house for his family.

When Anna was about 13 years old, her father contracted typhoid fever and was advised by his physician to live in the country for a few years in order to regain his health. Consequently, he purchased a farm and found a job in a nearby town, to which he traveled daily. The cost of his illness, combined with his lowered income, made it impossible for him to keep up his payments on his properties, and the holders of his mortgages on his home and his farm foreclosed. As a result, the father's mind was affected and for several years he was a patient in a hospital for the mentally ill.

Meanwhile, the mother, with the aid of welfare organizations, struggled to support herself and her three children. The father, after his release from the hospital, opened a small shoe store, from which he derived a very modest income.

Anna was a bright, conscientious girl, but she was disturbed by the home situation and by the fact that not only had her skin become worse but a marked growth of hair had begun to develop on her chin. Through her school adviser it was made possible for Anna to be examined at an endocrine-gland clinic, where it was discovered that she was suffering from pituitary imbalance. Treatment was provided for her at very little expense to the family. So rapid was her improvement that she was soon able to concentrate upon her studies and her skin condition was corrected.

Anna was graduated from high school with a good rating. She secured an excellent office position and was able to finance her sister's college education.

There are homes in which material advantages are stressed beyond the more subtle but fundamental ideals of stable home influences. Parents may sacrifice their own as well as their children's chances of experiencing

normal family relations because they are too eager to supply their children with unnecessary luxuries. Unfortunately, conditions may arise that necessitate a mother working away from the home. However, in many cases of working mothers, the family unity would be increased by the mother's staying in the home, even though the family style of living might be simplified thereby. The story of Eric is an example of too-great emphasis upon the accumulation of money.

In spite of a high intelligence quotient, Eric failed in all his subjects during his first term in high school. He was a truant and cut his classes. If he did come to school, he arrived late. He constantly denied that these things were true, gave false excuses for his conduct, pleaded illness, and would not face reality. According to the Rorschach test, the boy showed definite emotional disturbance.

Eric had a bad home life. Both parents worked and no meals were prepared at home. The parents seemed to be unable to supervise the boy and were very little concerned about him.

Although the parents were informed of the boy's need for affection and a normal home life, they made no effort at adjustment. When he was 16 years old, they encouraged him to leave school, even though there was no financial need. He became an apprentice electrician at a navy yard but was not succeeding very well, as he was concerned about the home situation. Later he made the Army his career. His father died; his mother, a chronic invalid, lives with Eric and his wife. Her one interest still is hoarding money.

Many other examples could be cited as evidence of the effects upon maturing young people of the economic status of the home and the family attitude toward it. It is no disgrace to be poor. It is no special honor to be rich. Whatever the economic status of the home, young people should be aware of it and, with their parents, should adjust to what they have. If improvement is needed, they should do their share in working toward it.

Parental Responsibility for the Social Life of Young People

Are parents responsible for the social life of their children? In general, the answer to this question should be in the affirmative. Parents need not be too much worried about adolescent friendships if during childhood the son or daughter has been encouraged to have desirable playmates, and if the family live in a neighborhood in which the adolescent is brought into contact with desirable young people.

Adolescent friendships. When a parent is tempted to criticize the companion of a teen-age son or daughter, he should make sure that he has a valid reason for his attitude. Too often fathers and mothers (especially

mothers) dislike to see their children form associations that tend to exclude the parents themselves. It is this fear of losing the child's complete loyalty that may cause a parent, sometimes unconsciously, to find something objectionable in the young person's new pal. The difficulty in such instances lies not in the adolescent's choice of friends but in the adult's attitude of possessiveness. If this attitude is present, a young person is quick to recognize and resent it.

A young person who has confidence in his parents' judgment is eager to have parental approval of his friendships. In those cases where the interest in the undesirable companion is so strong that parental disapproval is not heeded, one of the best procedures to be followed by the parent is that of encouraging the son or daughter to bring the friend to the home, where he may meet other members of the family and other friends of the adolescent. Usually a person who is brought into an environment in which people act differently from the way in which he himself behaves is at a disadvantage. Hence the son or daughter sooner or later tends to recognize those characteristics in his friend which are displeasing to his parents, and the friendship may end. Many parents have used this method very successfully. Although it is difficult to welcome an undesirable person into one's home, the results are usually worth the effort, since little if anything is gained by a parent's demand that a young person give up an undesirable friendship. In fact, parental objection may actually increase the bond between him and the person of whom the parent disapproves.

The situation is especially trying when an adolescent becomes too much interested in a member of the opposite sex of whom the parents do not approve. The surest way to throw a girl into a boy's arms or to stimulate a boy toward a deep interest in a girl is for parents openly to disapprove of the relationship. The fact that the boy or the girl in question may be of a different faith, national group, or economic or educational level does not constitute a valid reason for parental objection to a friendship. An adolescent may not be at all interested in a particular member of the opposite sex as a possible mate unless or until adults put the idea into his head by an expression of their fears.

Young people should not have their friends selected for them by their parents. That is the right of the individual himself. Too much parental praise of a certain boy or girl may cause an adolescent to be repelled rather than attracted toward the object of all this approval. The spirit of developing independence cannot be coerced. As was suggested earlier, the extent to which parents and their children can agree concerning the latter's choice of friends is a part of the whole parent-child relationship. If a parent wishes his adolescent child to select desirable companions, he

must start to work toward this end during the young person's early childhood by developing in him desirable attitudes toward his playmates.

Parents' attitude toward dating. No definite age can be given as the most desirable one for young people to start to "date." Judging by some of the young people one sees strolling along hand in hand on the streets of any town or the roads of any rural area, it would appear that age has nothing to do with it. To adult questioning of their behavior some young adolescents cite the case of Juliet, who at the age of 14 died for love of Romeo. The argument that those were different days has little effect upon the person in his early teens who is going through the puppy-love stage. One way of meeting the situation is that of providing for and encouraging so much participation in interesting group activities that the young person has little time for individual dating until he is mature enough to be intelligent about it.

The above suggestions are directed toward those parents who recognize the fact that sooner or later normal boys and girls have the urge to pair off, and that for emotionally controlled young people this is both wholesome and desirable. Now a word to those parents who refuse to allow their adolescent children any association with members of the opposite sex until they are old enough (in their parents' opinion) to marry. This attitude is often found among possessive parents who cannot tolerate the thought that a beloved son or daughter may develop loyalty to, or affection for, anyone except themselves.

Another type of parent who holds this attitude is the one who himself grew up in an environment of close chaperonage, especially for girls. Such parents are unwilling to allow their teen-age children to engage in any social activities except in parental company. They will not allow their adolescent children to bring friends to the home, nor will they permit them to go outside the home for social relaxation. They are then shocked if they discover that the young people are engaging in the denied social activities without parental knowledge. An ingenious young person can find many opportunities for deceiving his parents. Why force him to do so?

Another phase of the dating situation is parental attitude toward the desirable time for adolescents to return home from a date. In a small town social activities can start early and end early. In large cities, where long distances between homes and places of amusement may require several hours for traveling, time schedules must be adjusted to meet such conditions.

Policies rather than specific clock requirements can be suggested. During the school week an adolescent's social interests should be subordinated to his study needs. On his free evenings the time schedule of

his social activity should be determined by the kind of activity in which he is engaging, the distance that he must travel, and the attitudes of the group with which he is associated. A young adolescent should rarely be allowed to return home later than midnight unless he is accompanied by his parents or other responsible adults. For older adolescents the time of return is less important. If a young person wishes to indulge in undesirable social practices, there are plenty of opportunities for him to do so at any time of the day. At present we are living on a twenty-four-hour schedule. Streets and transportation lines are used by people at all hours during the day and night. A parent's concern need not be directed so much toward what time the young person returns home as toward where he has been and what he has been doing. However, if the parent sets a time for the adolescent's return, the latter should be punctual.

Parental attitudes toward the social life of their adolescent sons and daughters is one phase of the whole pattern of teen-age social adjustment. Many of the questions asked by young people concerning their relationship with other young people are directly or indirectly connected with their home relationships, not only from the point of view of their parents' own social activities but also in terms of family approval or disapproval of teen-age interests.

It has not been possible in this chapter to consider all the possible problems that may arise as parents attempt to guide their teen-age children's social adjustment. More detailed consideration of these problems will be found in Chapter 17.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Reread the questions asked by adolescents that appear on pages 388 to 389, and the items on pages 389 to 390. Check those items which you have experienced. What have you done about them?

2. How do you explain the fact that the reported lists (pages 389 to 390) of major parental limitations placed upon girls is longer than the list for boys?

3. Write an anecdotal report of an adolescent boy or girl of your acquaintance who seems to be experiencing difficulties in home life.

4. Describe the kind of man (woman) with whom you would wish to share parenthood.

5. Give examples of what you consider to be adolescent intolerance.

6. Prepare two lists: (a) adolescent rights in the home, (b) adolescent responsibilities in the home. Ask young adolescents to do the same. Compare the lists.

7. To what extent and in what ways should the process of weaning young people from dependence upon their parents take place? Be specific.

8. Name five minor disagreements that are likely to occur between a parent and an adolescent. Indicate for one of them what compromise might be made.

9. Name a major issue in parent-adolescent relationships. If possible, have the class debate this issue, presenting the points of view of the parents and the young person respectively. Then attempt to come to a class agreement concerning a possible solution to the problem.

10. What do you consider to be adequate penalties for adolescent uncooperativeness in the home? Explain.

11. Justify the truth of the statement: "A dominated adolescent usually is a futile and indecisive adult." Under what circumstances could a dominated adolescent become an aggressive adult?

12. State, with reasons, your opinion concerning this statement: "A broken home is not necessarily the prime reason for adolescent maladjustment."

13. Are you your father's or your mother's favorite child? Give reasons for your belief.

14. List three of your close relatives, excluding parents. After each name state briefly your attitude toward him or her, (a) as a child, (b) as a young adolescent, (c) at present. Explain any differences that have developed in your attitudes.

15. What has been your experience with use of family money (a) as a child, (b) as a young adolescent, (c) at present? How much do you know about the family budget? To what extent do you share in deciding how the money should be spent?

16. How many of your close friends of either sex have been and are the children of your parents' friends? How do you explain your answer? What characteristics are your parents inclined to want your friends to have? If they have objected to any of your friends, what has been the basis of their disapproval? What do you think an adolescent should do about friends his parents do not like?

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Chapter 15

SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT OF ADOLESCENTS

A group of men and women, leaders in their community, were working as volunteer helpers in a barn of an Ohio farm one summer day, sorting and packing sweet corn. Most of the members of the group were college graduates, some of them specialists in their respective fields—chemistry, journalism, education, and so forth. The presence of several educational leaders in the group caused the conversation to turn to a consideration of educational values. In a spirit of fun a chemist started the discussion by asking one of the educators whether or not all his years of study were making a better corn sorter of him. The question resulted in much good-natured give-and-take. However, the conversation took on a more serious note as the younger members of the group, high school and college students, began to ask pertinent questions concerning their own educational and school problems.

Among the questions brought up for discussion were the value of continued education versus learning on the job, the relative merits of various types of schools, the choice of majors, the extent to which students should participate in the social life of a school, teacher-student relationships, the extent to which young people should consider their parents' wishes concerning the choice of school, vocational selection, and the best methods of study. The exchange of ideas was interesting.

One or two members of the group, partly in jest and partly in earnest, contended that much of the content of high school and college training seemed to be of little value in later adult activities. However, the educators defended their profession, and it was finally agreed that schooling gives power to an individual that an unschooled person may gain eventually, but usually only after many years of struggle and expensive failure.

PROBLEMS OF ADOLESCENT SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT

The problems that arise out of an individual's school experience were not and could not be ignored or minimized in this group discussion. The questions asked by the younger members of the group are common to all young people who take their school life seriously. To meet such problems the time, energy, and money expended by community and national leaders toward the improvement of educational facilities in

America should be and are constantly increasing. Farseeing experts are preparing for the future educational needs of which many young people already are aware.

Educational problems and trends. Present educational theory and practice are far from perfect and require constant revision and improvement in order to meet the needs of the group and to satisfy the interests and abilities of the individual. No matter how well the school is organized, how excellent the curriculum, or how proficient the teaching personnel, problems will arise as individual students attempt to adjust to school life.

The American ideal of the right of every citizen to avail himself to the fullest extent of those educational opportunities which fit his needs and his interests has resulted inevitably in mass education. Large schools, oversize classes, quickly and sometimes inadequately trained teachers, too little understanding of child and adolescent psychology, a bewildering array of elective subjects on the high school and college levels, an orgy of experimental teaching methods—all these combine to develop a state of educational chaos, of which too many young people are the victims, resulting in general dissatisfaction with schools and school people.

We are now attempting educational reorganization. We believe that we are learning from the mistakes of the past, and that we may be able to develop gradually throughout the nation a series of educational offerings that will meet the individual needs and interests of young Americans. We hope that our teaching techniques and teacher attitudes will be so improved that, through efficient teaching and sympathetic guidance, every boy and girl will be able to profit from any schooling into which he may be guided. We have gone a long way toward the realization of this educational ideal, but there is still much to be done.

At one time, a young person's school life was more or less divorced from his home life. Parents felt that their responsibility for the schooling of their children went no further than to have them enrolled in a school. The child's teachers were expected to carry on from that point. In the same way, school authorities excluded parents from the educational program of their pupils, except as an individual boy or girl appeared to be unwilling or unable to meet study requirements or school regulations.

There is now apparent a definite trend toward pupil-parent-teacher cooperation. Parent-teacher organizations function successfully in many communities. Through such organizations parents and school people together are enabled to study the needs of young people and to devise ways and means of best meeting these needs.

More important, perhaps, than the formation of such parent-teacher groups is the fact that an increasing number of parents, teachers, and young people are recognizing the value of individual conferences that include the pupil, his parents, and his teacher or school adviser. It is

through such conferences, started early in a young person's high school life and continued throughout his course, that friendly relations are maintained between home and school. In this way a young person's interests, abilities, and school and future plans can become a cooperative activity. This type of intimate home-school relationship gives all those concerned a much better understanding of the importance to the growing boy or girl of a well-adjusted school life than is possible if parent, school adviser, and pupil attempt to carry out their own ideas concerning educational values independently of one another.

In the past, school administrators and curriculum makers often failed to keep pace with community progress. Consequently, many an adolescent did not get the kind of education that would best fit him for continued success in school or in his later adult activities. Tradition is an important stabilizer, and school tradition should not be treated lightly. However, traditional school practices should be continued only when such practices find their place in a changing civilization.

Adolescent attitudes toward school experiences. Our adolescent school population are fully aware of the problems connected with their school-work and they come to teachers for help. The following questions asked by adolescent boys and girls give an indication of some of the problems with which they are faced as they attempt to adjust themselves to successful school living. Like the questions raised by teen-age boys and girls relative to home life, these have been selected as typical of the many questions asked concerning school life.

1. Should a boy or girl choose the high school that he or she will attend?
2. Should a boy or girl be allowed to choose his or her own college?
3. Should a boy be forced to go to college if he prefers to go to work?
4. Is it better to go away from home to college or to attend a local college?
5. Why are postgraduate courses not given in high school for students who want to take special courses but who do not want to go to college?
6. Should a student who has pursued a commercial course make up subjects for college entrance or go directly to business?
7. What are desirable study conditions in the home?
8. What can be done to stop the family's loud talking or playing of the radio when one is studying?
9. Should we be given so much homework that we have no time for rest and recreation?
10. Would it be possible to allow us to do all our work at school, since home chores and a part-time job interfere with afterschool studying?
11. How can a boy or a girl learn how to study?
12. How much time should a high school student spend on homework?

13. Is it possible to be very successful in one subject and to fail in another, even though you try to succeed?

14. Is it a good habit to memorize the things that one does not understand?

15. What is wrong with study habits if a student does good classwork but fails in most of his written work?

16. Why is it hard to get up and speak in class?

17. What are the best subjects for a boy or a girl to study in college?

18. Should a student be compelled to go into an honor class if he believes that it is too difficult for him?

19. Why can't we take the courses that we want to take?

20. Should we be forced to take subjects in high school that seem to have no practical value?

21. Why do we not have more guidance when we enter high school?

22. Could the high school course be so planned that a student could change his course after two years without losing credit for some of the work that he has completed?

23. How can a boy or a girl gain friends in high school?

24. Do you consider being very friendly with classmates a hindrance to school success?

25. Why are some students popular and others either unpopular or ignored?

26. How can one learn how to work with a group?

27. Why won't high school students make friends with a younger boy or girl who is in the same class?

28. Why should we join clubs in high school or in college?

29. How can one get into school activities?

30. In how many social activities of the school should a student participate?

31. Should there be religious clubs in a high school?

32. What should I do to get along with teachers?

33. What can a student do about a teacher who constantly nags?

34. Can a student do anything about a teacher who has a "pet" and is unfair to other students?

35. Would it not be a good idea for students to have the same teacher in a subject for several terms?

36. Why do teachers not have more faith in their students and listen to both sides of a story?

37. Is it very serious to have a "crush" on a teacher?

38. How friendly should teachers and students be with one another?

39. What can a student do if he loses interest in his schoolwork?

40. Does part-time work interfere with school success?

When a young person enters high school, he has many adjustments to

make. Learning to adapt himself to new teachers and schoolmates, deciding upon the course or subjects that he should elect, and training himself to accept personal responsibility for his success beyond what was expected of him in elementary school—all these combine to create bewilderment and perhaps serious discouragement unless there is available much sympathetic guidance and assistance in the meeting of such problems.

Further, a young person's decision concerning plans after high school must be given serious thought. Should he continue his education on the college level? Which college should he attend? What should be his field of major study? Should he enroll in a specialized school of higher learning? Would it be desirable for him to go directly to work after graduation from high school? Here again the influence of parents, advisers, and friends is potent.

After a young person has been admitted to the school of his choice, he is faced by problems that are closely connected with his achieving success, not only as a student but also as a member of the school group. Efficient methods and conditions of study, examination-passing techniques, value of curricular offerings, participation in extraclassroom activities, and the desirability of engaging in part-time work while attending school may cause anxiety in the high school or college student.

Equally perplexing to these young people may be questions that concern their relationships with their teachers and fellow schoolmates. How friendly should be their attitudes toward their teachers? What may they expect from their teachers and advisers? To what degree should they engage in the social activities of the school? To what extent should they form intimate relationships with fellow students?

We must keep in mind that an adolescent brings to his school life a set of habit patterns and interests that have been developing gradually through his childhood and that have been and still are much influenced by his home relationships. Often a young person's habitual attitude toward himself and other people may make his attempted adjustment to his school life very difficult.

Fortunately, adolescent attitudes are subject to change. As an example of intelligent adult handling of a difficult situation we consider the experiences of John, a 15-year-old, attractive but stubborn and self-willed boy. He knew all the answers. His mother and aunts, according to him, meant well but did not know what it was all about. His teachers merited nothing but contempt. The only one who deserved any respect was his policeman father, except that John was not quite sure that his father was quick enough on the trigger.

At home his attitude was one of silent tolerance. In school he maintained a habitual attitude of passive resistance to any suggestion to him that he use the ability that he possessed. His answer to almost every ques-

tion put to him was a shrug of his shoulders and "I don't know." He appeared to doubt the sincerity of anyone who wished to help him and was suspicious of adult intentions. The longest speech that he made to his school adviser was to the effect that all teachers were crazy. He had read it in the newspaper and "the psychologists say so." He was intelligent enough to admit that he knew that success could not be won without work, but he was not interested in success.

His family expected him to go to college, but he was negative in his response to their suggestions. It was finally agreed by the family and the school adviser that his attitude be ignored. At home he was never requested directly to do anything nor was he drawn into family conversations or activity. At school he was treated the same way. No comment was made concerning unprepared homework. He was not called upon to recite in class and his examination papers were not returned to him.

After about five months of this treatment, John walked into his adviser's office and said, "Lay off and call the family off. I've had just about as much as I can stand and I've brains enough to know when I'm licked. Fix up my program. I am going to college and, believe me, I'm going to be on top."

He carried out his promise. He was graduated from high school with honors and then prepared himself to be a successful civil engineer. He now is married and the father of two attractive and well-reared young children. His wife sometimes wonders if any child could be as good as he expects them to be. He claims that he wants them to develop the attitude of meeting cheerfully and adequately all reasonable requests made by their parents and, later, by their teachers.

Very different from John's ability to develop mature attitudes are the experiences of Herbert, who at age 13 was transferred by his parents from a parochial school to a public school. He objected strongly to the change of schools. His resentment was expressed through a displayed attitude of noncooperation toward his home and his new school.

His behavior included truancy, excessive tardiness, cutting of classes, losing of books as fast as they were issued to him and making no attempt to pay for them. When he was present in school, he flouted all rules and regulations and made no attempt to study.

He rates high in intelligence, but he refused to apply himself. His program was changed several times; but at the end of two years he was still in the first grade of high school. Herbert's parents and his parish priest finally decided that he should be transferred to the parochial school of his choice.

However, the change was made too late and he continued to be a truant and to defy school discipline. He was brought to court on the charge of truancy and sent to a farm school out of the city. His behavior did not improve and he was discharged at age 17. He then joined the

Navy. After three years of service he received an honorable discharge and returned home, but showed little, if any, improvement in attitude toward his parents. Since he is untrained, he has been drifting from one job to another. His family and friends are hoping that eventually his high intelligence will function to the point that he gets and keeps a job, no matter how humble it may be, and continue his high school education in the evening and perhaps eventually go to college to prepare himself for a vocation suited to his superior abilities.

After reading these stories one will perhaps agree that, in these cases at least, there is a definite relationship between family attitude and adolescent behavior. A feeling of insecurity in the home is reflected in a teenage boy's or girl's attitude of distrust or fear of the school situation. Inadequate or unintelligent guidance during early adolescence or the necessity of subordinating one's own interests to the wishes of parents or advisers may have serious results.

It is only through frank and objective consideration with the young person himself of the latter's interests and abilities that satisfactory school planning can be done. It should be noted that where adolescent readjustment seems desirable, best results are usually obtained when there is close and sympathetic understanding and good will between parents and school advisers.

Teen-age boys and girls live a very intense life in school and take themselves and their activities much more seriously than we sometimes realize. If we, as parents and educators, were to meet our obligations conscientiously and intelligently, many fears and worries of youth could be lessened or even eliminated. Thus a more pleasant and profitable school life would be assured to adolescents.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING SCHOOL RELATIONSHIPS

For the majority of young people the beginning of adolescence and the entrance into the secondary level of their educational experiences coincide. The natural adolescent urges toward self-expression, independence of thought and action, and consciousness of themselves as individuals among other individuals of their own age cause young people's years at high school and college to become a proving ground in which they are prepared more or less adequately for adult living.

In all except small communities new school environment, new faces, new subjects of study, and new social and recreational activities stimulate the young teen-ager toward new forms of behavior. However, as he attempts to adjust his childhood behavior patterns to function in his new experiences, there may arise conflicts and accompanying emotional disturbances.

The activities connected with school life should be the major concern

of most adolescents. The years between 12 and 20 should be devoted eagerly to the development of those skills, knowledges, and attitudes which will serve the individual well during his adult years. It is unfortunate that such factors as health, economic necessity, inability to profit from school offerings, or a personal emotional blocking may prevent an adolescent from gaining a full and rich education through these formative years.

It must be remembered by those who are responsible for the education of young people that, although school life is extremely important, teenagers are living a home life and a life with other groups in their community. Not only should they be guided toward effective school living, but care should be exercised that all phases of their living should receive just and rightful consideration. This interrelationship of the various phases of adolescent life is sometimes forgotten by school people, with the result that the young person, unaided, may be unable to synthesize his differing interests. The pull of one or another interest then interferes with the development of a well-balanced personality.

The suggestions in this chapter are based upon the more common problems of young people in their school life and are discussed under the following six headings:

1. Selection of a school
2. Development of good study habits
3. Importance of the curriculum
4. School social activities
5. Teacher-student relationships
6. Other factors of school success

Selection of a School

In a small community young people usually attend the one high school that is available. In many communities the high school entrant is sent to the school that is nearest to his home. In large communities, however, there is a possibility of choice. There may be academic, commercial, vocational, technical, and industrial high schools. A few large cities include all-boy and all-girl high schools, as well as coeducational high schools. For boys and girls who live in large cities the choice of high school is an important factor in their school and vocational success.

Adolescent freedom of school choice. If a high school entrant lives in a community where selection among several schools is available, the young person should be given an opportunity to participate with his parents in the final decision concerning the high school which he shall attend. Too often, parents are tempted to choose a school in terms of what *they* want their son or their daughter to become, without considering the

young person's interests and abilities. If a child has made up his mind that he wishes to attend a high school where he can prepare himself for a certain vocational field, he should be allowed to do so unless it is evident that he cannot earn success there.

Either one or both parents may insist that their child enter the secondary school from which they and other members of the family had been graduated, in spite of the fact that his attending this school necessitates considerable traveling, although another good school is within short walking distance from his home.

The sentimental attachment of parents to a particular school may cause them to demand the waiving of school-district lines in order to have their child enrolled in it. The fact that the young adolescent might prefer to attend the nearby school in company with his elementary school pals is not taken into consideration. Later these parents may come to regret their peremptory decision.

For example, many generations of Stephen's family had lived in the same section of a large city. Most of the older members of the family as well as his older sister had attended ——— high school. During Stephen's childhood his parents moved away from the neighborhood of this school to within four or five blocks of a new high school that was directly across the street from his elementary school.

In spite of the boy's protests, he was forced by his parents to enroll in the family-tradition school. He was a relatively shy lad in the presence of strangers; his school hours differed from those of his former pals who were attending the local high school. Consequently, he found only a few friends in his high school and the homes of these young people were far away from his own. He became a lonely isolate who soon lost interest in his school studies. His need to find an outlet for his youthful energies resulted in his being picked up a few days after he turned 16 as a long-time arsonist, and he was committed for a three-year term to a state reform school. Even if he had gone to the school of his choice, inner adolescent conflict might have motivated him to engage in one or another form of delinquent behavior, but his parents were at least partly responsible for his asocial behavior.

Stephen's experiences were tragic, yet even when the problem of high school choice is associated only with vocational interests and abilities, for a parent to advise and yet not to dictate is a good procedure. A young person of average ability who has not yet discovered his definite interest should enroll in an academic or general high school, since there he may discover his interests. Even though he does not do this in high school, his academic or general preparation may qualify him for entrance to college, where later he will be able to determine the definite course of study in which he is most interested. There are many boys and girls, however,

who, from the beginning of their high school course, should be guided into specialized schools, such as technical, aviation, needle trades, home-making, commercial, and the like.

A word of warning should be given here. Even though a young person is definitely interested in a special field, the school to which he should be sent needs to be carefully considered. For example, a girl may be very much interested in the field of home economics. However, if she is an unusually intelligent girl, she will want to continue her study on the college level and prepare herself to be a dietitian. This girl should attend an academic high school where she can major in home economics and at the same time prepare herself for college entrance.

Rather than that a child should be discouraged from selecting a high school that is best fitted to develop his potentialities, the parent and the child, with the help of a school adviser, should agree upon a school in terms of the young person's interests and abilities, availability of a suitable school, and later vocational opportunities in the chosen field. It is much better to select the right school and to complete a definite course in that school as a preparation for entrance into a college or into a desired field of work than it is just to go to high school. However, any high school training within the limits of his ability is of value to an adolescent and should be experienced by every young person in his teens.

Selection of an appropriate college. Those high school graduates who continue their education on the college level may or may not have formulated definite plans concerning the courses that they wish to pursue in college. Few college entrants have done more than to decide upon a large field of study, such as science, the arts, social science, and so forth.

The relatively small group of high school graduates who, with the help of parents and high school advisers, have made their decision concerning their specific fields of study, such as teaching, accounting, medicine, law, engineering, and the like, are more nearly ready than are others to consider and find answers to questions such as the following:

1. Which colleges offer the courses in which I am interested?
2. Am I qualified for admission to any of these colleges?
3. Should I attend a college near home or go away from home to college?
4. Can my parents afford to send me to the college of my choice?
5. If I have not decided upon my course, what kind of college should I attend?
6. Should I choose a college for social or sports reasons?

Since the great majority of aspirants for college entrance are relatively uncertain concerning their ultimate vocational interests, such young people might do well to enroll in a college that offers during the freshman and sophomore years an opportunity for individual discovery of potenti-

alities and interests. These high school graduates must also consider such matters as qualifications for admission to a college of this kind, cost of the college course, and distance from home.

Some college-entrance aspirants find it most desirable to pursue a four-year course in a liberal arts college before entering their field of specialization. Still other young people unfortunately may choose their colleges for social or sports reasons.

Parents and advisers must be very tactful and understanding as they help young people decide upon the college to be chosen. To allow a young person complete freedom in this decision is unwise. To attempt to steer him into a college or a college course against his will may defeat the purpose of a college education. Parents must be sure that their advice is objective and that it is aimed at the best interests of their child.

To allow a young person to attend a college merely because of the social rating or the athletic reputation of the school is putting the emphasis in the wrong place. Some schools, especially colleges for girls, have long waiting lists. For that reason a socially ambitious parent may decide that his child should attend that school in spite of the fact that another type of college might be better equipped to meet the young person's interests. Again, a parent should not insist that the child attend his own alma mater unless the child definitely wishes to do so.

The cost of a college education and the distance of the college from home are two problems that should receive careful consideration. If there is a college near home that is inexpensive and suited to the needs of the young person, parents of limited financial means and their children can well agree upon such a school. This is especially desirable if the sending of the young person away from home to a relatively expensive school will cause undue sacrifice on the part of the parents and will involve the necessity of the young person's engaging in so much part-time work that he will be denied sufficient time for study and social activities.

However, if the problem of finances does not enter, there is much to be said for the values to be gained by the teen-age young person in a college away from home. The social disciplines and pleasures of living in a dormitory with other students, the personal responsibility for day-to-day decisions, and the task of making and following time schedules without parental aid are experiences that do much for an individual in the later teens. He is thus enabled to develop an independence of decision and helped to achieve a broad understanding of people in group life. Moreover, his relations with his own family are placed upon a more objective basis.

A college, then, should be selected on the basis of suitability, location, and cost. An individual should attend that college which can best give him the training that he needs and that will fit him for adjusted social

living. Further practical suggestions concerning ways of learning about colleges and other schools will be found in Lovejoy.¹

Development of Good Study Habits

Effective learning usually comes to those who know how to study and who have desirable conditions for study. Above the elementary-school level much of a young person's preparatory study for schoolwork is done in the home. Hence parents are faced with the problem of encouraging their teen-age children toward concentrated study and of providing a place in which this studying can be done with a minimum of distraction.

Study conditions of high school students. An adolescent is fortunate if he has a room of his own in the home for study. A boy or girl who is really interested in his school progress experiences great satisfaction in the feeling that in his home he has a place where, undisturbed, he can calmly and effectively pursue his studies. Desirable as this is, it is not enough. The boy or girl must also be assured of the fact that his study time will not be interrupted by home interests or home chores. For this reason parents should make it their responsibility not only to provide a place for study but also to encourage a time for it.

Although a young person should be expected to take his share of home responsibilities, his home duties should be so planned that they will not

Table 33. Suggested Time Schedule for Study

3:30-4:30 P.M.	Return to home; recreational activity such as school club, or home chores
4:30-5:15 P.M.	Study-- one subject
5:15-6:00 P.M.	Study --another subject
6:00-7:30 P.M.	Evening meal, chores, and relaxation
7:30-8:15 P.M.	Study-- another subject
8:15-8:30 P.M.	Relaxation --socializing with family, listening to the radio, etc.
8:30-9:15 P.M.	Study-- another subject
9:15-9:45 P.M.	Final preparation, checking, and getting books and material ready for the next day

interfere with the time that should be set apart for study purposes. Nor should the combination of home duties and home study exclude a little time each day for relaxation and socialization with other members of the family. Every parent, therefore, should work out with his child a definite time schedule for study and other activities.

A possible time schedule is suggested below. It is based upon a school day that extends from 8:30 A.M. to 3:30 P.M. This schedule should be known by all members of the family and by the friends of the young

¹ See C. E. Lovejoy, *So You're Going to College*, rev. ed., Simon and Schuster, Inc., New York, 1953.

person concerned. The schedule may have to be revised to meet individual needs. However, after a satisfactory schedule has been prepared, it should be adhered to closely and few, if any, exceptions should be allowed from day to day. This means that parents should cooperate in the carrying out of the study schedule.

A parent should make certain that he and the family by their actions do not become major distractions. This does not mean that the life of an entire family should be geared to the interests and activities of one person; but too often young people are forced to do their studying to the accompaniment of a blaring radio, loud conversation (sometimes quarreling) among members of the family, interruptions by younger children, and the like. Within the limitations of the home environment, study conditions should be made as conducive as possible to success for the adolescent.

Study conditions of college students. Ultimate success in college is closely related to the student's study habits throughout his course. If a college student is living at home, the time schedule suggested for high school students can be used except for certain revisions in terms of the amount of time spent at the college, special library assignments, and the like.

A freshman in college away from home may find it difficult to make an adjustment to the great amount of free time at his disposal. Here the providing of adequate study conditions and the guiding of students toward success-bringing study habits become the responsibility of the college advisers. If the boy or girl lives in a dormitory, a study schedule may be planned for him by the college administration. He will then have a time and a place in which he may prepare his classroom assignments. However, this studying is often done in a room in which there are other students who by their actions, such as sharpening a pencil, talking to a neighbor, looking out of a window, and the like, may distract the student from his work.

If a college student lives away from the campus, he may be tempted to spend so much time participating in the social activities of the school and the neighborhood that concentrated study out of the classroom may be neglected. The early adjustments of the college student away from home are many. He has to devise a completely new life pattern for himself. Other interests may tend to encroach upon the time that should be devoted to study. However, if the young college student has followed a definite study schedule during his high school days, he has thereby developed effective study habits that will serve him in planning his study at college.

The value of a study time schedule lies in the fact that it affords the student an opportunity for uninterrupted concentration upon study ma-

terial. However, other factors in the immediate environment may act as distracters unless attention is directed toward their improvement. It is probably impossible to free an individual during his study time from all distracting stimulations. Such things as the pictures on the wall, the desk, the books on the desk, the lighting and heating arrangements, and the individual's own thoughts tend to attract attention away from study. However, minor distractions can be disregarded if the individual is really interested in his work.

Adult responsibility for adolescent study habits. Although the modern tendency in education is to offer young people more and more opportunities for learning by doing, much of the subject matter of high school and college curriculums still requires book mastery. It is true that study in its widest interpretation includes the mastery of book material, the application of such material to the solving of problems, the practice of skills, literary and artistic creation, and the like. Before a boy or girl can practice a skill or write a composition, he must have mastered certain material. Hence study fundamentally begins with an interpretation or an evaluation of what has been written or said by another. It is not easy for the young person to get the thought from a printed page unless he is helped to follow a definite plan of interpretation, evaluation, and memorization.

Teachers and parents as they attempt to improve the study habits of young people should be familiar with the basic principles of effective study that are listed below.²

The student should

1. Have the right attitude toward his study.
2. Focus attention actively on what he is learning.
3. Know why a particular assignment has been made.
4. Study with intent to recall.
5. Attempt to understand what the writer is presenting.
6. Raise questions as he reads.
7. Organize the ideas in his own mind or take brief notes.
8. Make intelligent use of repetition or review.
9. Know that some material is more quickly and easily mastered than are others.

² For detailed discussion of study procedures consult

L. Cole and J. M. Ferguson, *Students' Guide to Efficient Study*, 3d ed., Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, 1946.

L. D. Crow and Alice Crow, *Learning To Live with Others*, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1944, chap. 12.

R. W. Frederick, *How To Study Handbook*, Foster & Stewart Co., Inc., Buffalo, N.Y., 1938.

S. Smith and A. W. Littlefield, *Best Methods of Study*, Barnes & Noble, Inc., New York, 1938.

10. Continue practice in skill subjects.

11. Be alert to the points emphasized by the teacher.

The authors frequently are asked for advice by parents who are sincerely interested in their children's school study program, even though study conditions in the home may be excellent. The young people are encouraged by their parents to spend all the time they need upon their home assignments. However, in spite of long hours of apparent home preparation, the school progress is poor. In many instances both parents and the young people themselves are very much concerned over the situation. The difficulty appears to lie not in the fact that the subject matter is beyond the mental capacity of the boys or girls but rather in the young people's inadequate study habits.

It is not enough for a parent and a teacher to know that a student has devoted a definite amount of time to his study. They must also discover his methods of study and help him to make any improvements in them that may be considered desirable.

Many teachers, during the first week or two with each new group of students, help the latter to become acquainted with the most desirable techniques of learning the material of the course. Class periods are devoted to the preparation of home assignments and individual guidance is given in methods of study. Unfortunately, many parents are not well enough acquainted with desirable study techniques to be able to continue the study guidance in the home.

So much for the study of book learning. Now a few words to parents concerning ways in which they can cooperate with their sons and daughters in the perfecting of skills learned at school, the application of creative learning, and the carrying out of group projects. A girl who is studying home economics can be encouraged to plan some of the family's meals and to try her hand at the preparation of some of the food. A boy who is studying mechanics or carpentry can be given an opportunity to take care of minor repairs in the home or to renovate articles of furniture. The pride of young people as they demonstrate in a practical life situation what they have learned at school should more than compensate for some of the mistakes that they may make as they start to apply their learning to practical situations.

Many incidents in the lives of young people who enjoy parental cooperation in their creative efforts are illuminating as well as sometimes amusing. Jane, 15 years old, was very much interested in her high school course in clothing and costume design. She was much impressed by such principles of dressing as color harmony, relation between types of figures and pattern of material, appropriateness of accessories, and the like. She suddenly decided that her mother was so inappropriately and unfashionably dressed that her father might lose interest in his wife.

Then began Jane's attempt to change her mother into a "glamour girl." A well-developed sense of humor and an understanding of their daughter's motives on the part of both parents saved the situation. Jane's mother suggested that she and Jane consult with Jane's teacher concerning desirable changes in the mother's mode of dress, hairdo, and other details. As a result, this wise parent allowed herself to be used as a guinea pig for several class lessons on appropriate and stylish grooming for a middle-aged woman. Jane was delighted by the consequent improvement in her mother's appearance under the guidance of the teacher. She also learned in this practical and intimate fashion the difference between "glamour" and good taste in dress. Jane's mother was equally pleased and was heard to comment frequently, "My daughter has made a new woman of me!"

Sometimes a minor tragedy may result from a teen-ager's attempt to apply his practically mastered skills. Robert was studying the elements of plumbing. During his father's absence from home the kitchen sink developed a stoppage. Against his mother's advice, Robert attempted to make the needed repairs without first shutting off the water supply. When the father returned, he found his distracted wife at the telephone attempting to get a professional plumber, while water was streaming in all directions and a deflated young amateur sprawled on the floor gazing at various pieces of pipe, nuts, and the like, which did not seem to fit together. In some ways this was a costly lesson. However, young Robert is now specializing in expert plumbing and already has several simple but excellent inventions to his credit.

Rather sad was Martha's experience with her family when she attempted to introduce them to the table manners that she had learned at school. Her efforts at improvement were resented by the members of the family, and she was told that they had done very well for all these years and did not need her newfangled notions. Her comment to her teacher as she described her lack of success was "I told them that if they want to disgrace themselves in public they can, but that I am going to mind my manners!" Who is at fault in a situation of this kind? To what extent should school training interfere with home standards? Certainly neither Martha nor her family exhibited tact; but an already bad home situation was not improved through this incident.

One more story may help to demonstrate the way in which learning by doing becomes a part of a young person's life into which the family can be drawn.

One spring Arthur's class in biology was studying spring flowers and blossoms. The members of the class, after several field trips, were encouraged to hunt for unusual specimens on their own. Arthur's father, a good-

natured man, who was interested in his son's schoolwork, volunteered to drive Arthur and some of his pals to places where unusual specimens might be found. Little did this father realize what he was bringing upon himself. First, he suffered extreme embarrassment because of his own ignorance concerning flora, with which these young people seemed well acquainted. Second, he became so enthusiastic about helping them that he found himself not only reading up on the subject but also consulting the teacher and leading the young people far afield from home in search of interesting specimens. There was a little difficulty with other members of the family concerning the use of the family car, but the companionship that was developed between this father and his adolescent son was worth the effort and the energy expended.

Importance of the Curriculum

A curriculum should be as broad as life itself. In a democracy education should affect the physical, mental, emotional, ethical, and social development of every individual, no matter what his physical or mental capacity may be. Every citizen is entitled to training within the limits of his ability. For a democracy to function effectively, everyone must be given an opportunity to develop his specific talents so that he may make his contribution to the democratic way of life.

Curricular trends and contributions. The success of a democracy depends upon the extent to which every citizen has been trained to think, to act, and to appreciate. School curriculums must be so diversified that every boy and girl will be given an opportunity to become prepared adequately for effective citizenship. Curriculums must be adapted to the individual interests and abilities of all learners. They should also include the use of all available community agencies, in order that boys and girls may become acquainted with the various phases of life activities in which they as adults may be engaged.

An individual's education should be continuous from his kindergarten days until he reaches adulthood. For that reason a developing curriculum is so constructed that there are no gaps in the young person's educational process. His elementary schooling should give him the basic tools of interrelationship with other people. This is the period of common education. As soon as the child has mastered the fundamentals of reading, writing, and simple mathematics' computations, accompanied by an understanding of the simple principles of group living, he is ready for specialization in the field of his choice.

There should be no definite break between the elementary school and the high school. The adolescent continues to improve and extend his skill

in reading and writing. He is introduced to more complex mathematical relationships. He is given a broader understanding of scientific, social, and political principles. He begins his specialization.

The trend today is toward the experience curriculum, in which subject matter contributes to learning experience. The purpose of the experience curriculum is aimed at effective living and the preparation of students for further activity, whether the objective is college, industry, or home living. The habits, knowledges, attitudes, and ideals thus acquired should ensure success in the meeting of new responsibilities.

By the time a boy or a girl completes his high school course he should be prepared within the limits of his ability to think independently, to practice emotional control, and to recognize his responsibility as an active, contributing member of his social groups. If he is going into the world of work, he should possess skills that will assure him success in his chosen vocation. If he is planning to continue his education on the college level, he should be mentally and emotionally equipped to meet the demands of his new school environment.

The college is interested in the continued training of individuals who will be a credit to themselves and of value to society. The college curriculum, therefore, must be broad enough so that it may assist every student in the acquisition of those attitudes, ideals, and intellectual skills and procedures which will enable him to contribute to human betterment and to the establishment of a more abundant life.

Guidance toward appropriate course selection. An individual student in high school or college does not have sufficient background for the making, unaided, of wise selection of courses to be elected. Left to himself, he may select a course because he has a temporary interest in it, because he likes the teacher, or because he has learned that it is easy.

In small schools there is usually very little leeway in the selection of courses. Of necessity, such schools have a rather rigid curriculum, which must be followed by most students. With the increased size of a school there usually goes an increase in complexity of the school's offerings. The individual student selects one of several or more curriculums, or courses, and then fills in his program with other free electives. These factors so complicate the problem for most individuals, regardless of their ability, that they desire help or guidance from parents, teachers, or special advisers in arriving at a suitable choice of course or curriculum.

An individual may be guided in his choice by his chances for success in any study area and therefore will set his educational sails in that direction. For those students who want to make high school their last level of formal education there should be a wider range of subject choices than for those students who are preparing to continue their education on the college level. However, any individual who has pursued any organized

curriculum, who has better-than-average ability, and who has done outstanding work in that area should be allowed to go to college, regardless of the fact that he may not have the specific courses that have been set as entrance requirements to a particular college.

A student should be discouraged from side-stepping a subject merely because he does not like it. If the subject fits into his program of education toward the development of a particular skill or for specialized training, he should be advised to include it in his program. If a student is extremely eager to elect certain courses, such as art, he should be encouraged to try them.

During his early secondary school years a young person may seem to exhibit exceptional interest and ability in a particular field. Whether the apparent aptitude is temporary or more permanent cannot be determined conclusively. For example, Ruth's first-year high school teachers were impressed by her unusual interest in physical education and athletics. Although she continued throughout high school to perform successfully in this field, her work was mediocre in other areas of study. The girl herself had decided that probably the best she could do would be to prepare herself for simple office work. Hence she and her parents were greatly surprised when the dean of the school suggested that she apply to a neighborhood university for admission as a physical education major. With the help of the dean, Ruth was accepted by the school. She was graduated from it with honors in her major field, although some of the more academic requirements, especially science, had been extremely difficult to master. She now is a successful recreational therapist.

Martin's experiences have been very different from Ruth's. As a child he displayed considerable ability in mechanical drawing. Encouraged by his parents, he applied for admission to a technical high school and was accepted. This meant that on each school day he spent at least three hours in travel. In addition, the school's academic standards are extremely high. Although Martin earned some success in his art classes, his continued inadequacy in other subjects has led to difficulties in finding a college to accept him.

Meanwhile, the boy's interest in art has waned. He finally has been accepted by a liberal arts college. At present he is undecided concerning his vocational plans, but is looking forward enthusiastically toward continuing his studies without being subjected to the pressures to which he was exposed in a rigidly administered technical high school.

If a young person who gives no evidence of a special aptitude for a given course insists upon electing it, in order to be in the class of a friend or for any other superficial reason, he should sometimes be advised to elect another subject more nearly related to his fundamental abilities and interests. This is more likely to keep alive within him a desire for

further education, since he will probably be rewarded thereby with a greater degree of successful achievement in the subject.

Very often a student is heard to say that he just can't see any practical value in the subject he is taking. Most students feel that way about most subjects at one time or another (often when they have done poorly in an examination). If young people emphasize the immediately practical value of all the subjects that they study, teachers and parents find it very difficult to defend every subject from this point of view. Young people need to take a long-range view of their schooling. They should be helped to realize that some of the values of education are so subtly woven into the adult life pattern that their influence is often felt without being recognized.

School Social Activities

For a young person to go to a high school or a college where he does not know any of his classmates, or many of them, may seem to him a challenge that he cannot meet and may cause him to wish to retreat from the situation. Both high schools and colleges are now engaging in numerous activities in order to orient young entrants in the new and, to them, strange environment. Elaborate trips of inspection and conferences for explaining the rules and regulations of the school are utilized. In conjunction with these efforts go planned social events, which are used as means of acquainting incoming groups with some of the upperclassmen.

No matter what plans are made in this way to help each young person to meet and become acquainted with other people on the campus or school grounds, every boy or girl must make a definite effort to acquire friends. School friendships based upon similarity of interest and experience are very much worth while. Joining clubs, participating in other school activities, becoming acquainted with the members of one's class, and maintaining a consistent attitude of friendliness will reap a harvest in friendships.

Many students ask how they can gain friends. Parents and teachers can give young people much indirect assistance in the building up of fine school friendships. Parents can encourage their son or daughter to bring schoolmates home or to visit the homes of other young people. Fundamentally, however, the parent's responsibility for his child's popularity in high school or college began long before the boy or girl reached these school levels.

The young person who, in his relations with his family and childhood playmates, was guided by his parents toward the development of a fine attitude of cooperation, friendliness, and tolerance will have no difficulty in forming satisfactory friendships. Popularity must be earned. It cannot be bought. The girl or boy who is allowed to be self-assertive, selfish,

and domineering in the home cannot use these same techniques in his relations with his schoolmates if he wants to be accepted by them.

Robert is an example of a boy who was unable to make or keep friends because of his unattractive disposition. His mother's attempt to bribe other young people to include him in their groups was pathetic, not only because of the futility of her efforts but also because of her apparent unawareness that she herself, by spoiling him, had contributed so largely to his unpopularity.

When Robert was 6 years old, he fell out of a window and hurt his spine. His mother, a widow who had completely spoiled her only child, was not at first aware that the child had suffered any serious injury from the accident. When a spinal curvature became noticeable, the mother wished to take the boy to a doctor, but he protested loudly and vehemently.

The mother gave in to his protests and nothing was done about the condition until the child was 9 years old. The curvature was so bad by that time that the boy consented to wear a brace, which was unsuitable and heavy. Although Robert suffered not only from physical pain but also from consciousness of the deformity, he refused consistently to have medical care. The boy became irritable, selfish, and quick-tempered. His mother, since the accident had been caused by her own carelessness, had developed a sense of guilt and gave in to his every wish, thus encouraging his unpleasant disposition.

By the time Robert was 14 years old and a pupil in high school, his physical condition had become extremely serious and his attitude unbearable. He was a very bright boy and found his only satisfaction in surpassing his classmates in school studies. However, he was uncooperative and disagreeable with boys and girls of his own age, was jealous of anyone who made a higher grade than he, and constantly accused his teachers of unfairness.

Robert persisted in his fear of medical treatment. He consented to a physical examination only after he was told that if he did not do so, he would be discharged from school for physical disability. As a result of the examination, he was hospitalized for a year, but was allowed to continue his studies under private tuition. During his stay in the hospital he organized various activities among the young patients. Since he was the oldest patient there, he tended to dominate the younger children. Although his activities were good for the morale of the other children, his attitude was resented by them, as it had been at school. His mother tended to place the blame for his unpopularity upon the jealousy of the other children and begged that the boy be removed from the hospital. This was not done until Robert was well enough to return home and, with the aid of a well-fitting brace, to carry on his regular activities.

The boy returned to school for his senior year. Physically, he was much improved. As a student he was excellent. As a member of a social group he was a complete failure. His mother, desperate in the situation, tried to bribe other boys to associate with him and even demanded that the school authorities compel students to include him in their groups.

The boy was graduated with a good scholastic record, but resentful because he had not won honors in more than two subjects. As a college student Robert continued to exhibit his earlier attitudes in an even more intensive fashion. He was determined to be graduated as a *summa cum laude* and succeeded in achieving his goal. The price he paid for it was great, however. He denied himself needed rest and relaxation, displayed tantrum behavior if or when he believed that an instructor was not "fair" to him, assumed a consistently superior and contemptuous attitude toward other college students, thereby earning their intense dislike. Soon after graduation he suffered a physical and mental collapse that has left him a semi-invalid, bitter against his fate and resentful of his mother's continued doting care and protection.

A mother who constantly emphasizes the fact that she and her family are superior to the neighbors is very likely to foster in her son or daughter an attitude of snobbishness and intolerance that will make it very difficult for the young person to gain popularity. Parents often fail to realize that unusual physical attractiveness, expensive clothes, and an abundance of pocket money are not an open sesame to popularity among high school and college students. Unless the possessor of the special advantage is at the same time modest, his apparent advantages of looks, clothes, and money will cause him to be viewed with suspicion by the majority of the student body. He may be able to "buy" some young people, but these will not represent the better type of student.

Young people sometimes try to convince their parents that they will be unpopular among the students if they refuse to break school rules and regulations. This is not true. In every school there is a small group of individuals who seem to feel that school rules and regulations are made to be broken. These young people take great pride in such things as cutting classes, defying their teachers, using wrong stairways and exits, and the like. In every such case there is present an actual or an incipient maladjustment, which causes these young people to act as they do. To be popular with this group is not an honor. However, the weak boy or girl who cannot find a place for himself in the school's social life is sometimes tempted to join a group of this kind.

Parents lay the groundwork for a young person's popularity in high school, and teachers can do much to help young people find a place for themselves in the school. A boy or girl may be so shy as to find it difficult to mix freely with other boys and girls. If this shyness is a symptom of a

functional disorder, guidance toward normal social relationships requires much patience, with a possibility of failure to achieve the desired goal.

Teachers should help not only the shy young person but also the one who by his aggressiveness antagonizes other young people. Sometimes the apparent "cockiness" is a protective covering for inordinate shyness. Sometimes it is the result of family spoiling. It is the function of teachers to recognize the reasons for a young person's unpopularity with his peers, and tactfully help him to make whatever adjustments are necessary so that he may be accepted by other students.

A word of warning to teachers is necessary. They must never pick out one student and give particular attention to him. To gain the reputation of being "teacher's pet" is the surest way of earning the disapproval of the majority of students. This is true in college as well as in high school. Whatever a teacher does for a young person must be done tactfully and individually.

The value of participation in school club activities. Adolescents should not only be allowed to join school clubs but they should be encouraged to do so. Every member of the school should belong to one or more clubs and take an active part in the work of the club. The real social living of the school, whether high school or college, is usually experienced through one or another kind of extraclassroom activity. These clubs should be under the leadership of faculty advisers who know how to work with young people and who refrain from doing all the thinking and work for the members of the club.

The length of the list of clubs in most schools is being expanded yearly and is now reaching out to include every kind of activity and interest that is connected with school life. An individual who does not wish to join a club may be the very one who needs it most. He should be given special attention and helped to enter the social life of the school through these activities.

Sharon, 16 years old and a fifth-termer in high school, exemplifies an adolescent who was enabled through club participation to fulfill her strong urge to become an accepted member of her peer-age group. During the early part of the term Sharon often came to the counselor's office to complain that "certain girls" were making fun of her or being unpleasant to her and she wanted to change to different class sections or activity groups. She was immature, not mentally but socially; her dress and lack of poise made her seem nearer 12 than 16. As the counselor came to understand her better it was evident that Sharon was making up fictional situations, hoping that in the course of investigating her charges she would come to the attention of the girls she had complained about and perhaps be accepted by them. Sharon was lonely for the companionship of girls (and through them, boys) of her own age. In her neighbor-

hood there were no community facilities for young people. On her block there were only very young children. She had a 7-year-old sister whom she was expected to take care of, and with whom she spent all her leisure time.

One of the counselors, who headed an evening community center, received the parent's consent to take Sharon to it, where she was accepted by the young people of her age group. She now is a popular member of a Wednesday evening and Saturday evening group interested in dramatics and dancing. She has stopped her complaining. Her added poise and assurance have begun to win friends in high school. She no longer feels "out of things."

An adolescent needs to learn to live with people. If he prefers not to join a club, he thereby may be indicating a fear of people or a lack of interest in his school. The experiences that he needs most should not be closed to him. One of the problems experienced by counselors of secondary schools and colleges is rooted in some young people's "snobbish" attitude toward those of their schoolmates whom they consider to be in one or another way inferior to themselves. Educators disagree in their opinions concerning the advantages of fraternities, sororities, or other close-knit restricted student groups.

In some school systems such exclusive "clubs" are not permitted to be established in the school; yet there are few high schools in which some of the students do not organize secret societies that hold their meetings in the homes of members. In fact, high school counselors find that even among those clubs that are faculty-sponsored, the most popular ones are those that set up certain admission requirements. Likewise, membership is sought in cocurricular groups such as science, mathematics, literary, social problems, or other special-interest clubs, since membership in them would seem to represent the possession of a special interest or ability.

Teacher-Student Relationships

Every boy and girl of high school or college age wishes to get along with his teachers. Whether or not he does depends upon his attitude, which often is an outgrowth of home attitudes toward teachers. Parents should not habitually criticize teachers, but should develop in their young people an attitude of cooperation with all teachers.

If a young person is not successful in his schoolwork, it is very easy for a parent to place the blame upon the teacher's attitude toward his son or daughter, rather than upon the adolescent's own inability or unwillingness to take his share in classroom activity. An extreme instance of this critical attitude will be used as an illustration. Ruth, a high school student, had been compelled by her mother, against her own wishes, to elect

algebra. The girl recognized her own mental limitations and realized that all forms of mathematics were difficult for her. Both Ruth and her teacher tried their best to achieve at least a passing mark for Ruth in the subject. However, the girl failed badly in her tests. Thereupon her mother first wrote a letter to the teacher accusing her of being unfair to Ruth, and then visited the school, demanding to be shown Ruth's test papers. When these were shown to her, she insisted that the marks on them meant nothing as a teacher tends to give a girl any mark that she wishes, regardless of possible errors in the work. Ruth was transferred by her mother to another school, again in spite of the girl's wishes. Peculiarly enough, Ruth herself did not share her mother's resentment toward teachers and was cooperative in her classes.

Teacher attitudes toward students. Since the classroom of the present is becoming more and more the scene of teacher-guided rather than teacher-dominated activity, there are fewer instances of old-fashioned fears and hatred of teachers. However, young people sometimes forget, as occasionally do teachers, that courtesy and cooperation are necessary in a classroom as well as in the home or any other group of persons, if they desire to be respected and admired. A domineering teacher or an indolent and uninterested student cannot expect to be popular.

A teacher is often accused of having a "pet" in class. It is easy to understand how this comes about. The student who cooperates gets a great amount of attention from the teacher. Sometimes, before either is aware of it, there has been established an understanding between the two that may become very close as the semester goes along. The teacher should not let his special interest in one of his students show itself. If desirable classroom attitudes are to be established and cooperation is to be secured from all the class members, every student should be made to feel that he is as important as every other student.

The relationship between students and teachers should always be friendly. Teachers exert a great influence upon young students and are often remembered by the latter for the influence they had upon personality development rather than for the help given in the learning situation. Sentimental emotionalism, however, is foolish and undesirable.

Student attitudes toward teachers. The relationship between a teacher of either sex and a student of either sex should always be friendly but dignified. A student should never be invited to the teacher's home except for business purposes or as a member of a group. A teacher and a student should not habitually leave school together or engage in social activities together outside of school. No matter how much a teacher may admire a student and enjoy his company, the teacher-student relationship must be strictly adhered to. Any other behavior will result in the loss of the respect of other students for both the teacher and the student concerned.

High school and college students (especially girls) sometimes develop "crushes" on a teacher of the same sex or become infatuated with a teacher of the opposite sex. This is a very embarrassing situation for the teacher. His method of handling it is an indication of his strength of character. If he is weak, he may be unduly flattered by the attention he is receiving and encourage a situation that is bound to become most disagreeable and sometime sordid. If he is strong and sincere, he will tactfully convince the emotionalized young person that he or she is wasting an affection that should be directed toward a person of his own age. If the teacher concerned is consistently objective in his attitude, yet kindly, and if he allows no privileges to this student that other students do not enjoy, he will find it relatively easy to bring about a change in the young person's attitude toward himself.

These abnormal interests of students in their teachers often become serious problems among college girls, especially if there are few or no young men on or near the campus. Some college girls give an appearance of being interested in their middle-aged college professors in order to flatter the latter into giving them good grades. This is a kind of glorified "apple polishing." Others become really attracted to their professors and may kindle a similar feeling toward them on the part of the professor concerned. Such situations are very unfortunate, especially if the man is married. Tragic consequences may result unless others connected with the persons involved show forbearance and are helpful in bringing the relationship to an end before the school authorities are forced to take drastic measures.

Other Factors of School Success

The adolescent who fears his teacher to too great an extent may trace the cause to his fear of anyone in a supervisory relationship to him. Parents who are too strict or who are unwilling to explain reasons for their corrections of youthful misdeeds, or parents or older brothers and sisters who play up the teacher as a person to be feared, are often responsible for the development of this attitude in young people. Such fear attitudes are hard to overcome, even with the sympathetic help of teachers. The individual not only fears teachers but he fears anyone in a position of authority. This may include policemen, who have been regarded by these young people during their childhood as individuals who punish children rather than protect them. Hence a young person in whom these fears have been allowed to develop comes to the new environment prepared for the worst.

School-stimulated fears. Usually a student does not fear the teacher for what the teacher actually does, but rather for what he fears that he may

do. He wants to feel secure in the respect and affection of the teacher. Consequently, he may be stimulated to study hard because he does not want to disappoint his teacher. He feels sorry when he cannot answer in class, not alone because he will get a poor mark but also because he fears that he thereby has lost the esteem of his teacher.

A student should be encouraged by his parents to learn to work with, think with, and get along with every teacher he may have. When right attitudes are present in both the teachers and the students, there is usually no abnormal fear. All efforts utilized to remove these fears from the classroom are rewarded by better and more effective learning on the part of everyone.

Some individuals so fear the classroom situation that even though they know the answer to a question, they become tongue-tied and are unable to give it when asked to do so. These students need help in overcoming their emotional disturbance. They need to have their confidence restored. The best way to do this is to spoon-feed them at first—get a response from them and praise whatever there is in it that can be praised. Such young people should be called upon frequently to answer simple questions, so that they will develop the habit of talking in class. As they do this, the fear that they have been experiencing will gradually be replaced by a desire to answer, since they have found that they can express themselves and that, as they speak, ideas come to them. There is no place where the doing is so important as in the individual's activity in class. The teacher cannot answer for the student; other students cannot report for him; he must speak for himself if he wishes to increase his enjoyment of class participation.

Sometimes able students who do well in classroom recitations fear examinations. They become upset and either cannot eat or are unable to do effective thinking at the time of the test. When this happens, there is usually found a history that ties the condition to the home, the pressure of the parents, the study habits of the individual, and the like. Most examinations are based upon the material covered in class, and students should approach them with eagerness to do something with the ideas previously discussed.

The young person who has prepared his lessons from day to day and has been regular in his class attendance has little cause to fear an examination unless someone is prodding him on to an attainment that is beyond the reach of his ability. Adolescents should be encouraged to do their best and no more. There should not be a goal set by their parents for them to reach, such as the top place in the class. A teen-ager often becomes increasingly nervous in school because of pressures experienced in the home. In some instances emotional disturbance has resulted in a speech defect such as stammering.

Many young people *express* a fear of examinations that they really do not experience. This is a practice of high school seniors when they are preparing for their final examinations. They know that very few seniors fail to pass these tests. However, they talk much about the difficulties of the examinations and their fear of losing graduation because of failure in them. This is a kind of emotional preparation. They are thus impressing upon their parents the importance of this or that examination. Members of the family consequently become very much concerned about a young person who must cross such important hurdles.

When the news comes to the home that the examinations have been passed and that graduation is assured, there is much rejoicing, and parents who a few weeks earlier were very much worried are now inordinately proud of their successful son or daughter. The underlying reason for this display of fear of final examinations is not always realized by the young people themselves until it is called to their attention. They usually admit the truth of the accusation and discontinue their emotional outbursts.

If an individual talks too much about fearing a test, a check should be made of his study habits. He should know how to prepare his daily work and he should know how to study for an examination. It is through review that a greater understanding of the material that has already been studied is attained. The review not only aids general understanding but specific memory as well.

However, in addition to being prepared for the examination, knowing how to approach it is helpful. This should be done with confidence, since the individual who has prepared his work is usually eager to tackle the examination. Teachers should prepare their students for major examinations by reminding them of some of the suggestions that are given here.

It is usually a good practice to read through the entire examination sheet, so that an idea will be gained as to the general requirements of its contents. Questions to be answered can then be selected and time can be allotted for answering each question. It is better to write something for each question than to spend too much time on one or two questions.

Special attention should be given to the directions for the questions and to the questions themselves. Both the directions and the questions should be understood before an answer is undertaken. If the directions call for an outline, that procedure should be followed. If the directions suggest a complete answer, that kind should be given. Questions should not be answered in outline form unless the directions specifically call for that form of answer. In giving the answers, technical language should be used only when needed. If examples will make clear the points that are being made, they should be used.

The best way to reduce fear of tests to a minimum is for the student to give time and energy to daily preparation of his work, with frequent

reviews. When this is not done, the individual is likely to cram at the last minute. Cramming of material that has not been studied consistently may enable the student to pass an examination immediately after the cramming process, but forgetting will set in very soon thereafter. The systematic review that the individual undergoes during the cramming is valuable for immediate recall, but he tries to cover too much material in too short a time and is usually upset by this. The result is added fear of tests and examinations.

Students should know that examinations are not administered in order to find out how little they know. They are measuring devices for the purpose of discovering the ability of the individual to recall facts, to evaluate, to organize and use information in a situation in which others are participating at the same time, as a basis for further study.

Development of interest in school study. The earning of success is very important as a factor for the development of interest in schoolwork. Boys and girls should be helped to select curriculums and subjects in which they can be assured a fair degree of success in school. When activity is accompanied by success, there is interest in the activity. Today there are so many influences competing for the attention and interest of a young person that he often raises the question "How can I develop interest in school?"

To the adolescent the radio and television, sports, social activities, and work opportunities are much more exciting and interesting than what he is doing in school. If he, then, is confronted with the possibility of failure and has to work under the guidance of teachers who do not vitalize their subjects, the boy or girl has little motivation for the kind of study that will help him to develop an interest in schoolwork.

Each student should be encouraged to do something that he can do with a fair degree of success. With this success will go the roots of interest that usually carry through to other subjects that are fundamental to his growth and development. Parents having high ambitions for their children sometimes refuse to accept the fact that young people's mental capacity may be on a much lower level than is parental ambition. If Edith's parents (her father especially) had been able to resign themselves to the fact that Edith had definite mental limitations, her attitude toward herself, her parents, and society in general probably would have been very much better than it was. This 15-year-old girl's low level of intelligence prevented her mastery of book subjects. In addition, she was suffering from a severe kidney infection about which nothing was being done.

The mother's ambitions were so great that she compelled Edith to elect an academic course when the latter entered high school, although the girl knew that she could not compete with her classmates. Her failure to

pass three freshman subjects discouraged her and angered her mother. Moreover, Edith was very well mannered and was eager to be liked by people, but she was not allowed to have any friends, either boys or girls. She had no outside interests except the church choir, and she went everywhere alone or with her parents.

At school Edith was tutored by the faculty and by members of the school honor society in order to give her an opportunity to earn a little success in her schoolwork and to meet people in a personal relationship. She appreciated this help but was unable to compete with the more able students in her classes. The constant prodding on the part of her parents made her very unhappy and she became progressively withdrawn.

Her mother finally consented to an examination and treatment for Edith by the Child Guidance Bureau, but the father made the mother withdraw her consent, with the assertion that he did not need anyone to tell him how to bring up his child. Finally the father decided that the school faculty did not understand his daughter, were not interested in her, and were not able to teach her. He demanded that she be transferred to a private commercial school, where she struggled to master stenography and accounting. Although she finally obtained a low-paying job as a file clerk, which she still holds, she is more unhappy and withdrawn than ever. Her nervous condition has been intensified by her father's continual complaint that he had spent a great sum of money for her education but that as yet he has received no worth-while returns.

In contrast to Edith's experiences, Alfred's chances of successful school and vocational adjustment were made possible because of the fact that in his case the school authorities insisted upon his change of course. Unfortunately, the home situation could not be improved because of his mother's selfish ambition to make of her son a white-collar worker.

In spite of his poor work in elementary school as a result of inferior mental ability, Alfred, at age 15, was forced by his mother to enroll in an academic high school. Since the boy found it impossible to earn scholastic success in this school, he became defiant and abusive. He resented the fact that his mother had not allowed him to study mechanics at a trade school and he carried this resentment over into his attitude toward his teachers. He was sullen, refused to recite, made peculiar sounds when he was reprov'd, banged on the desk, and openly defied authority.

The school adviser suggested to the mother that Alfred be transferred to a vocational high school. She refused to do this, although in other respects she was overanxious about him and attempted to protect him in every way. She could not accept the fact that Alfred was too slow mentally to succeed in academic work, but she did admit that the boy occasionally disobeyed her at home and made queer noises. However,

she never resorted to physical punishment because she feared that he would be thrown thereby into a nervous state.

Since there was no possibility of parental cooperation, the school superintendent ordered the transfer of the boy to a vocational school where he majored in mechanics. His interest and ability in this field of study resulted in a changed attitude toward school and the earning of a diploma. Although he now is married and a successful, highly paid mechanic, he still is in conflict with his mother, who continues to complain that he disgraced his family by his unwillingness "to be educated as a gentleman."

Cold logic on the part of parent or teacher will never encourage an adolescent to become interested in any school activity. To engage in the activity because it is good for him is a negative suggestion. He needs help that will get him into action. Every parent should encourage his child to elect those courses or subjects for which he is mentally and temperamentally fitted. Every teacher should try to present his subject in such a way that the members of the class will grow to like it, even though they have come to it with an attitude of dislike.

It is a fact that those students who are punctual and regular in attendance are more likely to be interested in schoolwork than are those who cut classes and are late, thus missing many ideas that are presented in class. However, very often the cutting is a result of the fact that the young person is attempting to earn success in a subject that is too difficult for him or in which he is not interested.

Sometimes adolescents feel that assignments are too long. If they must do other work, either at home or away from home, they are hard pressed for enough time to prepare their homework well enough to compete with the other members of the class. This leads to discouragement and a lack of interest in schoolwork. The school adjustment of such young people needs the cooperative help of teachers and parents. Either the afterschool work should be lessened or the student's school program should be lightened.

Sometimes during the regular recitation periods adolescents allow their thoughts to wander to things that are of interest to them but are not directly related to the lesson. They find it difficult to keep their minds on the work of the class and often wonder what they can do to keep from daydreaming. The mind tends to be carried to the things of personal interest at the moment, since in any discussion many such experiences may be called to the student's mind. He should learn to bring his thinking back to the subject under consideration as soon as possible. Teachers can be of real help in this by keeping all students interested in what is going on through motivated discussions. The alert teacher is quick to

recognize whether or not his students are following the thinking on the topic under discussion at the moment. As teachers continue to keep the pupils motivated, students are thereby helped to break their habit of day-dreaming, since they are being given something concrete and definite to which to direct their attention.

Relation of ability to success in learning. Each individual brings to his high school and college experiences certain definite abilities, which are the result of his inheritance and of his training up to that time. In the past most schools were organized mainly for the purpose of educating those young people who had the kind of ability that would enable them to work successfully with abstractions and book learning.

Since more and more adolescents are now attending high school and college, there are included in all school registers some young people who do not have the capacity to master difficult book material. All except the very dull among American youth are entitled to an education on these higher levels. We need to do more in the way of adjusting subject requirements to the mental capacity of less able students, so that they can profit in a practical and cultural way from the time and energy spent on schoolwork.

There is little gained by a young person who attends school for an education but receives nothing but one failure after another. It is an educational crime to allow an adolescent to remain in an academic high school for two years without passing a single subject. The parents who insist upon such a young person's staying in this school, and the school authorities who do nothing about having his course adjusted to the level of his mental ability to profit by instruction, are failing in their responsibility to youth.

A careful analysis of the abilities of every boy and girl should be made to the end that each one is given something to do in school that will allow him a reasonable degree of success. The spur to stay in school and to continue education in some field of activity is based upon the success factor, not upon the failure factor.

The introduction of many new subjects into high school and college curriculums has done much to meet this youth need. Subjects which twenty-five years ago were not offered in high schools or colleges are now considered to be basic courses. Among these are such subjects as music, art, home economics, commercial subjects, speech, and many others, which gradually have found a place in the curriculum. These have been introduced so that differing interests and abilities of students may be satisfied and developed.

Effect of part-time work on school success. A high school student can gain much experience through part-time work. It is true that if he has to work too hard or too long hours on the part-time job, he may not

have sufficient time or energy left to give to his study. His schoolwork may suffer, and he may become discouraged and drop out of school. However, if the part-time worker is properly supervised and is helped to plan a study and work schedule for his use in completing his daily program of activities, he can develop effectively in both areas. This is especially true of the college student in his later teens.

A part-time job can be of value to an adolescent for one or all of the following reasons: the insight gained through vocational tryout experiences, the information that can be gained only from work on the job, the gaining of a better understanding of money, and a keener appreciation of an education as a steppingstone to vocational success. An allowance that is *earned* by a young person will be appreciated in a way that is not possible if money is handed to him every time he asks for it. The interesting report of Frank shows the thoughtful interest that may be given to the value of money when an adolescent uses his own energy to earn it. This practical-minded boy continued as a man to use to his advantage the training he had gained from his earlier experiences. Hence the authors report the story of his developing attitudes in some detail.

Frank was the younger of two brothers by slightly more than a year. The parents of these boys were as objective as they could be in their treatment of them, and both Frank and his brother were popular among friends and acquaintances of the family. Frank especially was very sociable and in his early years showed definite extrovert tendencies. He would approach people whom he did not know and ask them questions in such a way that he was never considered pert. He was very active and enjoyed being among people.

Since the parents allowed their sons a great deal of freedom of activity, Frank was well able to go places and do things on his own. For example, during one summer he visited the New York World's Fair alone almost daily, and not only investigated every exhibit very carefully but met a great many different types of people.

When the boys were about 16 and 17 years old respectively, they took a trip through Canada in an old Ford, unaccompanied by their parents. They traveled about 3,000 miles and had many exciting experiences. Frank has always been interested in going places. It was this spirit of restlessness and desire for adventure that was responsible for an incident that might have had serious results.

During his senior year at high school he had an argument with one of his teachers. He was convinced that he had been treated unjustly. Consequently, one morning he went to school with his brother as usual and then, without reporting to the school authorities, returned home. He knew that neither his mother nor his father would be there. He packed a few clothes, took with him about seven dollars, which he had earned,

and left. He was gone forty-eight hours. According to his story, he hitchhiked a distance of about 1,000 miles. He claimed that he would have continued his trip but that he was followed and robbed in a city about 500 miles from home. By this time he was sleepy, hungry, and moneyless, so he decided to return home. In the meanwhile he had not communicated with his parents; but he had given some indication of his plans to a pal, who told the parents. Knowing that Frank was resourceful and able to take care of himself, his parents were not too much worried about possible danger to him. When he reached home, they welcomed him without comment, accepted his story at face value, and sent him back to school.

He had always been interested in the value of money and, as soon as he was old enough to do so, began to work at jobs suitable to his age. In connection with a high school project he gave the following account of his work experiences:

During my seventeen years of existence, my working experiences have been many and varied.

Shortly after our family moved from a small town to a city (I was in the third grade at the time), I started selling magazines. Each night, rain or shine, snow or otherwise, I would go from door to door selling magazines. I can never remember making much money, but, from the small amount I did earn, I learned the value of money. Even yet, when I spend money, I think of how many houses I would have to go to to sell magazines enough for the prescribed amount of money. My next job along this line was a paper route. My first route was an afternoon edition, but when I became 12 years old I got a morning route. Getting up at five in the morning required going to bed early; a job that requires regular living is worth much more than its pecuniary returns.

My grandparents live in a small town, where they operate a general store, a feed mill, and a coal business. They also buy large quantities of maple sirup. My first selling experience, that is, in a store, was in my grandparents' general store, selling groceries, hardware, and clothing. Also at their place of business I learned to operate a feed mill, to run grinders and mixers. Here I learned, by contrast, the value of a white-collar job. I also learned something about the process of making maple sirup, a product which I have been retailing in this city from door to door for the past year.

Other relatives operate farms and I have had the opportunity of working on their farms. Learning many of the activities of a farmer has been quite interesting and healthful.

I have spent many days caddying and working in a parking lot. These contacts with people have proved invaluable. During Christmas vacation I have worked in a post office, helping to deliver mail. An experience such as this is interesting at first but after a few weeks becomes dull and boring.

My next job was helping a milkman deliver milk. The milkman has a rather

hard job, with long hours starting at three in the morning. However, through this contact I learned the workings of a modern dairy.

I've been working this summer while attending summer school. I first got a job in an ice-cream bar, selling cones, sodas, and sundaes. It did not pay very well so I got a position as a salesman in a Western Auto Store. This is rather interesting, as we sell 10,000 different items.

The day summer school is over and until my college term starts, I expect to get a job as a coal passer on a ship on the Great Lakes.

All the different types of work in which I have been engaged have been of great importance in helping me to determine my future lifework.

Upon graduation from high school that summer, Frank entered a leading college, where he made a good record. At age 18, after a year in college, he was accepted by the Army. Frank earned several promotions in the Army. His interest in people, helped by his many work experiences, were of value to him in his assignments, as they required leadership ability. Upon his release from the Army, he returned to college and majored in business administration. After graduation, he went into wholesale selling, a field in which he earned considerable success. He was not completely satisfied with his job, however. To the regret of his employer, he left the company and treated himself to a three-month tour of Europe. At the time of this writing he is in the process of deciding between two forms of business activity. His decision will be made in terms of which is likely to bring him the greater monetary return.

School and college advisers have found that a part-time job tends to act as a stimulator of interest in schoolwork. Even a few hours of work a week during the school year, or vacation jobs that are not too strenuous, help a boy or girl to recognize the value of an education in its relation to the work world.

An increasing number of colleges and high schools are introducing a cooperative program of work and study. According to this plan, a student spends part of each week or month in the school, where he learns the techniques of his work and also studies related subjects such as related English and related mathematics. He then spends the remainder of the week or month at work, applying the principles that he has learned at school to his actual practice on the job. There are many values to be derived from this combination of activities, even for young people who are preparing themselves for a professional career. Contact with other workers on the job helps the young person to increase his maturity of attitude. Moreover, actually working at a project for the success of which he is responsible gives the teen-ager a better appreciation of his strengths and weaknesses than is gained through his achievement in school projects and tests.

Unfortunately, too many high school students are satisfied with a mere passing mark. To such students the attainment of a minimum passing grade of 65 or 70 per cent means that promotion to the next unit of learning has been earned. They do not recognize the fact that they have failed to master the subject completely. The student-worker realizes that his failure to complete satisfactorily that which he is assigned to do on the job can be traced to his failure to learn sufficiently well the related material needed for better performance. Hence he usually is stimulated to do a better job of studying while he is in school so that he may gain greater success in his vocational work.

In general, the adjustment of a teen-age person to his school experiences cannot be considered apart from his adjustment in his out-of-school life. It is true, however, that much of the success of an adolescent's school life can be traced to the suitability of his school curriculum, the attitudes of his teachers, and the kind and extent of the school guidance that is made available to him.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What responsibilities should be assumed by the school to help adolescent peer-group adjustments?
2. Recall a fellow high school student who did not seem to be well adjusted. What was your attitude toward him at that time? How do you feel toward him now?
3. Which of your present attitudes, beliefs, and interests were developed during your high school days? Suggest forces that influenced them.
4. Name the factors that influenced you in the choice of your high school. Your high school course. Did you make wise choices?
5. Select two teachers whom you admired during your high school years and two whom you disliked. Explain the differences in your attitudes.
6. Which of the recreational activities in which you engaged during your high school years do you still continue?
7. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of a coeducational high school. An all-boy or an all-girl high school.
8. Why should a student continue his high school program through to graduation?
9. To what extent should adolescents be influenced by their parents in the selection of school subjects?
10. Enumerate the basic factors in the selection of a college.
11. What are the advantages of having a place for study that is free from distracting influences?
12. Draw up a time schedule for study and follow it for a period of eight weeks. Report to your class on its value.
13. Explain the principal functions of high school counselors. To what extent should they wait for adolescents to come to them for help?

14. Outline a school social program that may be of value to an adolescent isolate.
15. List shortcomings of high schools and indicate what changes might be made to correct them.

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Chapter 16

VOCATIONAL ADJUSTMENT OF ADOLESCENTS

If representative men and women who have been active in their respective professions, businesses, or industries for twenty years or more are asked how they happened to engage in their particular occupational activity, many of them report that they fell into the work quite by accident. They may have obtained their first job through the efforts of friends or because there was a need for workers at the time when they were seeking work. Some, of course, chose a certain occupation because of a real interest in it and started early to prepare for the vocation of their choice.

VOCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL PROBLEMS

When occupational opportunities are plentiful, it is relatively easy for a person of average or more-than-average ability, with good habits of work, to find for himself, through the trial-and-error method, a field in which he can earn advancement and job satisfaction. However, as occupational qualifications become more technical and rigid, haphazard methods of vocational selection are ineffectual, costly, and time-wasting.

Selection of a vocation. We are fast becoming a nation of specialists. Specialization cannot be developed overnight, nor can any individual expect to become a specialist without an aptitude for the work. Furthermore, occupational history indicates that at any one time there is likely to be an oversupply of specialists in one field and a lack in another. This condition is often brought about by the fact that young people are influenced by success stories of adults in a particular field. As a result, a young person may hope to achieve a similar success in that field, regardless of personal fitness for the work or available opportunities in the field.

Furthermore, a temporary shortage of workers in one form or another of occupational activity may so excite community leaders that they bring undue pressure upon young people to enter that field. Such leaders apparently are unaware of the fact that by the time the adolescents have finished their training, the need for that type of work may have lessened or that too many may have been encouraged to train themselves, with a resulting oversupply of trained workers in the field. Consequently, men and women have failed to earn vocational success because they were mis-

fits in one field and were unable, because of financial responsibilities, to prepare for another field of work.

Parents often are at fault when their sons and daughters do not make wise vocational choices. It may be that the parent, in his youth, wanted to enter a certain field but was prevented from doing so by his parents' interests, by his own lack of ability, or by financial limitations. The parent now wishes to see his personal ambitions realized through his child and persuades or compels the young person to enter a field for which the latter is unsuited and in which he has little interest. Again, it may be that a certain profession or form of business is a family tradition and that the young person is expected to follow that tradition, regardless of a specific aptitude for another type of activity. Too many sons and daughters, as adults, harbor deep resentments because they are unhappy in the vocational work that was forced upon them by their parents or relatives.

As a nation we have gone through many periods of occupational under-supply and oversupply. Engineering, teaching, medicine, nursing, law, commercial work, and the like, have had their ups and downs because vocational direction has lagged behind changing occupational needs. Many of our young people are very much disturbed over the present vocational situation. They are torn between selecting a vocation that appears to offer exceptional financial and promotional rewards and preparing themselves for a vocation that may be more nearly related to their interests, that ensures relative permanency, and in which demand is greater than available supply. For example, teaching on all levels is now and probably will continue to be an open field for the next twenty years at least. Hence many young people are being encouraged to enter this profession. Yet some twenty years ago opportunities in the teaching field were scarce.

It can be understood easily that youth's uncertainty regarding vocational planning is increased by the fact that it is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty what the occupational opportunities may be ten, or even five, years from now. Parents, interested friends, newspaper and magazine writers, radio speakers, and vocational specialists are generous with their advice. Unfortunately, these groups do not always agree in their predictions concerning future vocational needs. Hence young people are often hindered by such advice, rather than helped, in making their decisions.

Recent developments have added to adolescent difficulties of vocational decision making. For many boys, enforced military service delays vocational selection and preparation. A high school student who had planned to go to college may be undecided as to whether he should volunteer for service before he continues his education or go to college and stay there until he is drafted. It also happens that before a boy was drafted he had

made a definite vocational choice. By the time this boy has completed his period of service in the Armed Forces, however, he has lost interest in his formerly desired vocational field but is uncertain about what he really wants to do. He may take a rest for a while as he becomes re-oriented to civilian life and then drift from job to job. He may seek vocational advice from a unit of the Veterans' Counseling Service, but may or may not follow counseling suggestions.

Some young men who before they entered a branch of the armed services had no special vocational interests develop a strong interest associated with their military service, and continue to follow that interest during their civilian life. Other young men who as high school students had no desire to continue their education in spite of superior mental ability during their period of service come to recognize the worth of a college education. Moreover, the financial benefits of the GI Bill of Rights make it possible for a young man to avail himself of educational opportunities that otherwise would have been economically impossible. Boys who thus are stimulated to continue their education usually develop serious attitudes of study and earn considerable success in their vocational preparation at a college or other institution of higher learning.

Before entering the service a boy may be mildly interested in a particular field of work activity. During his military stint, associations with campmates and with neighboring civilians may arouse various vocational interests that, when he is discharged, lead to confusion about what he really wants to do. The situation of Anthony is illustrative of post-service indecision.

Anthony's mental ability is average or a little below, but his attractive appearance and fine attitudes cause him to be popular with people of any age. The boy's father ran a shoe-repair shop and his mother owns and operates a beauty salon. Anthony failed in his academic high school courses, to his mother's great disappointment because of her ambition for him to succeed in a profession. The boy transferred to a vocational school where he studied hairdressing. When his father died, Anthony took over the shoe-repair shop but, although he did a commendable job, he did not like the work. The shop was sold and he enrolled in a beauty-culture school, intending to assist his mother in her business. At the completion of the course, Anthony was drafted by the Army. During his two years of service, his innate integrity and his cooperative attitudes won him many friends both in and out of camp. He expects to be honorably discharged from the Army soon.

Both he and his mother are concerned about his civilian vocational plans. She would like to turn over the beauty shop to him and remarry. Anthony feels that "fussing with women's hair is a sissy job for a man." Yet he does not want to deny his mother the comfort and happiness of

marriage. He has received several offers of employment, the most intriguing of which is to take charge of a night club that is owned by a friend whom he met while his camp was situated in one of the Southern states. Since Anthony sings well and plays several musical instruments, his mother fears that he may decide in favor of this offer, although she disapproves—"My boy is too good for that kind of life." At present, Anthony is torn between what he considers to be a strong vocational interest and his loyalty to his mother and his home town.

Very different from Anthony's experiences are those of Rudolph, who, after he had completed his college preparation for teaching social studies on the secondary level, entered the Army and was sent to a European country with a unit of the Army of Occupation. Because of his special training, he there received a teaching assignment in which he continued until his discharge. Upon his return to America, he taught in a local high school for several years and at the same time completed his studies for his master's degree. His teaching experiences in the Army stimulated in him a desire to return to Europe as a civilian instructor attached to the Army of Occupation. After intelligent consultation with his parents and a college counselor, he accepted an invitation to return to his European post. He has been there for three years, has married an attractive girl, and expects to remain abroad for at least another three years. He claims that, happy as he is, he eventually will return to his home community.

Training and placement. Even though each young person were guided toward the making of a desirable vocational choice, he still would be faced by many problems. Training opportunities are becoming more extensive and better organized than they have been in the past, but there still are obstacles in the way of a young person's receiving adequate training for one or another particular kind of work. The cost of training, geographical availability of training facilities, traditional prerequisites for continued study, and a lack of trained teachers in certain fields make difficult the achievement of an ideal program of vocational preparation. Many a potentially good worker in a particular field has been lost because of his inability to receive adequate education.

There is a growing educational trend toward combining work experience with school study. The inclusion of on-the-job experience or of internship long has been an accepted aspect of training for professions such as medicine, law, teaching, and nursing. Cooperative education, first organized on the college level, has been introduced into high schools, especially in connection with commercial curriculums. Further, an increase in the number of jobs available to adolescents has motivated many high school students either to withdraw from school in favor of a full-time job or to take part-time work during out-of-school hours while they are continuing their school studies.

Scales and Hutson conducted a study of the effect of gainful employment upon the accomplishment by boys of the developmental tasks associated with adolescence. The results are presented in Table 34.

Table 34. Developmental Tasks that Gainful Employment Helped Accomplish as Identified by Responses of 150 Boys in Grades 7-12

<i>Developmental task</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Establishing economic independence	68 0
Achieving emotional independence of parents and other adults	48 0
Acceptance of the proper sex role	20 0
New relations with peers	20 0
Accepting, desiring, and achieving socially responsible behavior	3 3
Selecting and preparing for an occupation	0 7
None identified	7 3

SOURCE: E. E. Scales and P. W. Hutson, "How Gainful Employment Affects the Accomplishment of Developmental Tasks of Adolescent Boys," *The School Review*, vol. 63, no. 1, p. 34, January, 1955.

Although the value of part-time work that is unrelated to actual school study in the selection and preparation for an occupation is rated low by the boys who participated in the Scales and Hutson study, an adolescent is helped thereby to gain certain desirable work attitudes that later may be helpful to him. Unfortunately, an adolescent trained in his specific field finds that under normal business conditions it is very difficult without experience to secure a satisfactory job. Hence he resorts to more or less reliable newspaper advertisements, to commercial placement agencies, to the assistance of his friends, or to his personal application without introduction, in his search for employment.

Fortunate is the young aspirant for a job whose school is equipped to place its graduates in desirable positions on the basis of training and proficiency. During a period of worker shortage, however, there is danger that a young person may disregard the placement efforts of his school and accept a job in terms of financial reward rather than from the viewpoint of permanency of position in a stable and reputable organization.

Job relationships. The neophyte in the occupational world has many adjustments to make on the job. He must learn to adjust to his employers and supervisors, to his fellow workers, and to the requirements and conditions of the job itself. He must be able to distinguish between his just rights and his fair responsibilities as a worker. These adjustments are not always made easily, since during his school life he was both more dependent and more independent than he is on the job.

At school his teachers were accustomed to rate his achievement in terms of his ability, and usually they were willing to help him with his difficulties and to excuse his failings if he appeared to be sincere in his

efforts to learn. On the job he sinks or swims as a result of his own ability and willingness to do efficient work. He cannot lean upon someone else for assistance. If his work is not acceptable, his supervisors, who cannot afford to spend too much time and effort upon his retraining, are likely to replace him by a more efficient worker.

On the other hand, the young worker is introduced to a kind of personal freedom and independence that he did not experience in his school life. He is relatively on his own. He is given work to do and is usually allowed freedom in doing it, provided that the results are satisfactory. His afterwork hours are his own to do with as he pleases. There is no school assignment to interfere with his home or social activities. This apparent increase in personal freedom often tempts young people to leave school and seek employment before they have finished their education, especially when jobs are plentiful.

A young worker is likely to have difficulties in his relations with older and more experienced fellow workers. At school he had learned to adjust to his teachers and to fellow students of about his own age and school status. On the job he must face the possible condescension and "bossiness" of older workers. He may stimulate jealousies among the workers, especially if he is enthusiastic and competent. He is introduced to the ambitious employee, the dissatisfied worker, or the shirker. He may be drawn into employee gossip, or he may not choose his worker associates carefully and thus may become a member of the wrong crowd.

In his relations with his employer or his supervisor he may not be able to distinguish between just and fair work requirements and possible exploitation. His employer may be too lax or too rigid. If the worker is a girl, she is in danger of misinterpreting the friendliness of her employer or her supervisor, or may allow herself to be drawn into an undesirable relationship with a male employer or employee. There is a question in the mind of a young worker concerning the extent to which his or her social life should be interrelated with the work life.

Vocational problems experienced by adolescents. The vocational life of a teen-age boy or girl is fraught with problems of adjustment. Young people early become aware of these problems and seek advice and guidance. The questions that follow indicate the extent to which many adolescents are concerned about their work life and the kind of problems that they are already facing or that they are anticipating.

1. Should a boy choose his own career or should his parents choose it for him?

2. How can a boy or girl overcome family objections in choosing a career?

3. Is it right for a father to prevent a 19-year-old girl's taking a job in a store because he does not approve of some of the girls who work there?

4. How can school advisers help boys and girls to make their vocational choices?
5. Should a boy or girl always take the advice of school counselors?
6. How can we learn about vocational opportunities?
7. What should influence one's selection of a career—prestige, power, or money?
8. Should a girl plan for a career?
9. How can a boy or girl find out whether or not he or she possesses the right characteristics for a certain kind of work?
10. What professions are open to women, in addition to teaching or nursing?
11. What is the relationship between choice of a vocation and chance of success on the job?
12. What can I do if I am afraid that my employer will discover that I do not know as much about my work as he thinks I do?
13. What vocational training should a boy or a girl receive?
14. Should a fellow accept a job that is not mentally stimulating?
15. Which is better—a college education or a business education?
16. How can we learn about job opportunities?
17. Is it good to apply to agencies for positions? If so, what agencies are reliable?
18. How can one be helped to apply for a job?
19. If a girl seems young for a job but looks older than she is, should she give a false age?
20. How can one overcome a feeling of inferiority when meeting an employer for an interview?
21. How can one adjust oneself to a job quickly?
22. How should employers treat boys and girls who are working for them?
23. Do clothes play a large part in business success?
24. How can a girl tactfully decline invitations made by a man employer who is married?
25. Should a worker have rest periods during the morning and afternoon?
26. Should employees be permitted to talk on the job?
27. Why are some foremen such poor supervisors?
28. Why should a supervisor be so anxious to please his boss that he makes the rest of the employees under him nervous?
29. How can one overcome favoritism on the job?
30. How can a boy or a girl be helped to make a good job adjustment?
31. What type of boy does a boss usually want?
32. Should young workers be treated the same as adults or should they be separated and treated as children?

33. What should be the attitude of an employee toward his employer?
34. How can an employee be pleasant when the boss is always complaining about something?
35. How can one get ahead on the job?
36. Should an employer allow one employee to be so important that if the latter is absent, the work of the office is practically stopped?
37. How can jealousy among employees be overcome?
38. What should be the attitude of a young worker toward his fellow workers?
39. How can one meet the problem of being taken advantage of by older employees when the supervisor is not around?
40. How do labor unions help young workers?
41. What are the advantages to a boy of selecting military service as a career?
42. Is it better to volunteer for military service upon graduation from high school, or to go to college, or to take a job and wait until one is drafted?
43. If one is employed when he is drafted, is the employer obligated to rehire the former employee when he returns from service?
44. Why do businessmen seem to prefer women rather than men for secretarial work?
45. How do social security regulations operate?

These adolescent questions indicate the extent to which the experiences of their older friends and relatives and their own part-time employment influence the thinking of young people. They become very much concerned about the many possible problems for which they may need to find solutions as they attempt to realize their vocational ambitions.

No one can predict ahead of time how successful or contented a worker may be in any chosen field. Usually, if there is brought to the work a sincere interest in it, as well as adequate training for it, the probability of job satisfaction is much greater than is possible if the worker is in a field that is not of his own choosing and for which he has not received sufficient or thorough preparation.

In some instances, job inadequacy is recognized early enough so that definite means can be employed by the individuals concerned for the betterment of their vocational status. However, many persons do not completely recognize the fact that they are misfits until it is almost too late to do much about the matter.

No one's vocational problem is exactly like that of another. Hence no more can be done in the field of vocational guidance than that of making an honest effort to help remedy some of the most commonly observed causes of vocational maladjustment. Wider opportunities for gaining occupational information, more extensive and better-equipped training fa-

cilities, and improved working conditions are goals worthy of attainment. Yet the unpredictable human factor cannot be discounted entirely but must be dealt with as objectively and intelligently as possible so that work experiences may be placed upon a stable foundation of unemotionalized service to society with a minimum of problem adjustment.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING VOCATIONAL LIFE

Vocational choice and preparation, job placement, and job satisfaction combine into a complex life pattern, each phase of which must be broken down and analyzed in detail if young people are to achieve success in their lifework. Each step of the way must be considered carefully as a young person in his early teens is started toward adult job adjustment.

Much can be done in this field. Hence specific and detailed suggestions are presented here for the use of parents and advisers as they attempt the vocational guidance of adolescents. Many of the questions asked by young people are treated in detail, since vocational success or lack of success may have its roots in a decision or an overt response which at the time seemed of little significance.

Parents and employers can well check their own attitudes toward young people's vocational problems as they consider the suggestions presented below under the following headings:

1. Choosing a career
2. Training for a job
3. Helping an adolescent obtain a job
4. Adjustment on the job

Choosing a Career

The fact that a young person may believe that his parents are interfering unduly with his vocational interests may constitute a serious problem of vocational adjustment for that person. It is true that most young people go through phases of occupational interest. Beginning in early childhood, a boy may in turn want to be a candyshop owner, a fireman, a policeman, a baseball pitcher, a prize fighter, a big banker, a politician, a physician, or any other of a number of successful business, professional, or sports leaders.

A girl at various stages of her childhood and adolescent development may insist that she is going to be a schoolteacher, a nurse, an actress, a model, a writer, a missionary, a nun, or a diplomat. As the boy or girl reads about or meets a successful member of any one of these vocations, his youthful tendency toward hero worship is stimulated and he sees himself winning the fame and honor that are being earned by his current idol.

Extent of parental influence. Youthful enthusiasms are understandable, and most parents do not take them too seriously. Intelligent parents are able to recognize any special type of vocational interest that seems to persist in the young person. If they believe that he shows ability for that particular field, as well as interest in it, they encourage him toward definite preparation for it. However, parents must be able to distinguish between the temporary interests of their children and any deep-seated interest born of an incipient aptitude for the vocation.

Every parent probably has high hopes for the future success of his children. These hopes must have a practical basis of good common sense. No parent should consider a young person's future solely in terms of his own interests and ambitions. Nor should a parent for purely selfish reasons discourage a young person from following a reasonable vocational ambition. Rarely, however, does a parent recognize the selfishness of his reasons for denying to his child a desired freedom of vocational choice. Many a parent believes himself to be influenced in his judgment by praiseworthy and logical motives.

A parent should encourage his child in a vocation for which the parent at one time had wanted to prepare himself *only* if parent and child both recognize the fact that the latter gives evidence of ability for, and interest in, that field. An educator was heard to remark that he believes a study should be made of the number of lives that have been ruined by too much parental domination of young people's vocational choice.

The parent who attempts to dominate his child's vocational life is only a little worse than the parent who will assume no responsibility whatever for his son's or daughter's choice of lifework. A man or woman is failing in his responsibilities as a parent if he gives no advice or shows no interest in his child's future, is unwilling to make any personal sacrifice so that his child may prepare for a desirable field, or interferences with his child's education by forcing the young person to give up his studies and go to work in a dead-end job, except in a serious financial emergency.

Adolescent career planning should be a cooperative venture on the part of both parent and child and should include the utilization of all available sources of vocational information. Some excellent information may be obtained in the following ways, each of which will be discussed briefly.

1. Reading of books and pamphlets dealing with occupational opportunities and job analyses
2. Visits to business, industrial, and professional organizations
3. Investigation of training programs offered by colleges and specialized schools
4. Attendance at vocational conferences
5. Consultation with school counselors

Modern, well-equipped public libraries are likely to have available for

the reader's use many good books dealing with vocational material. In many communities civic, business, and industrial leaders welcome inquiries about their organizations from interested young people and their parents. Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and Exchange clubs often conduct planned programs of presenting occupational needs and offerings for the benefit of citizens. Other organizations such as the Knights of Columbus and the Ys, parent-teacher associations, and business and professional clubs usually are very helpful.

Detailed information concerning educational opportunities on the post-high school level is presented in the publications of the American Council on Education and the U.S. Office of Education. The yearly catalogues of colleges also are helpful. After parents and the adolescent, as a result of reference reading, have narrowed their selection to two or three possible choices, a visit to each of the selected colleges usually is wise. Through a tour of the campus and consultation with appropriate members of the faculty, the visitors can discover much about the suitability of the institution's offerings in terms of their interest. In addition, by meeting and talking with the potential candidate and his parents, the college authorities can discover to what extent the young person can be expected to profit from attendance at the college.

Many private and community-controlled organizations are attempting to help young people, parents, and school advisers in teen-age career planning. Some of these groups conduct periodic conference programs at which leaders in the field discuss with interested adolescents and adults the practical problems connected with vocational planning and adjustment. Assistance also can be obtained from trained high school counselors who, with the aid of a well-equipped library, are in a position to offer excellent vocational and educational advice.

Since the occupational activities of men, and in the modern world of women as well, are so important in the complete pattern of an individual's entire adult life, planning and preparation for this phase of living should not be hasty or be influenced by such factors as temporary expediency or immediate satisfaction. A long-range program should be mapped out co-operatively by parent and child and should include the following considerations:

1. Demonstrated abilities and interests
2. Occupational opportunities in the field of interest, not only at the present but also in the future
3. The amount and kind of training needed
4. The schools that are best equipped for this training and that are most accessible

Guidance functions of school personnel. In every school there can be found individual teachers whose interest in all or some of their pupils

impels them to become very much concerned about the vocational plans of their young people. Consequently, such teachers are often able to give excellent advice informally to individual pupils. However, if every boy and girl is to receive adequate vocational guidance, every school should plan a practical and inclusive program of guidance for all pupils. There are many vehicles available for the offering of such assistance to young people.

Fortunately, trained and experienced leaders in the field have organized in book form some of the programs and techniques that they have found through experience to be practical and successful. The suggestions to be found in such writings usually can be adapted to the needs of particular schools and are worthy of study and application.

Although vocational guidance is generally considered to be the responsibility of secondary schools and schools of higher learning, certain groundwork can be done on the elementary school level. The first six years of a child's school life are devoted primarily to the mastery of certain simple and fundamental skills and information and to the development of desirable appreciations and civic attitudes. However, included in the child's program of work and play are many experiences that offer a background of occupational awareness, which at this level is not definitely aimed at vocational guidance but which will be helpful to him as he gives serious thought on the secondary school level to his vocational planning.

Moreover, well-kept cumulative records of the progress of elementary school pupils and of any special interests or abilities will be of great value later. Elementary school advisers should be constantly on the alert to recognize those vocational interests of their young pupils that seem to show some degree of permanency. These advisers should also take into consideration the mental and temperamental characteristics of the children. Upon the basis of these factors elementary school graduates can be steered toward entrance into the high school that is best suited to meet their vocational needs and interests. For the child who does not yet give evidence of any specific aptitude a general high school course is recommended.

The vocational-guidance service beyond the elementary school level should be broad in its scope but so specific in application as to serve every student in terms of his needs and interests. An adequate guidance program provides up-to-the-minute vocational information, helps individual students evaluate their interests and potentialities, accumulates pertinent data concerning each student, offers trained counseling service, arranges for appropriate vocational preparation, maintains a full- or part-time placement service, and attempts to follow up former students on the job to help in their job adjustments. In addition, the guidance staff engages in

continued research concerning job opportunities, improved training, and similar areas of vocational interest.

A well-organized, fully staffed, and adequately implemented guidance program is expensive and, consequently, not always achievable. To the extent that the budget permits, every young person should be helped through the use of testing programs, appropriate reading, radio, television, and motion-picture presentations, visits to business and industrial organizations, a course in occupational information, and group and individual conferences, to attain an intelligent understanding of his own specific strengths and weaknesses, his vocational interests, the fields in which he may be expected to make the best adjustment, and the advancement possibilities in that field.

Career planning for girls. At one or another stage of adolescence most girls dream about a future career. The connotation of the term *career* differs with adolescent appreciation of life values. It is sometimes used to indicate that a girl should prepare herself for a gainful occupation in which she will engage until she marries. It may imply that a girl is definitely planning to devote the remainder of her life to the achieving of success in a given occupational field. Advisers of girls need to be very tactful as they help their students plan for the future.

Every girl should be encouraged to prepare herself for the eventual career of wifehood and motherhood, no matter how she plans for the time that will intervene between her graduation and probable marriage. To that end, every girl should receive some training in home care, home nursing, care of children, home decoration and furnishing, planning and care of clothes, and household budgeting. No preparation for a career should be allowed to interfere with the training to be gained in courses that prepare a girl for the career of homemaking.

Besides the training in the care of the home, it is desirable that every girl receive some vocational training; and that, for a shorter or longer period in her late adolescence and early adulthood, she receive some experience in a gainful occupation. There are several reasons for this.

The girl may not marry so soon as she expects to, and may need to support herself during the interim. Also it is probable that a young woman who has had experience as a worker will be able to manage her household in a more businesslike way than can the girl who has had no such experience. Earning and spending her own money helps the girl better to appreciate the value of money; she is likely to budget her household expenses with a minimum of extravagance.

The husband may die or become incapacitated for work, and the wife may be forced to become the breadwinner of the family. If she has a vocation for which she has been trained and in which she has worked previous to her marriage, she probably will find it relatively easy to ob-

tain gainful employment. An incapacitated father and an untrained mother can do little for their children.

As the years pass, the husband may become very much engrossed in his own business or profession and the adolescent children may turn to interests outside the home. Many a middle-aged wife and mother who is and has been a good home manager finds herself with a great deal of free time on her hands and no satisfactory means of filling this time. Some women turn to philanthropic activities, but these do not always satisfy. A bored woman may become an irritable member of the household. However, if she can resume the place that she once had in the business or professional world, she adds another interest, not only to her own life but also to the lives of the other members of her family, provided that the outside work does not interfere too much with her home responsibilities.

In a time of national worker shortage, such as is experienced during a war, married women who have been trained in certain specific fields are of incalculable value.

If becoming a career woman is interpreted as meaning that she shall devote her life to a field of work in which she has exceptional power of achievement, the question of whether or not such a woman should marry cannot be answered by a simple Yes or No. Usually a woman who can earn fame for herself in a given field such as writing, business, law, teaching, nursing, social service, or scientific research has inherent qualities that should be passed on to another generation, and possesses also the essence of fine comradeship to share with a husband. It would seem unfortunate that a woman who has so much to give should be denied the satisfactions that can come only through the experiencing of family life.

It is not impossible for a woman to continue her career and also to make an adequate adjustment to wifehood and motherhood. If the woman brings to her home relationships the same intelligent management that she exercises in her out-of-the-home work, she can do both and at the same time enjoy the love and respect of her family. There are times when the career woman will need to subordinate her career to the needs of the home. Her husband and children should not be sacrificed for her outside interests.

Relationship between vocational interest and job success. Rarely does a person earn success in a vocation that has been forced upon him, although in an emergency an able person may be able to make a satisfactory adjustment in a field of work that is very far removed from his interest. During the depression of the 1930s, many men and women who were forced out of their chosen vocations were able to make an excellent temporary adjustment to types of work which, under ordinary circumstances, would have been most unsatisfying to them. The majority of these persons returned to their accustomed vocations as soon as this was possible. A

few found opportunities for advancement in the new field and remained in it.

This is not an argument for allowing young people to "fall" into a vocation with little or no consideration of their interests or abilities. Other things being equal, a person achieves his greatest job satisfaction and job success in that field for which he is mentally and temperamentally fitted and for which he has received adequate training. It may happen that an unusually able person can achieve success in more than one field. He may start in one of these and, for one reason or another, shift to the other with little, if any, diminution of successful achievement. Usually, this is not true for less able individuals.

A person who exhibits more than one interest may be encouraged to use one of these as his vocational interest and the other as an avocational interest or hobby. Later, the avocation may become the prime interest of the individual or he may gain a definite reputation in his avocational field, so that the avocation becomes the vocation.

Training for a Job

Job success includes many complex elements. The personal qualities of the worker, the conditions under which he works, and the effectiveness of worker supervision represent significant factors of worker competence and contentment. Of primary importance, however, is the worker's trained ability to perform adequately whatever constitutes job requirements.

Amount and kind of training needed by the young worker. A person should receive the best training possible for the work in which he is planning to engage. This statement needs to be explained in order to make its meaning clear. There is a difference of opinion among vocational experts as to which of the two following procedures is a better course to follow: (1) obtain a thorough training for *entrance* into the field, so that minimal job requirements can be met adequately, and later the finer details of the work or the more complicated procedures be mastered by the worker in the form of apprentice training, or (2) complete the entire training before the actual experience begins, so that the worker from the start may be a master workman.

As a matter of fact, these two theories are really one, with different emphases. The extent of preparatory training completed before a young person enters into the activity itself depends upon the ultimate ambition of the worker, his financial ability to continue his training beyond a certain point, or the needs of the work world.

To say that a young medical student should be allowed to practice medicine before he has mastered all the needed training in *materia medica*

would be allowing him indirectly to commit professional suicide. After he has mastered certain fundamental knowledges and skills, he can be allowed to practice these under guidance as a kind of medical apprentice. If, after he has become a licensed physician, he wishes to specialize in any one field of medicine or surgery, this specialized study could very well—and probably should—come after he has had some experience as a general practitioner in medicine.

Again, a young person majors in commercial work in high school and is prepared for secretarial work or bookkeeping. Which is better—to continue on the college level his study of personnel management, office management, or accountancy, or to practice the skills that he has mastered and, concurrently or later, continue his studies toward higher levels of job requirements? No definite policy can be set down. However, if the boy or girl continues his education before he has had experience as a worker, he needs some practice on a part-time or an apprentice basis in order to obtain a complete picture of job requirements.

At present, educational and occupational leaders are cooperating with one another in a manner that in the past was almost unknown. School counselors are making a conscientious attempt to analyze job requirements and, through individual and group conferences with employers, to familiarize themselves in a practical way with the employer point of view. Hence, training is geared to prepare the trainees for intelligent workmanship when they enter the specific field for which they have been trained.

Through educator-employer cooperation, employers are learning more about the capacities and limitations of young workers and are enabled to evaluate more adequately performance possibilities of job applicants and to provide further training whenever it seems desirable. Executives of many large organizations consider training on the job so important that they maintain their own training classes and allow time from the regular workday for attendance at these classes.

The purpose of this training is twofold: (1) improvement of the techniques of the job in which the worker is at present engaged and (2) advanced training for outstanding workers, aimed at promotion in the organization. For example, a nationally known insurance company gives a great amount of attention to the wise selection of workers and their subsequent success on the job. Once a worker is hired, he rarely is discharged unless he gives evidence of complete inability to adjust to any one of the many departments of the organization. If the worker shows dislike of the particular job for which he was hired or unsatisfactory performance in it, he is given tryouts and specific training for other forms of work within the organization until that one is found in which the young person is best able to make an adjustment.

Some employers go a step further in this matter of advanced training

for their employees. It is not uncommon for an unusually promising worker to be encouraged by his employer (even to the giving of financial aid) temporarily to discontinue his work with the organization in order to prepare himself for a position of greater responsibility in the same organization upon the completion of his advanced study.

It is extremely important that a young person be discouraged from entering a field for which he is only partially trained. Whatever his beginning responsibilities in a particular vocation may be, the candidate for that work should be thoroughly trained to meet those responsibilities.

One of the tragedies of worker shortage in industry is the fact that many young people are encouraged to leave school and undertake work for which they are in the process of being trained. As a consequence, employers complain bitterly concerning the inefficiency of their workers, yet do not dare to discharge these untrained young people lest there be no others available. Hence these job holders pile up for themselves much unsatisfactory work experience. When there is a decrease in the demand for workers, they are in the anomalous position of having experience (which usually is desirable) but insufficient training. They must compete with inexperienced but thoroughly trained young people. It is too early to prophesy which the employer in the future will stress—experience with limited training or adequate training with little or no experience.

Specialized training versus liberal education. In the past, training for work experience in such fields as art, music, commercial work, and mechanics was received for the most part either by way of private tutors, in specialized schools, or through apprenticeship under the supervision of master workers. There still are such agencies; many do an excellent job of intensive training. However, no matter what the field of specialization may be, the trainee needs more than skill competence. All forms of work are social in nature, in that the worker must associate with other persons. These include workers like himself, persons for whom the work is being done, and employers or supervisors whose function it is to evaluate critically both the work and the worker. Moreover, a worker does not work at his job for twenty-four hours of the day. Hence he needs training for living a rich and full life during his nonworking hours.

Recognizing the need for more than specialized training, many colleges and other schools of higher learning are including specialized training in their broad program of education. Hence there are available, in one college or another of excellent standing, opportunities for specific training in music, art, teaching, journalism, home economics, interior decorating, accountancy, merchandising, mechanics, and the like. In these colleges, as the student pursues his specialized training, he may also gain cultural education through such subjects as philosophy, the languages, literature, social science, psychology, pure science, and mathematics. At one and the

same time he is being educated to be a worker and to appreciate fundamental life values.

The modern tendency is that of educating along broad, as well as special, lines. Therefore, whenever it is geographically and economically possible to do so, parents and advisers should encourage young people to continue their specialized training in schools or colleges that offer broad cultural education. Of course the young person must be assured of receiving as intensive training in his specialization in a school of this kind as he would in a specialized school. Unfortunately, since this movement is relatively new, some colleges are not yet prepared to offer as exhaustive specialized training as can be obtained in the old and thorough specialized schools. This is not an argument for a return to narrow specialization, but it is a plea for the improvement of course offerings and teaching personnel in the colleges.

Helping an Adolescent Obtain a Job

The kind of job in which an adolescent starts his occupational life is very important. Here he will need to acquire a new set of attitudes and behavior patterns in order to meet the demands of a new situation. His whole work life may be influenced by the stimulations to which he is exposed in his first job. It is here that he first learns about worker responsibility and rights, employer-employee relations, and employee-employee relations.

If an adolescent's experiences in his first job are wholesome and satisfying, he is likely to develop desirable worker attitudes. If in his first job he is allowed to develop habits of carelessness, if the employer is too easy or too rigid, or if the morale among the workers is undesirable, the young entrant into work life, like the young entrant into school life, gets off to a bad start and may have difficulty later in making a wholesome adjustment to any type of job situation.

Job information. It is imperative that parents and advisers give careful consideration to a young person's first job placement and that they do all that they can to help him secure employment with a reputable employer. If this is done, the adolescent is given an opportunity to do work that lies within the limits of his capacity and training among workers who give evidence of wholesome worker morale. Too many times the first job is looked upon as an unimportant steppingstone to better things. What is overlooked is the fact that the young worker is very suggestible at this time and can be influenced by his work environment more easily than will be possible later.

The usual avenues for gaining information about job vacancies include

1. Friends and acquaintances

2. Newspaper advertisements
3. Magazines and occupational periodicals
4. Commercial employment agencies
5. Government employment agencies
6. School employment agencies
7. Civil service and other examination techniques
8. Random shopping around

Friends and Acquaintances. One of the most commonly used methods of job placement is that of seeking the assistance of relatives, friends, or acquaintances. A man or a woman known to the family has a position in which he is earning success, or he himself is an employer of young people. Hence he appears to be an excellent medium for helping the adolescent obtain his first job. One advantage of using this technique is that the parent usually can be assured that working conditions in this organization will be desirable.

However, this method of obtaining job placement has several possible disadvantages. If the prospective employer is a relative or a friend of the young worker, the latter's employment may stimulate an attitude of antagonism toward him among the other workers. He may be regarded by them as the "boss's pet" or, still worse, as an agent placed among them in order to spy upon them. This attitude is intensified if the young person received the position in preference to another applicant, possibly better fitted for the work but not personally known to the employer. Many businessmen for this reason refuse to employ close friends or members of their own families. The best that they will do is to refer such a person to the organization of a business associate, where the personal element is not obvious.

Often, especially in times of worker shortage, an employer requests his employees to inform their friends of vacancies on the staff. The employer philosophy is that satisfactory workers are likely to have friends who would possess desirable personality and worker attitudes. For a qualified young person this is an excellent approach to a job. If his friend is a capable and well-liked member of the organization, the new employee's early job adjustments will be made easy for him. Many employees who are asked to help in the filling of vacancies refer the request to their former school and thus are assured of as careful job placement as that which they received.

If the situation is merely that of a friend's or a relative's attempting to help out an adolescent without sufficient knowledge of the young person's attitudes or job qualifications, the results may be unsatisfactory. The fact that one person has earned success in a given type of work or in a particular organization is no guarantee that another person will be equally satisfactory or satisfied.

A young person rarely should start his work life in the employ of a friend or relative. He should seek employment in an organization in which a friend or relative works only if he is thoroughly qualified to meet the responsibilities of the job for which he is applying. In general, an appeal for help in job placement to those who are near to the family should be the last rather than the first method of approach to be used.

Newspaper Advertisements. Reputable newspapers are accustomed to investigate help-wanted advertisements. Many firms are well-known organizations, and there need be no doubt as to their honesty and sincerity. The young applicant will probably be interviewed by a member of the firm's personnel department. The only concern here will be whether or not the applicant is qualified for the vacant position. It would be in order for the adolescent in such instances to answer the advertisement unaccompanied by an adult.

If, however, the advertisement has the appearance of a "blind ad," if the advertiser is an individual rather than a well-known organization, or if the nature of the work is not definitely stated, an adult of experience should investigate the reliability of the advertisement before a young person is allowed to apply for the job. Under no circumstances should an adolescent go for an interview in this type of opening unaccompanied by an adult. Sometimes young people feel that to take a relative with them when they are applying for work may militate against their chances of obtaining the position. This is not true. A reputable businessman, more often than not, prefers to employ a young person whose parents or advisers are concerned about the kind of place in which he or she will work. This applies especially to girls but holds also for young boys.

Magazines and Occupational Periodicals. Advertisements that appear in the better journals usually are authentic. Many organizations of national reputation advertise in trade journals. Such firms can offer ambitious, well-qualified young people excellent opportunities for success and advancement. Parents need have no fears concerning the advisability of their sons' or daughters' responding to such advertisements. However, if the advertiser is not known to the parents, the procedures suggested above should be followed.

Commercial Employment Agencies. There are some well-known agencies that have a reputation for intelligent and honest placement. Others are very undesirable. These agencies are business concerns and rightly expect to receive payment for services rendered. They are active in bringing the individual and the job together. For this they receive a flat bonus or a percentage of his earnings.

Reputable agencies want satisfied clients—both employer and employee. They make certain that the vacancy is desirable and that the applicant meets the qualifications set for the opening. This is particularly true of

agencies that deal with placement in professional fields such as teaching, chemistry, or other technical work.

Less reputable agencies place the emphasis upon turnover of business. Hence they may not investigate employers or they may send to them applicants who do not have the proper qualifications for the positions. Moreover, in times of worker shortage they are likely to use little discretion in placing young people; and in time of worker oversupply their attitude toward possible applicants is often discourteous and disheartening.

Government Employment Agencies. These agencies operate on a non-fee basis and are sincere in bringing work opportunities and workers together. They are often understaffed, with a consequent inability to make as careful placements as they would like. These agencies have the opportunity of obtaining long-range and long-view knowledge of work opportunities and needs. If their personnel could be increased to the point at which they would have enough well-trained placement counselors available to make a thorough analysis of job requirements and worker qualifications, a fine job of placement could be done by them.

School Employment Agencies. The use of these agencies has one distinct advantage. The school knows its students. In making placements it can give careful attention to the individual's abilities and extent of training.

Sometimes employers are a little afraid to make use of a school placement service until the school gains a reputation for thorough training and intelligent placement. However, there are employers who, as a result of previous experience with graduates of a particular school, consult that school first for their employees. A very fine relationship is further established and strengthened as the school's vocational counselor follows up the performance of his graduates on the job.

Very often school counselors consult with the parents when the latter sign the employment certificate of their son or daughter. In this way the parent receives firsthand information from the school concerning the kind of work for which his child is fitted and the kind of firm to which he is being sent. Often the parent is encouraged to accompany the young person for his first interview, in spite of the fact that a school counselor does not send a young person to a job vacancy that he himself has not first investigated.

Perhaps the most satisfactory function of school employment agencies might be that of cooperation with the State Employment Service. Successful job placement rests in good part upon two factors—extensive information concerning job opportunities and intensive knowledge of the skill and personal qualifications of the applicants.

This is where the government placement agencies and the schools that train the potential workers, by pooling their resources, could help one

another. A suggestion as to an effective means of achieving this cooperation is that of having associated with each school a member of the State Employment Service, who would bring to the school his knowledge of available vacancies and would receive from the school advisers intimate and detailed information concerning available and qualified candidates. In this way the job and the potential worker could be brought together with a minimum of record keeping and overlapping of effort.

Civil Service and Other Examination Techniques. Doctors, lawyers, teachers in many communities, nurses, all civil service employees, and the like must pass qualifying examinations of one kind or another before they are eligible to engage in their chosen work. Many large business houses employ a similar technique, although in a less rigid and more informal way.

If the examination techniques now in use could be modified in such a way that attitudes and personality qualities could be evaluated for all candidates who are qualified to enter competition, better placement of young people in jobs for which they are suited might be brought about. As leaders in the field come to recognize the importance of the more subtle elements of job efficiency, examination techniques will be adjusted in such a way that those candidates for placement who are best fitted both in personality and demonstrated skill will be the first to be considered for job placement.

When appointment to a particular job is based upon an individual's place on a list that has been promulgated as a result of an examination open to all qualified candidates, a beginner in a desired field is assured of the fact that his appointment is not based upon personal prejudice of any kind. His likelihood of early job placement will be in direct relationship to his demonstrated possession of certain qualities rather than on such factors as favoritism and prejudices. Moreover, if the placement carries with it a definite salary schedule, regular salary increments, at least partial tenure, and advancement through further examination, he is able to begin his employment relieved of those tensions which are likely to accompany placement in jobs in which there is the possibility of insecurity based on factors outside the proficiency of his work.

Job application. The technique of applying for a job has become much more formalized and follows a much more regular routine than formerly was the practice. In the past the procedure was somewhat as follows: The young applicant learned about a job vacancy in one of several ways. He then presented himself at a specified place, at a definite time, with or without a letter of introduction, and was interviewed by the prospective employer. The interview usually was informal and followed whatever pattern a particular employer considered to be the most successful for obtaining desirable workers.

In many organizations the above technique is still used, but there is an

increasing tendency to supplement the interview by other more objective methods of discovering the qualifications of the applicant. Assuming that entrance into a given field is not by way of a formal examination system, the following practices are common to many organizations:

1. Letter of application
2. The filling in of formal application blanks, questionnaires, or interest blanks
3. The presentation of substantiating data concerning kind and extent of training
4. Letters of recommendation or formal recommendation blanks
5. Personal interview
6. Practical demonstration of skill or knowledge

Parents and advisers should be thoroughly acquainted with these techniques.

Letter of Application. Most prospective employers prefer that this letter be written in longhand rather than typewritten. They seem to believe that they can gain certain information about the applicant from his style of handwriting and from the composition and general arrangement of the letter. This does not imply that employers believe that a character analysis can be obtained from handwriting. However, a letter written in longhand is more likely to represent the candidate's own efforts than might a typewritten letter.

The personal information presented in this letter should be accurate and should be stated as briefly as is consistent with the inclusion of all necessary data. The reader should find in the letter adequate coverage of the following matters:

1. Source of the applicant's knowledge of the vacancy.
2. Address, sex, and age of the applicant.
3. Reasons for the writer's application.
4. Education and specific training qualifications.
5. Work experiences, if any. (This might well include any part-time work or school activity related to the kind of work being sought.)
6. A request for an interview or for information concerning the next step to be taken by the applicant.

The letter should be neatly and carefully written and free from blots, erasures, striking out of letters and words, and the like. Margins should be even and punctuation correct. Unimportant information or comments should be avoided, as well as undue emphasis upon any exceptional achievements of the candidate. The letter should be neither apologetic nor humble in tone.

A young person writing his first letter of application should ask his parents or his adviser to edit it. However, the letter should be the young person's own composition and should not be written for him by an adult.

An alert employer or personnel worker can usually recognize the extent to which a young person has been aided in the writing of a letter. Even though this fact is not immediately recognized by the employer, a letter written by an adult may be so well phrased that too much will be expected of the supposed young writer.

It is unwise to claim the ability of doing more than one can. The teacher who coaches his students for a standardized test, and the parent or adviser who writes a letter for a young job applicant, will not always be present to do the thinking for that young person if the latter is given certain responsibilities, the capacity for the doing of which would seem to be indicated by his performance on the test or in the letter of application. Employer disillusionment and worker discouragement are likely to follow any dishonesty in job application.

The Filling in of Application Blanks. In many ways this technique is simpler for the applicant than writing a letter of application. Some companies require the letter of application to be followed by the filling in of these blanks by those candidates whose letters seem to warrant further consideration. Other organizations invite young people to send for or to call personally for the application blank and to enter on it all pertinent information.

Young people should be discouraged from presenting any information that is not entirely correct. Age should not be falsified. In a time of extreme worker shortage some employers tend to be careless in this matter unless they are called to account for disregard of state law. Since employment certificates and social security cards are required for placement on a job, any attempt to give incorrect information on an application blank in order to increase one's eligibility for a job may be checked and cause embarrassment.

Personal questions such as those which deal with nationality or race or with religious affiliations are forbidden by law in some states. However, in those states where this information can be called for, answers should be given honestly, even though this may mean that the applicant is thereby refused employment. The truth will become known eventually and may result in extremely unpleasant experiences.

If an interest blank or similar questionnaire is administered, the young applicant's responses should be made in terms of his actual attitudes and interests, rather than in terms of what he thinks he should say. He may have a mistaken idea concerning what is expected of him and so may say the wrong thing, or he may convey an impression of himself as an individual that will not be substantiated by his later behavior if he obtains the position.

Briefly, parents and advisers should make certain that young people give honest and accurate answers to all questions addressed to them. Of

course young people should be taught to be honest and sincere in all their relations with other people. Honesty in job seeking is emphasized here because of the number of questions relative to this point that are constantly asked by young job seekers.

The Presentation of Substantiating Data. Little need be said about this technique. An increasing number of employers send directly to the school concerned for transcripts of the applicant's school record, including age, date of graduation or of leaving the school, rank in class, subject matter strengths and weaknesses, personal characteristics, and interests. This is a desirable procedure.

The information presented by the applicant usually agrees with authoritative records. Occasionally there is evidence that a young applicant has not presented accurate data. In the matter of application for positions of trust and confidence with the government, intensive follow-up and investigation of all records, as well as a check on personality characteristics, are made by government investigators.

Letters of Recommendation and Recommendation Blanks. Young people often find it difficult to recognize the relative worthlessness of a letter of recommendation that they have solicited from a friend and have then presented personally to a prospective employer. They need to be educated toward an understanding of the purpose and value of letters of recommendation.

If a young person is asked to present such letters, he will, of course, solicit them from persons who, he has reason to believe, think well of him and will write flattering letters about him. The writer of such a letter is thereby confronted with the problem of giving a fair estimate of the applicant and at the same time of helping him to obtain the job.

To be of value, letters of recommendation should be sent directly to the prospective employer and should be honest in statement. To suppress information that would give indication of an applicant's unsuitability for a job or to overemphasize the young person's desirable qualities will hinder rather than help the applicant's future success if he should obtain the position. Moreover, personal prejudice should never show itself in a letter of recommendation.

Many businessmen and personnel managers have discarded the use of letters of recommendation and are substituting for them regular recommendation blanks containing specific questions referring to those particular attitudes and behavior habits which are essential to success in the position to be filled. Anyone called upon to answer a questionnaire of this type should give accurate responses that are detailed enough to present a true picture of the young person concerned. If the writer does not have sufficient data at his disposal to answer some of the questions accurately, he should not hesitate to admit this fact. In some schools a cumula-

tive personal record is included in the files of the graduates. These can be consulted when the blanks are being completed.

Personal Interview. Rarely is an applicant hired without a personal interview. This is a grueling experience for many young people. Often the more desirable the candidate, the more likely he is to show nervousness or fear of the interview. The majority of interviewers are trained to recognize applicant potentialities that may not show themselves in the interview. There are, however, certain ways in which the young person can be helped to create a favorable impression upon the interviewer. Parents and advisers should prepare a candidate for an interview by emphasizing the importance of the following points:

1. *Careful Grooming.* The candidate should make sure that his hair is neatly combed, that his hands and fingernails are clean, and that his clothes and shoes are appropriate, spotless, and in good condition. He should make certain that his handkerchief is clean and that his gloves are free from holes. If the applicant is a girl, her use of cosmetics should be sparing and artistic.

2. *Punctuality.* The candidate should arrive at the place of the interview early, so that he has sufficient time to compose himself or to make last-minute adjustments in his clothes or grooming. He should never be late unless he has been unavoidably detained, as by a serious transportation delay. In such circumstances it would be desirable for the applicant, if he could, to telephone to the interviewer, reporting the cause of the delay, and leaving it to him to decide whether or not the interview should be held as soon as possible or should be postponed. An interviewer who is kept waiting is not likely to be favorably disposed toward the applicant who is responsible for the delay.

3. *General Behavior.* The applicant's manner should be dignified, courteous, and controlled. There should be no gum chewing. There should be no indication of a hail-fellow-well-met attitude on the part of the applicant, neither should he look as though he were on the way to his own execution. His manner should be pleasant and cheerful, but reserved. If the interviewer indulges in witticisms as a means of putting an applicant at ease, the latter should not so presume upon the friendly attitude of the former as to return in kind. Instead, the applicant should indicate by his attitude that he understands and appreciates the interviewer's attempts to remove nervous tensions.

4. *Answers to Questions.* All questions asked by the interviewer should be answered by the applicant in a distinct, well-modulated voice, and in easy but not slangy phraseology. In general, the answers should be brief unless the interviewer encourages a detailed explanation of certain points. The applicant should not allow himself to be drawn into an argument, neither should he hesitate to admit his limitations. Sometimes an inter-

viewer deliberately baits a candidate in order to discover whether or not the young person has any clear conception of his own qualifications.

In one instance in which the applicant waxed eloquent concerning his varied abilities, the prospective employer terminated the interview with this statement: "You have convinced me that the job for which you are applying is too simple for your consideration. You should have my job, but I am not yet ready to turn it over to you. Good day." Not all interviewers are so frank as this one. They do not hire the applicant, but refrain from giving him the reason for their decision.

Some interviewers have pet stunts that they ask the applicant to perform. The activity, such as walking a straight line, looking up information in a book at hand and discussing it, or any similar task apparently unrelated to the duties of the position, may be utilized for one or another reason. The interviewer may wish to discover the attitude of the applicant toward the request, or he may desire to observe the quickness with which the young person responds to such directions. No matter what the reason for the request may be, if the candidate can meet it, he should do so with dignity and dispatch; nor should he question the reason for the activity unless the interviewer encourages him to do so.

Practical Demonstration of Skill or Knowledge. In certain fields, the formal examination referred to earlier takes care of this phase of job application. Many employers are beginning to use this technique informally as a part of the interview. The applicant is requested to bring with him certain samples of work that he has completed during his training period, is given a letter to type, is requested to carry on a simple piece of work related to the job for which he is applying, or is asked questions that will give evidence of his knowledge of certain definite facts or principles connected with this work.

To perform adequately in situations of this kind is difficult, unless the young person has a great deal of emotional control and confidence in his own skill. His fingers may seem to be all thumbs or he may feel that he has not a thought in his head. If the young person has been well trained and if he has been given sufficient opportunity to assume responsibility in other areas, he will have gained thereby a degree of self-confidence that will help him in a situation of this kind. Moreover, understanding interviewers are able to distinguish between actual lack of ability and errors that are the normal accompaniment of a testing situation.

Adjustment on the Job

The majority of the responsibilities of an employer to his beginning workers are no different from his responsibilities to all his workers. Many of these are required by law. An employer is responsible for

1. Paying a fair wage for work well done.
2. Providing hygienic working conditions. (These should include sufficient light and air, well-constructed furniture and machinery, safety devices, adequate facilities and sufficient time for lunch, short rest periods, sanitary lavatories, clothes lockers, drinking fountains, and the like.)
3. Administering constructive supervision.

In addition to the above, the employer has definite responsibilities for the welfare of a young employee. The beginning worker should be viewed as an apprentice who can be helped to become a valuable and satisfied member of the organization. He should be encouraged to do his work well and at the same time to learn through his experience on the job. He should never be exploited because of his youth and inexperience.

Attitudes and responsibilities of the employer. Many large business organizations have developed definite programs of employee orientation. In such programs considerable emphasis usually is placed upon the supervisor's or the foreman's responsibility for the initiation of new employees. The training division of the Atlas Powder Company includes in its training program a unit on the treatment of new employees, which we heartily endorse.

The first job experiences of a young man or woman may affect his usefulness as a worker during his entire work life, no matter what type of work his may be. Attitudes toward work in general and toward his special work in particular, relations with his fellow workers, reactions to supervision, and degree of job satisfaction are usually developed during a young person's first work experience. These general principles hold,

How to Start the New Employee Right

In acquainting the new employee with his job, the foreman must take FIVE STEPS

I—Make Friendly First Impression on New Employee.

1. Wear a smile.
2. Tell new employee your name and get his.
3. Shake hands—if it comes naturally.
4. Show interest by asking friendly questions.
5. Express sincere desire to help him make good.
6. Tell him you'll welcome questions.

Your impression on him is as important as his impression on you.

II—Explain Important Rules and Regulations.

1. General safety rules.
2. Working hours.
3. Notification of absence.
4. Passes and badges.
5. Restricted areas.
6. Plant protective regulations.
7. Parking and traffic rules.

III Tell Him about Employee Services and Opportunities.

Sell the new employee on the future of his job, by presenting briefly information regarding:

1. Vacation plan.
2. Sick leave privileges.
3. Medical and health services.
4. Recreational activities.
5. Educational opportunities.
6. Promotional opportunities.

IV Explain Pay System.

Be sure that the new employee knows

1. What his pay rate is.
2. How his pay is figured.
3. When he will be paid.
4. Overtime, holiday, and night shift rates.
5. How he can improve his earnings.
6. That you will answer any pay questions that arise.

V—Acquaint New Employee with Places and Fellow Workers.

Show him such locations as

1. First-aid room.
2. Wash room.
3. Dressing room.
4. Stock room, stores, and supply cribs.
5. Time clock.
6. Cafeteria.

Give him personal introduction

1. To employees with whom he will work.
2. To employees whom he will need to contact.

The first responsibility in the development of a satisfied and efficient worker is to make him feel at home when he starts his new job.

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whether the work life is started in the research laboratory, the business office, the classroom, the shop, the department store, the law office, the hospital, or any other seat of occupational endeavor.

Courtesy, dignity, kindness, and objectivity should characterize the attitude of an employer toward an employee at all times. The worker should be regarded as an honest, capable member of the organization, who expects to do his best and to receive an adequate monetary reward for his efforts. Each needs the other. The employer could not run his organization without the services of his employee. His employee would not be able to earn a living in his chosen vocation unless there were an opportunity for him to do so in an organized field of activity.

The office of a business firm or any other organization is no place for employer temper tantrums, harsh and destructive criticism, or unjust suspicions or accusations. The employer has the right to demand of his workers an honest day's work for an honest day's pay. Lack of punctuality, careless work, or loafing on the job should not be tolerated. An employee whose work is unsatisfactory or whose attitude is uncooperative should be helped by the employer or a supervisor to make desirable improvements. If this appears to be impossible, the worker should be asked to leave the organization but should be informed definitely and specifically concerning the reasons for his discharge.

There should be no favorites in an organization. All workers should be treated with equal justice and fairness. Promotion or salary increases should follow a definite plan with which the workers are acquainted and

How to Handle Grievances

Neglected or poorly handled grievances cause dissatisfaction, reduce worker efficiency, increase accident hazards, and may result in the loss of a needed employee's services.

To Handle A Grievance Properly, Take the Following Four Steps:

I Listen Open-mindedly.

1. Willingness to listen opens the aggrieved employee's mind.
2. Listen patiently.
3. Listen, no matter how trivial the grievance.
4. Encourage him to tell his story completely.
5. Show sincere interest in the employee's complaints.
6. Discuss, don't argue.
7. Even the small grievance is important to the man.

II Get All the Facts Straight.

1. Encourage the employee to repeat his grievance.
2. Question him carefully.
3. Talk to others if necessary.
4. Consult records when necessary.
5. Take time to get all the facts straight.
6. Don't "jump to conclusions."
7. If need be, consult the man above you.

III Act Promptly and Fairly.

1. Don't delay action.
2. Don't "pass the buck."
3. If the answer must be "No," give ALL the reasons why.
4. Handle an imaginary grievance with all tact and fairness.
5. Try to save the employee's face. Do not humiliate him.
6. Be ready to give the employee the benefit of the doubt.
7. Don't use your authority to force a decision.
8. Avoid snap judgment.
9. Never give an employee "the run around."

IV--Report.

1. Report all grievances to the man above.
2. Report grievances which you settle satisfactorily as well as grievances on which you must consult with higher authority.

"Most fires could have been put out with a teacup full of water if applied at the right time and place." ¶ Take care of the little grievances and the big grievances may never develop. ¶ Learn from every grievance how to make the jobs of your men more satisfactory. ¶ When listening to a grievance, put yourself in the other fellow's place. See it as he sees it.

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with which they are in agreement. An employer should never become a party to gossip about other workers, nor should he use an employee as an agent to spy upon other workers. The employer should do all in his power to build up a fine worker morale and friendly relations between the workers and himself, as well as among the workers.

Employers are as eager to have satisfied and efficient workers as are the workers to be happy and proficient. To this end many employers have put into practice certain techniques for resolving any conflicts that may arise. As an example of this we present another practice that is in use at the Atlas Powder Company.

An employer's attitude toward his workers should be friendly but not too informal. He cannot afford to mix his business with his social life. No matter how much an employer admires an employee, he should in no way make this interest apparent in his relations with the worker. The relationships that should exist between an employer and an individual employee follow the same general principles that were suggested earlier concerning teacher-pupil relations. One person cannot be singled out for special attention if a satisfied worker staff is desired. Human jealousies and resentments operate in the vocational field as they do in the home, in the classroom, or in any social group.

Undesirable as any show of favoritism is between an employer and an employee of the same sex, it is dangerous if it is evidenced between two persons of opposite sex, especially if the employer is a man and the employee is a young girl. The latter is impressionable and may view too seriously any exceptionally friendly behavior of an employer. She may feel that she has to accept his attention in order to keep her job. At the same time, if she is an emotionally stable young woman, she cannot help developing an attitude of contempt for an employer of this type, especially if she knows that he is a married man. The "office wife" has become the subject of much idle jest, which is sometimes ribald. Many

young girls, in facing a first job, are seriously bothered as they try to determine what the proper attitude should be toward a male employer. Situations of this kind need to be corrected by social pressure.

In large, reputable organizations this employer-employee or supervisor-employee relationship is well controlled by the management. While friendly relations among the entire staff are encouraged, any deviation from that which is consistent with high standards of behavior is not tolerated. All employers need to take seriously their responsibility of earning, by their controlled and dignified behavior, the respect of all their employees.

Job adjustment of the young worker. In general, a young person who has achieved a good home adjustment, who has enjoyed pleasant relationships with his teachers and schoolmates, and who is an active and cooperative member of other social groups has little to fear in the matter of his job adjustment. Attitudes of sincerity, trustworthiness, responsibility, industry, and social adaptability have become a fixed part of his behavior pattern. His own nature and the training that he has received in his home and in his school have developed in him the ability to adjust successfully to new situations, new responsibilities, and new people.

In spite of their own beliefs to the contrary—often vehemently expressed—that school habits of carelessness, indolence, tardiness, and ill humor will not show themselves on a job, young people who exhibit such characteristics during their school life do not suddenly, with their advance into the work world, become models of cooperation, carefulness, and punctuality. Preparation for successful job adjustment, then, has its beginnings in the first responses of a young child and continues as he learns to adjust satisfactorily in his home, school and social life.

In any new situation there are always found certain factors that will need intelligent consideration on the part of even the best-equipped individual if he is to meet the situation satisfactorily. A young worker must bring to his first job an understanding of the problems that may confront him, as well as an appreciation of his rights and responsibilities as a worker.

It is strongly recommended that parents and advisers prepare a young person ahead of time concerning his proper attitudes and conduct on the job. It is the function of school advisers to acquaint their students with the types of job adjustment that must be made. It then becomes the responsibility of parents to watch the progress of their working son or daughter and to help him in every way possible toward the achievement of job adjustment and job satisfaction. A young worker may be on his own economically, but he still needs guidance and counsel. Some of the more general job-adjustment factors are given below and discussed briefly.

Dress and Grooming. The kind of clothes to be worn depends upon the type of work to be done. Neatness and appropriateness of dress are essential. Whether overalls or business suit for the boy, or slacks, suit, or dress for the girl, all buttons should be secure, no rips or tears should be visible, and the handy safety pin should be conspicuous by its absence. Linen should be clean—at least at the beginning of the day. Moreover, the careful worker is able to keep himself reasonably neat and clean, no matter what his work may be.

Boys should shave daily and should keep their hair combed and fingernails clean. Girls should use make-up sparingly, avoid abnormally long and highly colored fingernails, and refrain from the use of cheap costume jewelry. Girls also should keep their hair well groomed and becomingly and conveniently arranged. The office or the workroom is not the powder room. All grooming activities should be taken care of in dressing rooms.

Businessmen and businesswomen of America have an international reputation for their dignified attitudes and excellent grooming. The young worker should get into step immediately, lest he be embarrassed by comparison of himself with his fellow workers.

Promptness and Punctuality. A young worker who finds it difficult to arrive at his job on time is piling up trouble for himself. Unless he is trained to arrive early enough so that he can reach his place of business a little before he is due, his last-minute scrambling is certain to affect his efficiency for the day. To catch the last car or bus and then to sit on the edge of the seat, wondering whether or not he may be late, give rise to an emotional disturbance that is difficult to overcome.

Employers are appreciative of the worker who is always ready to start his work on time. They look with favor on the employee who is not a "clock watcher" but is willing in an emergency to stay a few minutes overtime. Furthermore, one means of earning promotion or salary advancement is to be prompt in the execution of a piece of work that needs to be finished at a specified time.

Trustworthiness. The highest compliment that an employer can pay an employee is the expressed recognition of the fact that the latter is *absolutely trustworthy*. Such a worker will carry out his duties conscientiously. He will refrain from gossiping with his fellow employees and other business associates, or with his friends and family, about his employer's affairs.

A trustworthy employee regards the interests of his employer as his own interests. He feels a personal responsibility for the welfare of the organization. If there is any policy or practice of the organization that displeases him, he takes his criticism directly to his immediate superior.

Industry. A young worker must learn early that success usually ac-

companies the attitude of doing a little more, rather than a little less, than is expected of him. Here again, habits of work developed in the home and the school show themselves in the work life. To try to get out of responsibility does not bring personal job satisfaction or promotion. A workman is worthy of his hire, but he is not entitled to more than he deserves. Malingering on the job or being satisfied with mediocre achievement is neither honest nor ultimately satisfying.

Following Directions. No one is perfect—not even employers. It is possible for an alert, well-trained young worker to recognize the fact that certain practices in his place of business could be very much improved. Many employers encourage their workers to offer suggestions for the improvement of working techniques. However, no matter how much an employee disapproves of existing practices, it is not his function to make changes without the approval of his employer or the supervisor. The employee's duty is to take directions cheerfully and to carry them out to the best of his ability. He should always be on the alert, however, to find ways of improving techniques and then to present these suggestions clearly and tactfully to his employer or the supervisor.

Employee attitudes. Dignity, respect, and cooperation should characterize the attitude of an employee toward his employer. The young worker should not fear his employer any more than he should fear his parents or his teachers. If the employer's attitude is desirable, this is not difficult. However, an employee must never presume upon the good nature of his employer, nor mistake friendliness for easygoing laxity. The young worker should accept praise for work well done as well as reproof for poor workmanship. In fact, the young person who has been trained to respect his elders will have little difficulty in his relations with his employers.

Girl employees need to be very careful in their attitude toward men employers and supervisors. They should allow no social relationships to develop. If an employer and a woman employee need to discuss together any matter of business, this should be done at the place of business, not at luncheon or dinner. There is no excuse for a girl's accepting social invitations from her male employer. The importance of keeping employer-employee relations objective and businesslike cannot be stressed too strongly.

An unduly critical attitude toward the employer is equally undesirable. No employer, just as no parent or teacher, can please a young person at all times. If the employer is reasonable in his requests, the young worker should meet these cheerfully, painstakingly, and promptly. Parents should make it their business to discover the attitude of their working child toward his employer. If the employer cannot earn the young person's

respect, the parents of the latter should encourage a change of job, since it is almost impossible for a worker to be successful if there is not a desirable relationship between him and his supervisors.

Much that has been said previously concerning dignity and objectivity holds for a young person's relations with his fellow workers. Sometimes older workers regard an alert, ambitious young worker with suspicion. Hence it may be difficult for the new worker to find a place for himself in the group. He usually can break down group antagonism by assuming a modest attitude of cooperation. He should not attempt to force himself upon fellow workers but should wait until he is invited to join them. In a group of satisfied workers there are usually at least a few who are eager to welcome a young worker and to help him adjust to his new environment.

If a new employee assumes an attitude of aloofness or superiority in order to conceal his inner fear of the situation, he is likely to build up resentments against himself. The more natural a young person is in his behavior on the job, the easier it will be for him to become an accepted member of the organization. He should also realize that certain privileges come with length of service.

As in any group, the majority of the workers are likely to be well adjusted in their work and to exhibit a wholesome worker attitude. A few members may be uncooperative and critical of authority. The young worker needs to be on his guard against this small group of malcontents. At first they may seem to be more friendly toward him than the others, but this friendliness may have an ulterior purpose. He should join groups, but he should know what the objectives of a group are before he joins it.

Friendships among employees are likely to develop, but these friendships should not be allowed to interfere with the fulfillment of required duties. Business hours are work hours. There is no time in them for social visits among employees, discussion of personal matters, and gossiping.

The history of labor unions has been the story of worker struggle for worker rights. The rise of industrialism was accompanied by definite worker exploitation. Labor unions have done and can do an excellent job of protecting the rights of the working man or woman.

Most young workers have received their first knowledge of the activities of labor organizations in their own homes. In school, young people learn about the Industrial Revolution and the present status of labor unions. However, it is as they hear these organizations discussed in the family group that they develop favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward this or that labor group.

Fathers and mothers and older brothers and sisters must be objective and open-minded as they discuss such matters in the presence of adolescents. These adults must be careful that their biased attitudes do not

make it difficult for the younger members of their family to achieve, as workers, a desirable adjustment to the demands of a labor organization with which they may be expected to affiliate.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. To what extent is advice from other people concerning vocational choice helpful?
2. List, in the order of their significance, several ways of locating a job vacancy. Give reasons for the position of the items in your list.
3. What preparation is needed for a job-placement interview?
4. What help should an adolescent be given in making his vocational choice?
5. What attitude should a worker on the job assume toward a new fellow worker?
6. Evaluate an employer's desire to establish good relations among his employees.
7. Discuss the values of work experience for high school students.
8. How has technological development influenced job opportunities and vocational training? Give examples to illustrate your answer.
9. What factors account for the large number of adolescents who give vocational indecision as one of their chief worries?
10. Report on the relationship between extent of education and occupation. Extent of education and income.
11. Explain the aspiration of adolescents for white-collar jobs.
12. What conflicts are faced by girls that are seldom experienced by boys in vocational selection? In on-the-job activities?
13. To what extent should a worker go out of his way to assist a mal-adjusted worker?
14. What conditions should govern a promotion or a raise in pay?
15. What attitude should a worker assume toward a supervisor who is his personal friend?
16. Discuss the benefits of unions to workers. To employers.

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Chapter 17

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF ADOLESCENTS

An individual's so-called social attitudes and behavior permeate all his interpersonal and intergroup relations. At the same time, his degree of social awareness and adaptability is rooted in his total developmental pattern—physical, mental, and emotional. It could be argued that developmental progress also is basic in home, school, and vocational adjustments. Fundamentally this is so, but youthful experiences in these areas of human relationships appear to be more or less conditioned by particular situational factors. Social adjustment implies a relatively broad base of operations. A young person's social adjustment reflects the influence upon him of his experiences in the more specific adjustment areas, but goes beyond them as the adolescent attempts to respond to all the human interrelationships by which he constantly and consistently is stimulated.

The many aspects of social adjustment, interpreted in its widest form, have been included in appropriate areas of discussion throughout this book. Hence in this chapter attention is focused upon adolescents' informal relationships with one another, as together they participate in leisure-time and recreational activities. These activities represent youthful strivings for peer acceptance, adult approval, and eventual self-realization in an adult social world.

ADOLESCENT PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Adolescents tend to believe that in their social relationships they have the right to behave according to adult standards. On such matters as relations between the sexes, recreational activities, speech, mode of dress, and attitude toward the government, religion, and community affairs they quickly recognize the attitude and behavior of their elders.

Adult influence upon adolescent urges and interests. Since the adolescent rarely does things by halves, he tends not only to mold his conduct in terms of the examples that are set before him by his older associates but he goes a step further and throws himself enthusiastically into whatever activity he finds exciting or affords immediate satisfaction. He seldom either considers or recognizes the fact that the results may be disastrous. He often is stirred by a desire to reform the world. He takes seriously the social ills that are called to his attention. He has an urge to improve

the sorry state of affairs in the world. Fortunately, he is therefore capable of being influenced by the ideals of his elders as they attempt to guide his behavior into socially desirable channels.

Teen-age boys and girls want to go outside the home to engage in various kinds of social activities and games. They want the independence that matches their increasing strength and maturity. They want to be permitted to make greater use of their enlarged reasoning powers. The denial of these desires often makes them discontented and restless. As we know, the struggle between adolescent urges seeking expression, and attempts at their direction by adults who themselves seem to lack control of their own behavior, leads to bewilderment and sometimes to defiance of social customs and mores.

Young people are taught to be honest and sincere in their relations with others, yet they see deceit and dishonesty in adult relationships. They are told to be tolerant, but they are surrounded by racial, religious, and class bigotry and intolerance. They are given suggestions for appropriate dress and grooming, but their elders may follow the latest fads. They are admonished to be neat and clean, but they see older people often careless about their own appearance. They are taught the value of controlled behavior and proper speech, but they are stimulated by emotional outbursts and sarcastic and sometimes violent or vulgar speech. Decent and honorable relations between the sexes are stressed by parents and other social leaders. Yet not only are the newspapers filled with reports of illicit sexual relations, but adolescents' associates among older men and women often stimulate them with examples of such behavior.

"Do as I say but not as I do" is an attitude that is responsible for many of the problems that arise in the life of teen-age boys and girls as they seek to adjust to their social relationships. "Don't smoke, don't drink, don't go to night clubs and roadhouses. Don't stay out late, don't be late for appointments, don't choose the wrong companions, don't spend too much time at motion-picture houses. Don't! Don't! Don't!" On all sides the young person is warned of the dire results of his conduct if he does not follow these admonitions.

Many adults who thus attempt to direct the conduct of young people go blithely along in their own behavior practices, giving satisfaction to their immediate urges, prejudices, and desires, with no regard for the effect of their conduct upon the lives of others. Unfortunately, some adults who show a divergence between their own conduct and what they tell others to do are civic, educational, or social leaders whose behavior has a tremendous influence upon those with whom they come in contact.

Such situations make it very difficult for those adults who attempt to practice and teach desirable social attitudes to exert the influence that

they should over young people. Their striving to do what is right and proper, as well as to teach what is right and proper, causes them to be less appealing and less exciting than those adults who are not sincere and honest in their social living. Young people respond to the glamorous. They too want to be interesting. Hence they seem to think that they must choose between virtuous but dull and less virtuous but fascinating individuals, as patterns for their behavior.

Adolescent questions concerning social relationships. The questions asked by young people concerning their social relations are many and varied, and reflect every possible phase of social-group living. They are keenly interested in their own attitudes toward their associates and in the attitude of other people toward them. They want to know how to make and keep friends. Such matters as correct dress and grooming, ways of acquiring an attractive personality, and desirable behavior in public are very important to them.

The questions presented below typify young people's concern about the many problems that they encounter as they struggle toward adult adjustment in social relations.

1. In what kind of social activities should adolescent engage?
2. Why does the school not furnish more after-school social activities?
3. What games should be played at parties when both girls and boys are present?
4. At what age would it be permissible for a girl to go to a formal dance without a chaperon?
5. Where should young people go for their social activities?
6. Should a boy decide where to go on a date or should he leave that to the girl?
7. What can a girl say when she does not want to go to undesirable places and still not appear snobbish?
8. How can young people be helped to meet other young people?
9. What should a girl do if a strange boy starts a conversation with her?
10. Is it necessary to break old friendships when new ones are made?
11. How can a boy or girl develop social ease?
12. How can a boy overcome bashfulness in the presence of girls?
13. Should a girl accept a cocktail at a party in order to be sociable?
14. How can a boy or girl become popular?
15. Is it true that a boy who is popular with girls is not liked by other boys?
16. What is wrong if a girl is popular with the group but is not dated by boys?
17. Why are some girls popular with boys but not with girls?

18. Should one always be candid in expressing his opinions?
19. How important are friendships that are made during adolescence?
20. Why do some people take advantage of others?
21. How can one overcome doing things on impulse that are later regretted?
22. Parents and teachers are always talking about the right kind of companions. How can one know who is the right kind?
23. What should be one's attitude toward his friends?
24. Why are we encouraged to form friendships with members of our own sex?
25. Are most girls very changeable in their likes and dislikes of boys?
26. Should a girl associate with another girl who is six years older than herself?
27. Should boys and girls ever go "Dutch"?
28. Should matters concerning sex be discussed between a boy and girl?
29. How can one tell if another really loves him or her?
30. How can one judge the character of the boys with whom one associates?
31. What is puppy love?
32. What is a good way to refuse an invitation more than once without offending the person who extends the invitation?
33. How can a girl encourage a certain boy to date her?
34. Should a boy ever ask a girl who is much taller than he is to dance with him?
35. Is necking or petting wrong?
36. Does a boy respect a girl more if she does not pet?
37. How can one differentiate between love and infatuation?
38. If a boy and girl expect to marry, should they make dates with other girls and boys?
39. After a boy or girl marries, who should come first—the mate or the parents?
40. Should a girl marry for security if she is not in love?

As has been indicated earlier, a young person's social adjustment is not a thing apart, but is closely linked with his adjustment to his home and school relationships. It usually follows that a boy or girl who experiences a normal and well-integrated home and school life carries over into all his other associations a similar wholesomeness of attitude and control of behavior. Moreover, the cause of an adolescent's social maladjustment often can be traced to a home environment in which the teen-ager has had little or no opportunity to experience cooperative group living.

For example, 17-year-old Arthur is an only child. Since his early child-

hood both of his parents have worked outside the home. He always has been a lonely boy; his parents never have given him companionship, nor have they shown any concern about his social activities. In fact, his mother's attitude always has been that friends are not important. She repeatedly has told Arthur that if a person studies and becomes successful, "friends will come to you."

Although Arthur is an intelligent boy who does well in his studies, he is shy and retiring in the presence of young people. Hence his schoolmates do not include him in their social activities; in fact, they avoid him whenever they can. He became very much interested in one of the girls in the school, but she refused to socialize with him. Apparently he came to believe that she did not like him because he was not the gay, talkative type of boy who always has something funny to say.

Impelled by the need for group acceptance, Arthur now is trying to play the role of a sophisticated party boy, thereby making matters worse rather than improving the situation. His behavior is out of place and his schoolmates are coming to dislike him intensely. They resent his attempts to force his way into their groups and to impress them with "big talk" about all the places he has visited and all the important things he has done, such as reading books of college level and conducting scientific experiments. Arthur's difficulty stems from parentally induced self-centeredness, with a consequent misunderstanding of the meaning of group cooperation.

Although maladjustment cannot be labeled as completely home, school, vocational, or social, it usually is true that, unless early home or school difficulties can be adjusted, the uncontrolled behavior of the young person progresses (or rather, regresses) into actual delinquency or mental illness and becomes a serious social problem. Poverty, parental ignorance or indifference, and physical or mental disability are contributing factors in the setting up of a pattern of social inadequacy. The problems of social adjustment that are common to all normal young people who are growing up in normal environments become intensified if the young person has developed abnormal characteristics and is living in an unhygienic environment.

Fortunately, the majority of American young people bring to the solution of their problems of social living a background of healthy attitudes and behavior practices. In spite of the fact that even normal adolescents are consistent in their desire for independence of behavior in their social relationships, they are equally consistent in seeking sympathetic advice concerning problems that may arise in their social life. They seldom spurn help that is given in the spirit of understanding and fair-mindedness by adults who, through their own experiences during adolescence, have

learned to evaluate objectively the sincerity and earnestness with which young people come to them for assistance.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

In the past much of the social life of the members of a family centered around the home itself or the homes of friends and acquaintances. The associates of the younger members of the family usually were the sons and daughters of family friends. Playmates as children, companions as adolescents, these relationships often continued as adult friendships. In the days before the arrival of motion pictures, automobiles, and night clubs, the parental task of guiding adolescent social activities was relatively simple. In fact, the whole social pattern was very much simpler than that which exists at present.

Today social offerings for adults as well as for adolescents are legion. The entire recreational program, especially in large cities, is so wide and varied that one can start in the morning, keep on the go until the early hours of the next day, and continue this program for seven days in the week without exhausting all the available possibilities for amusement or recreation. Motion pictures, night clubs, dramatic productions, concerts, dances, sports, hikes, professional and school games, exhibitions, and organized recreational programs are at the disposal of young people—many of them at little or no cost.

Although these social offerings may be attended by both adults and adolescents, it is no longer considered *comme il faut* for adults and adolescents to engage in activities together. Parents are expected to go their way and to allow their adolescent children to follow their own interests. Chaperonage is outmoded. Adolescent freedom in social activity is the order of the day. Hence whatever is done by parents and other adults in the way of guiding such activity must be done for the most part by remote control.

Many adults and adolescents need and welcome assistance aimed at fitting young people for satisfactory and satisfying relations with their associates during out-of-work or out-of-school hours. Some suggestions are presented here under the following headings:

1. Community responsibility for the social activities of teen-age youth
2. The gaining of social ease and popularity
3. Friends and companions
4. Adolescent relations with the opposite sex

The topics discussed will be considered from the point of view of young people. The implications of these suggestions are aimed at parents and other adults who are concerned with the development among teenagers of wholesome social attitudes and behavior patterns.

Community Responsibility for the Social Activities of Teen-age Youth

Adolescents want to participate in varied forms of social and recreational activity unhampered by too close adult supervision. They are willing to accept the sincerely offered but nondirecting cooperation of their elders. They resent what to them appears to be adult-imposed restriction of freedom to select and to participate in leisure-time activities that reflect their own felt needs and interests.

Parents, school people, and other adults concerned with the welfare of youth often experience considerable difficulty in determining the fine line that should exist between too-rigid adult direction of adolescents' social life and cooperative guidance of their leisure-time activities. For young people to be granted complete permissiveness in the management of their social life would militate against their own well-being; for older people always to demand submission to adult-planned and adult-organized recreational and social programs well might drive young people to attempt to satisfy their socially pointed urges and interests through self-initiated, unwholesome practices.

Adolescent recreational interests. Young people have many and varied leisure-time interests that range from large-group recreational and entertainment projects to small-group or individual participation in relaxing and/or intriguing types of performance or appreciation. Within the limits of personal capacity, background training, and environmental availability adolescents enjoy active or passive participation in one or more kinds of sports or games; they like dancing, parties, picnics, and various other forms of socializing entertainment; they participate enthusiastically in musical or dramatic activities such as glee clubs, bands or orchestras, operettas, plays, pageants, puppetry, and dramatic stunts; they often display deep appreciation of classical or semiclassical musical programs, dramatic presentations, and the pictorial arts.

Alone or with a small similarly interested group, an adolescent may devote much of his free time in the following of a special hobby such as photography, collecting, construction of radios, model airplanes, or boats, sewing or knitting, and leatherwork and other crafts. Some young people gain great satisfaction from their association with writing, reading, or discussion groups, and from attendance at lectures, forums, or debates. Not all adolescent interests are centered in themselves, however. They often take great pride in their community service activities. Girls volunteer as aides in children's wards of community hospitals; boys enter enthusiastically into neighborhood clean-up projects. Both boys and girls take part in community-sponsored fund-raising campaigns and similar activities. On occasions youthful enthusiasm is so great that careful adult handling is needed lest adolescent community participation arouse attitudes of dis-

approval and resentment, rather than approving cooperation, among older community members.

Community recreational facilities for adolescents. Available space for leisure-time activities can be found in school buildings, churches, and other community centers. Too many school buildings are not used sufficiently during afterschool hours. Facilities should be made available for younger adolescents in the afternoon and for older boys and girls in the evening. The entire building for one or two evenings a week, or certain sections of the building every evening, could be reserved for the use of adults.

Any boy or girl who seeks wholesome recreation and who wants to be with others of his own age should be encouraged to participate in the activities that are organized by youth under the guiding supervision of able adult leadership. In the long run young people can gain much more enjoyment from such participation than they now think can be obtained in many of the commercially controlled places of amusement that they tend to frequent. These include bars and grills, roadhouses, cellar clubs, and public dance halls. Many young people complain that unless they patronize these undesirable places, the only activity left is attendance at motion pictures or remaining at home to watch television.

For community-sponsored facilities to compete with the glamour that is attached to some of the less wholesome commercial recreational centers, the former must be well organized and democratic. The following suggestions might serve as guides:

1. Provision for various informal leisure-time activities for adolescent boys and girls
2. Development of leadership on the part of youth for planning and carrying out their own programs
3. Combined cooperation of groups, such as social, economic, racial, and others in the community
4. Encouragement of community support for youth programs
5. Indirect supervision by paid and volunteer adult leaders, not more than two leaders to fifty young people.

The Gaining of Social Ease and Popularity

The community-sponsored centers described in the foregoing section afford excellent opportunities for young people to meet others of their kind. However, the entire social life of a young person cannot be confined to his activities in one of these centers. Even getting young people to a center may be difficult. Hence parents, advisers, and other social leaders must be on the alert constantly for opportunities to assist young people in developing desirable associations with others.

Adult role in adolescent friend-seeking. The old saying, "God gave us our relatives but thank God we can choose our friends," seems to imply that the selecting of friends and associates is a very simple matter. Many adolescents do not find this to be a fact. Although they may be surrounded by many people of their own age and older, they may encounter difficulties as they attempt to become active members of a social group. In spite of an assumed aggressiveness of attitude, most young people are shy and find it difficult to make the initial advances toward other persons unless the path is smoothed for them.

Parents can keep open house. Adolescent boys and girls should be encouraged to bring other young people into the home, which should always be neat and clean even though it may be simple. More than that, mothers should plan to have cookies, fruit, or other simple foods at hand for a group of hungry boys who drop in, or should make it possible for a girl and her crowd to mix up a batch of fudge or some other concoction. If a boy or girl knows that, unannounced, he may bring a group of pals into the house on the way home from school or at any other time, he thereby gains a social confidence that is reflected in the attitude of other young people toward him.

Parents can help also by encouraging their adolescent children to plan parties or other get-togethers. Mothers should help in the arrangements for a party and in suggesting names of boys and girls to be invited. Parents can learn a great deal about their children's attitudes toward their schoolmates and coworkers as they listen to adolescent conversation. If the remarks of a young person in the home seem to indicate his desire to become a member of a certain group, an interesting party arranged by the parent and the adolescent to which one or more members of the group are invited may help his gaining his wish. If the party is well planned and enjoyed by the guests, it may serve as an entering wedge into the desired group for the young host or hostess.

The mother of a high school senior was talking with her daughter's adviser in the latter's office concerning the girl's college plans. During the interview this mother greeted by name at least a dozen other seniors who happened to be in the office. Here is a mother who need not worry about her daughter's ability to meet people, since she herself has done an excellent job of cooperation in this respect. In sharp contrast with this mother is the one who knows little, if anything, about her son's or daughter's associates. The excuse given for this indifference may be "You know how it is. I am so busy that I can't be bothered about the boys and girls he runs around with." Unfortunately, a parent of this kind may be compelled later to take time to be bothered if the boy or the girl forms undesirable associations as a result of lack of parental help in meeting the right kind of young people.

It is unfortunate that in too many families the mother is compelled by circumstances to engage in work outside the home. This lack of parental supervision of a growing adolescent may lead to undesirable consequences. Helping a young person to form wholesome peer friendships is not a responsibility of parents only. School people, religious leaders, and employers also can provide socializing experiences for young people.

Merely to enroll a young adolescent as a member of a school or class group is not enough. Active assistance should be given these entrants to become acquainted with other members of their group. For a young person to sit in a class for an entire term and not know the names of more than a few of his classmates, or for a graduating senior not to recognize the faces of the majority of the graduating group (even though it is a large class), is a sad commentary on the efficacy of the school's social leadership. Neither high schools nor colleges are doing enough along these lines, even though they are becoming increasingly aware of the social needs of their students.

Many schools are encouraging the organization of numerous and varied clubs that will give boys and girls of similar interests an opportunity to become acquainted with one another. More extensive programs, such as dances, athletic meets, dramatic presentations, musical programs, and picnics, afford opportunities for individual students to meet all the other students. The use of name tags on such occasions is an excellent method of helping boys and girls to become acquainted. A few high schools and colleges have extended this program of acquainting young people with one another by inviting prospective entrants to parties planned and conducted by the regular students of the school that they are about to join. In this way these young people are made to feel that upon entrance to the school they will be coming into a group of friends.

Churches also are doing more for the social life of their young members. The religious and ethical values of church attendance should not be minimized, but the functions of adult church leaders must include that of providing for their young people one or more desirable outlets for their natural urge to be with people and make friends. In what better environment can this be done than through church affiliations? Young people's service groups and discussion groups led by adolescents are two of the means that are effective.

In the same way, more and more large business houses and industrial plants that employ many young people plan definite programs of social activity for their employees. Department parties to celebrate a birthday, engagement, or marriage of one of the group are encouraged. Periodic picnics, dances, and other forms of social activities are included in the companies' social programs.

Insofar as possible, boys and girls should be discouraged from "picking

up" casual acquaintances on streetcars, buses, or in places of amusement. In some states, hitchhiking is forbidden by law. The automobile is an excellent mode of transportation but a dangerous means of carrying on adolescent social activities. Occasionally, associations made in this way are wholesome, but as a general practice they should be avoided. The boy or girl who is provided with adequate opportunities for meeting young people in the home, church, place of work, or youth center is not tempted to seek his associates among unselected or unorganized groups.

The fact must be faced that at one time many of a person's present associates were strangers to him. An individual is unable to predict with what persons he will be associated intimately ten years hence. Social living and the social experiences developed in wholesome settings during the formative years will enable a young person later in life to make social adjustments to new situations and new people.

Development of social ease. Unless during childhood a boy or girl has had a great deal of experience in meeting people, he may have difficulty in developing social grace and ease as he is introduced into social situations that are different from the relatively restricted home, school, and neighborhood environment. There are several reasons for his apparent or felt awkwardness. One of these may be that during his childhood he was not expected to take the initiative in starting or carrying on a conversation, especially in the presence of elders. In fact, he may constantly have been warned that "children should be seen and not heard."

An adolescent may find himself in the company of adults or older adolescents where he may wish to demonstrate his developing maturity by his ability to take an active part in the conversation or discussion; yet he may be afraid of saying the wrong thing, thus betraying the fact that he is still immature. Young people are cruel to one another, often unconsciously so. The older or more sophisticated members of a group cannot always resist the temptation of making game of their younger associates. By seeming to be amused by, or tolerant of, opinions expressed in public by younger brothers or sisters or by younger friends, they are thereby bolstering their own morale and acquiring greater social poise.

Furthermore, adolescent physical development often is irregular. The boy or girl feels that he is all hands and feet. He tends to trip over rugs or furniture or he drops things at the wrong moment. The more eager he is to appear to be at ease, the more uncontrolled the management of his body may seem to become. The young teen-ager grows out of his clothes quickly and, rightly or wrongly, believes that people are recognizing the fact that his suit or his coat is too small for him.

Parents should provide clothes which are attractive and of the right size, even though they may be simple and inexpensive. It must be admitted that the keeping of a growing adolescent in clothes of the right

size is difficult. A mother known to the authors believed in buying well-made and durable suits, dresses, and coats for her boy and girl. Since these were expensive, the young people were expected to wear them for a long time. The clothes were bought large enough for the adolescents to grow into, and then were worn after they had been outgrown. These young people were not impressed by the good quality of the material, but they were extremely conscious of the fact that their clothes did not fit them for at least two-thirds of the time during which they were worn. Moreover, the boy and girl were constantly admonished to be very careful of their clothes because of the high price paid for them. Here is an excellent basis for self-consciousness.

A youth's desire to be an active rather than a passive member of a social group, his growing awareness of his physical characteristics, and the fact that he is being thrown into new and different social groups are the bases of youthful desire for help in gaining social ease. Most young people, unless too many embarrassing situations have caused them to shun participation in social activities, like people and want to be with them. "Practice makes perfect" applies to the development of social grace and poise in the same way that it applies to the development of any other skill. If a teen-age boy or girl is to acquire social ease, he must be given many opportunities for participation in social activities.

Active participation on the part of young people in many social situations planned or encouraged by parents and advisers should be accompanied by informal guidance in the simple rudiments of good social practices. Adolescents need to be taught proper forms of introductions, ways of starting a conversation, control of voice, desirable eating manners, and the like. Many of these social forms are learned by young people as they imitate their elders. However, they may not always be stimulated by desirable adult behavior in such matters. Direct, as well as indirect, teaching is needed. This does not mean that the finishing school of the past should be revived, but it does mean that in every school there should be programs for training in good manners.

Through reading and discussion, high school students should familiarize themselves with the simple rules that underlie participation in social activities. This knowledge should then be applied in a tactful way through participation in many social activities in the school.

It is through projects of this kind that young people can be taught to meet social situations with ease and enjoyment. If the emphasis is laid upon service to others, a young person tends to forget himself as he attempts to put another person at ease. The plan of upper-class students arranging social programs for younger students, and of younger students with the help of their older schoolmates conducting similar programs for

younger children, offers adolescents fine opportunities for developing a mature attitude toward their social relationships.

Girls and boys often find themselves ill at ease and tongue-tied in the presence of members of the opposite sex. This is usually caused by a natural desire to make a good impression. The boy tends to brag about his accomplishments. The girl may affect an artificial, sophisticated manner. Little is gained by attempting to be what one is not. Adults who are simple and unaffected in manner, who are careful of their vocabulary, and who practice good taste in their conversation with their friends and associates present excellent models for young people to follow.

There is no one, adult or adolescent, who does not find himself occasionally in a difficult social situation, with an accompaniment of nervousness or anxiety concerning the reactions toward him of other members of the group. Young people should be told frankly that adults have these experiences, and that if one does not know what to do or say, the best procedure is to remain quiet. A good listener is a most desirable adjunct of any group. As one gains social poise, one realizes that he does not have to be constantly active vocally, or in any other way, in order to be popular. This is a lesson that should be learned early by young people.

Achieving popularity. Poise, dignity, social ease, and consideration for others, rather than too-free spending, elaborate dressing, loud talking, or aggressive behavior, are the secrets of popularity. Much of the enjoyment of school or business life is dependent upon a young person's relations with his fellows. The well-adjusted young person possesses a few good friends and many acquaintances among the group. If he is willing to cooperate with others in group projects, he is welcomed by all the members. When he is called upon to do something for the group, he accepts the responsibility cheerfully and does his best to fulfill the obligation. He is not jealous of the success of others, but is proud of the honor that another's achievements brings to the group.

The secret of popularity is the willingness to do for or to share with others. The members of any group appreciate the person who is interested in them, especially if he demonstrates the ability to make constructive contributions to their activities. However, any group, formal or informal, soon loses patience with any member who shows by his actions that he is interested only in those benefits of membership that can contribute to his own welfare or prestige.

A young person may have developed, through unwise guidance, a spirit of selfishness and self-centeredness that is disliked by others. It is difficult for adolescents to overlook selfish attitudes. Whether a boy or girl is engaged in gainful employment or is still a student, whether he is economically privileged or underprivileged, or whether he is physically

attractive or unattractive, his chances for popularity among his associates depend upon his ability to subordinate his own interests and desires to those of the group and upon his habits of fair play and good sportsmanship.

These desirable behavior patterns do not suddenly materialize with the coming of adolescent interest in social participation. They are the result of a gradual habit formation which is encouraged in the young person by parents, teachers, and other adults.

Friends and Companions

Young people are very much concerned about their friendships with other boys and girls. Their questions are specific and indicate the emotional disturbance that can arise as a result of unpleasant experiences in the realm of friendship. Parents often find their adolescent son's or daughter's choice of friends and companions to be a source of worry to themselves. The boy or girl who finds it difficult to gain friends, the young person who selects undesirable friends, or the adolescent who seems to form violent friendships of short duration gives a parent many anxious moments.

Importance of adolescent friendships. Friendships are important, not only during adolescence but also throughout adult life. The friendships formed during the teen-age years not only may be the beginning of pleasant lifelong associations, but also may afford opportunities for practice in the art of making and keeping friends, which will help in the formation of later adult friendships. For these reasons, parents and other adults need to be tactful and patient in their attempts at encouraging young people toward the development of wholesome attitudes in their social relations.

Adolescent boys and girls need friends among adults and young people of both sexes. Their questions indicate their interest in the fundamentals of maintaining friendly relations with any person, regardless of age or sex. Still more are they concerned about their relations with persons of their own sex and age. Most important of all, it would seem, is the relationship that should exist between members of opposite sexes. Because of that emphasis, the many phases of boy-girl relationships will be discussed under a separate heading. Further discussion of the present topic will be limited to a general consideration of the fundamentals of successful friendship and of friendship between members of the same sex.

Significance of friendship attitudes. Young people often confuse the meaning of the term *friend* with that of *acquaintance* or *companion*. Adults who have experienced lifelong friendships do not always understand an adolescent's attitude toward his associates. During adolescence so-called "friendships" may be easily made and just as easily broken. The

difficulty here lies not in the temporary nature of these relationships but in the terms used to describe them. Parents need to teach young people by their own conduct toward their associates and by their tactful suggestions that there are differences to be found in the degree of an individual's friendly relations with people.

Teen-agers should learn early to feel and exhibit a friendly attitude toward those with whom they associate. They should be helped to develop a uniformly courteous and cooperative manner in their dealings with other people of all ages. They should be slow to take offense at the behavior toward them of others, rather than suspicious of the good intentions of those with whom they come into contact, "butcher, baker, or candlestick maker," salesperson, delivery boy, car conductor, fellow student or fellow worker, teacher or supervisor, or family or personal friend.

Sharp retorts, unwarranted criticism, sulking, insistence upon one's rights or upon special privileges will not gain friends or companions. A habitually friendly attitude will achieve for a young person a host of acquaintances with whom he can enjoy work or recreational activity.

Adults should encourage teen-age boys and girls to form many such acquaintanceships. However, young people should be helped to realize that it is not wise to expect too much from these acquaintances or to confide in them too freely. The relationship should be based upon community of interest and congeniality of tastes yet it should leave all the individuals concerned free from obligations to one another except those that are dictated by the rules of courtesy, respect for others, and cooperation.

Even these temporary associations may influence a young person's attitudes and behavior unduly during his formative years. Hence it is important that parents watch carefully the neighborhood and school groups with whom their sons and daughters may associate.

Much more significant, however, are the friendships of a young person, his attitude toward the meaning of friendship, and his own responsibilities for its success. A true friend is a person whom one can trust, in whom one can confide, and to whom one can take his joys and sorrows with the certainty that these will be understood and appreciated by the friend.

Friendship is based upon personality qualities that lie deep beneath the surface. Economic status, prestige, personal attractiveness, and national or religious background are relatively unimportant as the bases of friendship. Very often parents and other adults fail to recognize this fact. They may disapprove of a friendship between two wholesome, democratic adolescents because they, the adults, are evaluating the relationship in terms of superficial standards. No parent or adviser should object to a friendship between two young people for any reason except that of antisocial characteristics exhibited by one that might influence the other toward socially unacceptable behavior.

As is true in any other human relationship, there are certain basic rights and responsibilities that must be known and adhered to strictly if a friendship is to survive. An adolescent has the right to expect his friends to help him when such help is needed, unless some social and ethical right would be violated by their doing so. For example, a high school or college student should not be expected to give his friend help during an examination or to work out study assignments that this friend would later submit to his instructor as his own work.

A person should not gossip about his friend, neither should he withhold incriminating knowledge of his friend's wrongdoing, especially if an innocent person is accused of the act. The culprit should first be encouraged by his friend to confess the wrongdoing. If this plea is not successful, it is the friend's duty to take the matter to the proper authorities. This is a difficult test of friendship, but it is the only honest course to take.

Friends should be loyal to one another, they should guard confidences given to one by the other, and they should share their pleasures and other activities insofar as this will not interfere with any obligations. Neither friend should make all the decisions as to places to go, activities in which to participate, and the like. Most of us are more or less self-centered, but in friendship there must be a mutual give-and-take. A friendship cannot thrive on selfishness, oversensitivity, jealousy, carelessness in keeping appointments, or too-great demands upon the time and interest of either friend.

Too many so-called "friendships" among adolescents are no more than the temporary domination of one young person struggling for self-assertion over a weaker or younger companion who is passing through a hero-worshipping stage. Too great an admiration for any associate whose behavior is socially unacceptable may be dangerous to a suggestible young adolescent. However, the opposite also is true. Often a young person who is tempted to be careless in his home, work, or social responsibilities can be "reformed" by his adolescent friends who have developed more constructive practices. Hence parents need to watch carefully the friendships that their sons and daughters are forming and to evaluate the extent to which such friendships are desirable.

Value of same-sex friendships. The expression "He is a woman's man" or "She is a man's woman" may seem to the person concerned to be a tribute to his popularity with members of the opposite sex. As a matter of fact, such a comment usually is an indication of the unpopularity of the person with members of his own sex and thus is far from flattering. The person who is not generally liked and admired by members of his own sex lacks certain fundamental personality characteristics. One's own sex is able to penetrate below surface veneer and recognize wholesome quali-

ties or basic insincerities that may not be apparent to members of the opposite sex.

Men know men and women know women because they know themselves. They are able to evaluate the behavior of a member of their own sex in terms of their own urges, interests, and behavior patterns. A boy who is respected by upstanding boys and a girl who is admired by wholesome girls need cause parents and advisers little concern regarding their social adjustment.

For a boy to be a boy's boy and a girl to be a girl's girl indicates that the individual is a fine, cooperative, trustworthy type of person. However, the adolescent who tends to devote all his time and energy to the formation of friendships within his own sex is not completely adjusted. As an adult he will need to work and associate with members of the other sex. During adolescence he must learn to meet the challenge of developing intelligent and controlled behavior with members of both sexes. Hence young people should be encouraged to form friendships with a few fine members of both sexes; but every young person should have at least one close and wholesome, but unselfish, friendship with a member of the same sex.

It is with this other adolescent that the boy or the girl can be himself to a degree that often is not otherwise possible, even with members of his own family. The friendship satisfies the urge for security in the affection of another, which may transcend the desire for security in the affection of the family. Parents should encourage such friendships, but must assure themselves that the friendship is wholesome, that there are no homosexual tendencies, and that the relationship is an addition to, not a substitute for, friendship with members of the opposite sex.

During adolescence a friendship between two boys or between two girls who are too widely separated in age is not completely satisfying. The older boy's or girl's philosophy of life, physical and emotional development, attitude toward the opposite sex, and whole experiential pattern go beyond those of the younger teen-ager, unless the younger person is exceptionally mature.

One of the strongest arguments against too-rapid school progress of a mentally superior young person is found here. Although the bright younger student may be able to surpass the study achievement of his classmates, his emotional and social progress may lag behind theirs. Although they may admire his mental prowess, he cannot compete with, or even fully appreciate, their recreational and social interests and activities. He lacks the social ease and the good judgment in social affairs that are the outgrowth of such experiences. The older adolescents, either consciously or unconsciously, exclude him from their social plans. He is,

however, too mature mentally to find recreational satisfaction in the company of his own-age group, who are mentally younger than he is. Hence he may be forced to rely upon his academic superiority in order to satisfy his ego.

Parents and school leaders are beginning to realize the importance to a young person of his forming friendships with his peers. Consequently, the educational philosophy of encouraging an adolescent toward rapid school progress, which was very popular two decades ago, is now meeting criticism. Parents are refusing to allow their bright children to be advanced beyond their normal age levels unless this can be done in the company of a sufficient number of like young persons, among whom a normal social and emotional development is possible.

Adolescent Relations with the Opposite Sex

In Chapter 9 opposite-sex relations were discussed in some detail. At this point we shall consider only a relatively few of the problems experienced by boys and girls as together they participate in leisure-time and recreational activities. The degree of seriousness to an adolescent of the problems associated with other-sex social relationships is dependent in good part upon the extent to which he was encouraged as a child to engage in parent- or school-sponsored sex-mixed group activities.

Appropriateness of boys' and girls' going "Dutch." During adolescence pairing off does not necessarily mean that the boy or girl is contemplating an early marriage with the other. It is, rather, a matter of enjoying each other's company and of sharing social activities together. If each pays his own way, the girl is relieved of her feeling of obligation to the boy and is free to extend invitations as well as to await them.

Moreover, our present economic system is such that the girl is as likely as the boy to have the money to pay her way. If she does this occasionally, she avoids the accusation of being a "gold digger." There are perhaps more reasons for the extension of the practice of going "Dutch" than for the elimination of it. It tends to place friendships at these early ages on a firmer basis.

Discussion of sex matters. If a boy and girl spend most of their hours together in the company of other young people, sex matters do not have serious significance. However, if they are alone too much, they may run out of topics of conversation unless they have many wholesome interests in common. Consequently, they may be tempted to turn to this subject, which is definitely tied up with their emotions.

There is great danger in encouraging the discussion of sex matters among young people. Too often the discussion may change from the scientific level to the personal. Since human emotions are strong, it may

be difficult for the adolescents to avoid carrying over a discussion of the subject into active expression of sex behavior. The emotions are treacherous. It is almost impossible to keep any consideration of them on an objective and purely intellectual plane. Especially is this true concerning emotions arising out of sex urges. Usually it is better, therefore, to confine such topics to the classroom for scientific discussion until the two young persons become engaged. During that period these considerations become of vital and immediate importance to them.

Detection of sincere affection. Love, or the attitude of affection, is something that is conveyed by actions rather than by words. When deep affection for another is felt, strong verbal or written expressions of this affection are not usually too important, although they are helpful. In an individual's behavior there is evidence of the love that is unmistakable.

A girl may be stirred emotionally by a boy's well-termed love phrases. A boy may "fall for" a girl's expressed attitude of "How wonderful you are!" Too often a less articulate but much more sincere young person is considered dull or uninteresting, since he does not seem to flatter one's ego. Young people should remember that fluency in amorous speech is usually the result of much practice and may, as a consequence, be lacking in security. Consideration for one's interest and desires, understanding of one's personal problems, and sacrifices of personal desires for the loved one speak much more loudly than words.

Actually, a boy or girl in his teens should not be too greatly concerned about the depth of another's "love" for him. Young people should learn to live together and to work and play together without becoming too deeply involved in love affairs. Mothers need to watch their own attitudes in the matter of their daughter's relations with boys. Since a mother usually looks forward to a desirable marriage for her daughter, she may regard these teen-age boy-and-girl friendships too seriously, thereby encouraging the girl to view each current boy as a possible mate.

Sometimes, however, parents are tempted to be a little too casual about their adolescent children's social activities. The lack of restraining parental influence may play havoc with immature sex-stimulated urges, resulting in embarrassing or tragic consequences.

Significance of puppy love. As the emotional life of a boy or girl develops through adolescence, he experiences an increasing interest in the opposite sex and in the love life. Stimulated by reading romantic novels, by viewing love stories on the screen, and by observing the love activities of his older associates, he is thereby encouraged to experience these emotions for himself. He wants to love. Who shall be the object of his love is not especially important. A famous screen star, a sports leader, a seatmate at school, or a teacher or supervisor may become the object of the adolescent's secret or expressed adoration.

Any attention given him by the loved one is interpreted as an indication of a similar attitude toward him. The young person is in love with love itself and, because of his emotionalized state, is unable to evaluate correctly his own behavior or the behavior of the other person. Flirtations are engaged in as a kind of release of the emotions within him. If the flirtatious behavior is responded to either seriously or as a game, the young person may become so stirred that he loses intelligent control of himself and, as a result, may suffer great unhappiness or disappointment.

Girls are much more likely to be serious in their first love experiences than boys, since the latter know that during adolescence they are much too young to become serious about any one girl. A teen-age girl, for example, may become emotionally involved with a married man, especially if he is not living with his wife. No matter what his own marital situation may be, a decent and honorable man will not attempt to win the affection of a young girl. Any other kind of man is not worthy of a girl's attention.

A girl who has been guided toward an appreciation of moral ideals, and who has achieved a respect and fellow feeling for members of her own sex, could not engage in promiscuous relations with another woman's husband. A girl of this type would hold the marriage relation sacred. Any beginnings of an emotional regard on the part of a girl for a married man or for a man much older than herself should be diverted toward interest in wholesome young men who are free to marry and who are nearer her own age and interest level.

Attitudes toward dating procedures. Correct attitude toward invitations has to do with manners rather than with psychological factors of boy-girl relations. However, uncertainty as to how one should extend and accept or refuse an invitation may cause a young person some emotional disturbance. As is true in all matters dealing with courtesy in our relations with others, guidance is needed here so that young people may approach this phase of their social relations with confidence.

Parental example is the most potent teaching technique. If adults are motivated by ideals of consideration for others when they extend or accept or refuse invitations, young people will be guided by this same principle. Formal invitations are very little used nowadays by young people. A telephone call, a short note, or an invitation by word of mouth is the accepted procedure.

A boy may be awkward or embarrassed as he extends his first invitation to a girl. His shyness may cause him to be almost too casual about it. A sensible girl can usually detect the boy's underlying sincerity or lack of sincerity. Her acceptance or refusal of the invitation should be influenced by her own attitude toward the boy, her own program of activities, or her interest in the activity to which she is being invited. In all

cases, the girl's response to the invitation should be given promptly and courteously, with an indication that she appreciates being invited.

If a girl refuses a boy's invitation, the latter is justified in inviting another girl; but he should not develop the habit of going the rounds and asking them all until he finds one who will accept. In the first place, a boy should be warned by too many refusals on the part of his girl acquaintances that there is something wrong with himself. It may be his grooming, his choice of amusement to which he is inviting the girl, or his behavior toward a girl who does accept. Moreover, no girl likes to feel that she is just one of any number of girls who would serve as well as she for a companion. A girl wishes to feel that the boy has a special interest in her, and that she can be proud of him when she is with him.

In the same way, a girl should not be a "hound" for dates. She should not be so eager to engage in social activities that she will accept any invitations that come to her. This attitude does not point the way toward popularity. A date a night may be an enviable ambition, but a boy too wants to feel that he is someone special, not just any boy who can give a girl a good time.

A girl sometimes hesitates to refuse an invitation, even though she would prefer not to accept it, lest she lose the friendship of the boy. This is especially true if she is forced to refuse two invitations in succession. Probably, if her reasons for the refusal are legitimate, she can convince the boy of her sincerity. A friendship lost because of supersensitivity on the part of the boy under such circumstances need cause a girl no regret.

Once the invitation is extended and accepted, neither the boy nor the girl should allow any other more interesting invitation or activity to interfere with the keeping of the engagement. The "date" should be kept punctually unless either person has to withdraw because of serious illness or some other mishap.

A girl may refuse to accept a boy as her partner for a particular dance, but she may not dance with any other boy during that dance number. The same rule extends to participation in any group activity. With the consent of her parents, a girl may invite a boy to attend a party given at her home, but she should not use this method to take him away from another girl in whom he seems to be interested or to force herself upon him if he previously has given evidence of lack of interest in her.

Parental influence in such matters as invitations extended and accepted or refused is much greater than may be thought. Young people are not always free in their choice of the other young people with whom they would like to be. There are many limiting factors—parental attitude, nationality, religion, tallness in girls and shortness in boys, financial ability to entertain as one would like to do, or to dress as one feels that he should.

In general, democratic young people who enjoy simple pleasures experience no difficulty in finding things to do together, especially if parents are willing to cooperate.

Problems associated with "necking" and "petting." Should a girl kiss a boy good night? Do you think that petting is wrong? How can you prevent a date from turning into a necking party? Is petting a subject that can be spoken about openly? Does a boy respect a girl more if she does not pet? These are a few of the questions that are on the minds and lips of many of our teen-age boys and girls. The answers are not easy, nor are they the same for any one individual during each of his teen-age years.

The good-night kiss, holding hands, walking arm in arm, and the like are to be expected from most of our teen-age youth. It is the embrace, the prolonged kiss, or the body exploration that arouses those inner urges that often cause young people to allow their behavior to be controlled by their emotions rather than by their intellect.

The problem is complicated by the attitude of the boy who "has been around" and who is interested in the girl as a female rather than as a friend. Satisfaction of his physical urge is his chief purpose for "dating" a girl, even though he himself may not admit this. If the girl seems to be hesitant, he tries to persuade her that such behavior is the accepted thing. The girl then is torn between her training and the fear of losing his interest. Girls are often led by a desire for popularity into necking and petting behavior rather than by interest in the activity itself.

Parents and social leaders often fail in their responsibility by not giving more effective education to young teen-age girls and boys on these important points. Problems such as these should be discussed with individuals in private conference and with small homogeneous groups of the same age and sex.

A survey of the kinds of persons whom men and women tend to marry indicates that mates are rarely selected from among those with whom they have practiced petting. There seems to be a deep-seated feeling that such activity is undesirable and should not be associated with marriage.

A girl may pet with some boys; but she usually is careful to refrain from such activity with the boy whom she hopes to marry later, lest she may lose his love. Likewise, a boy also is careful to refrain from heavy petting with the girl whom he expects to make his wife.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Make a list of "do's" and "don't's" that should govern adolescent behavior in public places. Evaluate your behavior in terms of them.
2. What type of activities characterize the play and recreational lives of

12-year-old boys? Of 12-year-old girls? Of 16-year-old boys? Of 16-year-old girls?

3. To what extent do you still associate with your former high school friends? Explain differences in attitude, if any, toward them.

4. What considerations affect your selection of friends today that were less significant during your early teen-age years?

5. Compare "Dutch treat" dating today with forty or fifty years ago.

6. What social adjustments are experienced by a new member as he is admitted to an organized group or club?

7. Describe an experience that you may have had in attempting to join an organized group, all the members of which were strangers.

8. Show how the socializing process can function, with benefit to all concerned, at the time of new admissions into high school. Into college.

9. Indicate the nature and extent of your social effectiveness.

10. Explain how and why it is possible for an individual to have more than one social self.

11. Evaluate an attempt to resolve conflicts through reducing the number of an adolescent's social activities. Indicate the probable effectiveness of this process.

12. If you have had an undesirable social experience, indicate what you did to meet the situation.

13. What additional facilities to aid the social life of adolescents should be furnished by your community? Your school? To what extent can adolescents themselves provide some of these facilities?

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A

RECOMMENDED FILMS

Many of the topics in this book lend themselves well to supplementation by audio-visual learning aids. In general, the films listed here apply to specific areas of adolescence. A few, however, apply equally well to other areas of interest. Hence it is recommended that the films be previewed by the instructor before class showing in order that attention may be directed to the significant phases of life adjustment that are presented in them. All the films included in the list are 16-millimeter.

The addresses of producers and distributors are appended to the film list.

Part One. Adolescent Experiences

Chapter 1. Significance of Adolescence

Age of Turmoil (McGraw-Hill, 20 min). Presents incisive and frequently amusing sketches of half a dozen boys and girls in their early teens.

Farewell to Childhood (IFB, 20 min). Concerns a normal teen-ager who is full of the swift emotions typical of adolescents.

Meaning of Adolescence (McGraw-Hill, 16 min). Interprets adolescent development in twentieth-century culture.

Meeting the Needs of Adolescents (McGraw-Hill, 19 min). Emphasizes the experiences of a brother and sister, aged 14 and 17 respectively, that make for satisfactory growth.

Chapter 2. Biological and Cultural Heritage

Heredity and Environment (Coronet, 11 min). Presents a sound understanding of the influences that shape our lives.

Heredity and Prenatal Development (McGraw-Hill, 21 min). Step-by-step picturization of growth, subdivision, and union of male and female sex cells.

Human Reproduction (McGraw-Hill, 20 min). Presents factual information concerning human reproduction and the process of normal human birth.

Chapter 3. Approaches to the Study of Adolescence

Learning To Understand Children. Part I: A Diagnostic Approach (McGraw-Hill, 21 min). Presents in detail the diagnostic techniques used by the teacher to discover the causes of the social maladjustment of one of her pupils.

Learning To Understand Children. Part II: A Remedial Program (McGraw-Hill, 23 min). Gives a continuation of the story of Ada Adams; describes the remedial techniques employed by the teacher to assist Ada in her adjustment.

Using Analytical Tools (McGraw-Hill, 14 min). Portrays the analytical tools for counseling as a school counselor prepares for an interview with a student.

Part Two. Adolescent Development

Chapter 4. Physical and Physiological Growth

Human Growth (Brown, 19 min). Concerns human growth and development from mating through pregnancy and birth, and through childhood and adolescence to the adult form.

Physical Aspects of Puberty (McGraw-Hill, 19 min). Gives greater practical meaning to the age of puberty.

Chapter 6. Changing Emotional Patterns

Act Your Age (Coronet, 13 min). Shows how a principal deals with a high school boy who has carved his name on a desk.

Children's Emotions (McGraw-Hill, 22 min). The major emotions of childhood—fear, anger, jealousy, curiosity, and joy—are described, and methods of dealing with them are explained.

Control Your Emotions (Coronet, 13 min). Interprets emotional control in varying situations.

Overcoming Fear (Coronet, 13 min). Shows the value of courage in meeting problems in everyday living.

Overcoming Worry (Coronet, 11 min). Demonstrates that worry can be overcome.

Self-conscious Guy (Coronet, 11 min). Reveals how a self-conscious boy developed poise and self-assurance.

Shy Guy (Coronet, 13 min). Demonstrates the value of friendliness as a means of improving a shy adolescent's social adjustment.

Shyness (CanNFB, 23 min). Concerns abnormal shyness in children and how the problem can be dealt with.

Snap Out of It (Coronet, 13 min). Suggests how emotional balance can be developed if a high school boy works hard for an A and gets only a B.

The Other Fellow's Feelings (YAF, 8 min). Concerns the problem of teasing or ridicule that is prolonged to the point where it really hurts.

Toward Emotional Maturity (McGraw-Hill, 11 min). Concerns ways in which Sally, an 18-year-old student, makes decisions in troublesome situations.

Understanding Your Emotions (Coronet, 13 min). Reveals that emotions have many effects on the body, on both voluntary and involuntary behavior.

Chapter 7. Personal and Social Aspects of Personality Development

Developing Character (Coronet, 11 min). Indicates the significance of good character and how it can be achieved.

Developing Self-reliance (Coronet, 11 min). Shows how dependence grows and how necessary self-reliance is to all successful endeavor.

Developing Responsibility (Coronet, 11 min). Teaches lessons in responsibility through the story of a boy and a dog.

Individual Differences (McGraw-Hill, 23 min). Concerns two approaches used by a teacher in meeting the problems of pupils.

Improve Your Personality (Coronet, 11 min). Gives a frank discussion of personality so that students will learn to understand themselves better.

Social Development (CF, 26 min). Offers an analysis of social behavior at different age levels and the reasons underlying the changes in behavior patterns.

Part Three. Adolescent Behavior Motivations

Chapter 8. Importance of Interests and Attitudes

Attitudes and Health (Coronet, 11 min). Emphasizes how wrong attitudes prevent the individual from doing his best.

How to Develop Interest (Coronet, 11 min). Concerns the encouragement of students to develop new interests in their studies and community activities.

Picture in Your Mind (IEF, 16 min). Shows causes of prejudice, accompanied by a plea for better understanding on the part of the viewer of his own attitudes toward people different from himself.

Prejudice (RFA, 60 min). Promotes personal examination of prejudices and stimulates discussion of intercultural relations.

Who's Right (McGraw-Hill, 18 min). Concerns a quarrel between two people who have been married for a short time.

Chapter 9. Sex Behavior of Adolescents

Are You Ready for Marriage (Coronet, 16 min). A marriage counselor presents practical criteria for engagement and marriage adjustments.

Choosing Your Marriage Partner (Coronet, 13 min). A counselor helps a boy to decide which of two girls he should marry.

Courtship to Courthouse (McGraw-Hill, 12 min). Concerns the problem of an increasing divorce rate.

Going Steady (Coronet, 11 min). Deals with problems met by teen-agers when they consider going steady.

Marriage Is a Partnership (Coronet, 16 min). Attempts to establish a positive approach to the realities of marriage.

Marriage Series (McGraw-Hill)

Choosing for Happiness (14 min). Presents the problems faced by the girl in the matter of choosing a mate.

It Takes All Kinds (20 min). Depicts various young people in similar tense situations involving mate selection.

Marriage Today (22 min). Portrays the efforts of two couples to achieve marital adjustment in spite of anticipated personality conflicts.

This Charming Couple (19 min). Places the emphasis upon the fallacy of the belief that "romantic love" is the sole or primary basis for marital success.

Who's Boss (16 min). Shows the struggle of two young people (both of whom were successful in their business careers) to adjust to their marriage.

Meaning of Engagement (Coronet, 13 min). Concerns the importance of the engagement period in preparation for a successful marriage.

Social-Sex Attitudes in Adolescence (McGraw-Hill, 22 min). Illustrates the various experiences through which adolescents pass, such as crushes, steady dating, and final mate selection.

Chapter 11. Conflicts and Behavior Disorders

Activity for Schizophrenia (Castle, 23 min). Presents the modern concepts of activity as applied to the distinctive needs of schizophrenic patients.

Children's Village (McGraw-Hill, 19 min). The Village at Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., provides modern methods of treating juvenile delinquents.

Feeling of Hostility (IFB, 27 min). Analyzes the causes of a young woman's inner maladjustments, and her final readjustment through her occupational activities.

Feelings of Depression (McGraw-Hill, 30 min). Concerns the factors that precipitated a businessman's depression, tracing the important influences from childhood.

Out of True (IFB, 41 min). Depicts the factors that cause mental illness and the recovery through proper psychiatric treatment.

Chapter 12. Behavior Delinquencies

A Criminal Is Born (TFC, 21 min). Shows the case history of three boys who develop criminal tendencies due to inadequate home life.

Boy in Court (NatPro, 12 min). Presents in detail the procedures used by the juvenile court in dealing with a delinquent boy.

Children of the City (IFB, 30 min). An English film showing how a Scottish town handles the adolescent problem.

Children on Trial (IFB, 62 min). Presents in detail the experiences in approved schools of three juvenile delinquents who finally make a satisfactory adjustment.

Crime Lab (RKO-Pathé, 14 min). Surveys the techniques in modern crime detection.

New Prisons—New Men (McGraw-Hill, 11 min). Shows the treatment of convicts at Southern Michigan State Prison.

Who's Delinquent? (McGraw-Hill, 16 min). Tells how a newspaper digs into the causes of local juvenile delinquency, and the program that comes out of it.

The Quiet One (Athena, 67 min). Presents the experiences of a mentally disturbed boy, first in a disrupted home and later in a school for delinquent boys where he is rehabilitated.

Chapter 13. Significant Life Values

High Wall (McGraw-Hill, 32 min). Portrays intergroup conflict between two groups of teen-age boys, and traces the reasons for the conflict to parental attitudes.

How Honest Are You? (Coronet, 13 min). Gives the viewer an opportunity to draw certain conclusions concerning his own honesty.

How to Say No (Moral Maturity) (Coronet, 11 min). Concerns how to say "No" and keep your friends.

Make Your Own Decisions (Coronet 11 min). Presents a series of five questions that illustrate the alternatives that exist in every situation, and shows how each contributes to making a self-reliant and mature individual.

Right or Wrong (Coronet, 11 min). Presents the making of moral decisions in connection with the breaking of a warehouse window by a gang of high school boys.

Understanding Your Ideals (Coronet, 13 min). Emphasizes the importance of ideals to well-being and happiness.

Part Four. Adolescent Adjustments

Chapter 14. Home Adjustment of Adolescents

Family Circles (CanNFB, 31 min). Shows the extension of the boundaries of the family circle into other agencies of the community.

Family Life (Coronet, 11 min). Creates an awareness of the happiness to be gained from a well-managed home.

Family Teamwork (Frith, 18 min). Gives a portrayal of family cooperation and adjustment in a home of high middle-class socioeconomic status.

Friendship Begins at Home (Coronet, 16 min). States as vividly and emphatically as possible the value of friendships in the home.

You and Your Parents (Coronet, 14 min). Describes the process of growing away from parents as a natural and normal one.

Chapter 15. School Adjustment of Adolescents

College: Your Challenge (Coronet, 11 min). Presents the benefits of college, both academic and nonacademic.

High School: Your Challenge (Coronet 14 min). Emphasizes the importance of a good high school education and the advantages of taking part in extra-curricular activities.

Making the Most of School (Coronet, 11 min). Reveals the value of school beyond day-by-day assignments.

Problem of Pupil Adjustment. Part I. The Dropout: A Case Study (McGraw-Hill, 20 min). The story of Martin, who quit high school after his freshman year. Suggests that a life adjustment program in the school may help him and other dropouts.

Problem of Pupil Adjustment. Part II. The Stay-in: A School Study (McGraw-Hill, 19 min). Shows what can be done to meet the dropout problem.

School Spirit and Sportsmanship (Coronet, 11 min). Stresses the idea that actions of individuals reflect upon the spirit of the entire school.

Chapter 16. Vocational Adjustment of Adolescents

Aptitudes and Occupations (Coronet, 16 min). Helps the student understand aptitudes and how to apply knowledge of them toward an intelligent choice of vocation.

Better Use of Leisure Time (Coronet, 11 min). Serves as a guide to develop an attitude toward and construct a program of leisure-time activities.

Careers for Girls (MOT, 18 min). Presents types of work open to women, with emphasis on those that are related to girls' everyday interests.

Choosing Your Occupation (Coronet, 11 min). Includes self-appraisal, occupational possibilities, preparation requirements, and guidance facilities needed.

How to Investigate Vocations (Coronet, 11 min). Motivates students to investigate vocations and determine the kind of work for which they are best suited.

How to Keep a Job (Coronet, 11 min). Shows the personality bases conducive to occupational success.

Personal Qualities for Job Success (Coronet, 11 min). Emphasizes the value of initiative, good personal appearance, businesslike work habits, and the ability to get along with others.

Chapter 17. Social Adjustment of Adolescents

Alice Adams, Money Sequence (NYC, 15 min). Concerns the effect on a girl of being poorer than her friends.

Date Etiquette (Coronet, 11 min). Shows how to be socially comfortable during the various steps in dating.

Dating: Do's and Don't's (Coronet, 13 min). Raises important questions regarding dating and suggests partial answers as guides for discussion.

Feeling Left Out (Coronet, 14 min). Concerns a potential isolate and how he developed social maturity.

Developing Friendships (Coronet, 11 min). Explores the differences in individual capacities for friendliness, and helps young people understand the meaning of friendship.

Social Courtesy (Coronet, 11 min). Shows that getting along in social groups requires a natural, easy form of behavior that makes use of courtesy.

What to Do on a Date (Coronet, 11 min). Illustrates the wide range of diversions available to high school students who want to make dating an entertaining, enjoyable, and constructive social custom.

Directory of Sources

Anti-Def—Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. (Films distributed by McGraw-Hill.)

Athena—Athena Films, Inc., 165 W. 46th St., New York 19.

Brown—E. C. Brown Trust, 220 S.W. Alder St., Portland 4, Oreg.

CanNFB—National Film Board of Canada. (Films distributed by McGraw-Hill.)

Castle—United World-Films, 1445 Park Ave., New York 29.

CF—Crawley Films. (Films distributed by McGraw-Hill.)

Coronet—Coronet Instructional Films, 65 E. South Water St., Chicago 1.

Frith—Frith Films, 840 Seward St., Hollywood 38, Calif.

IFB—International Film Bureau, Suite 1500, 6 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago 2.

IFF—International Film Foundation, Inc., 1600 Broadway, New York 19.

Io—State University of Iowa, Bureau of Audio-Visual Instruction, Extension Division, Iowa City, Iowa.

McGraw-Hill—McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., Text-Film Department, 330 W. 42d St., New York 36.

MOT—March of Time Films, 369 Lexington Ave., New York 17.

NatPro—National Probation and Parole Association, 1790 Broadway, New York 19.

NYU—New York University Film Library, 26 Washington Pl., New York 3.

RFA—Religious Film Association, Inc., 45 Astor Pl., New York 3.

RKO-Pathé. (Films distributed by McGraw-Hill.)

TFC—Teaching Film Custodians, Inc., 25 W. 43d St., New York 36.

YAF—Young America Films, Inc., 18 E. 41st St., New York 19.

Appendix B

SELF-EVALUATING QUESTIONNAIRES

The self-evaluating questionnaires which appeared in the first edition of this book are retained here because of their interest and insight value. Since parental influence touches every phase of an adolescent's attitudes and activities, four of the questionnaires deal with parental self-evaluation:

- My Relation as a Parent to Adolescent Home Problems
- My Relation as a Parent to Adolescent School Problems
- My Relation as a Parent to Adolescent Vocational Problems
- My Relation as a Parent to Adolescent Social Problems

Many parents and their adolescent children have reported that the evaluating process became a cooperative project. Specifically, the parent or parents of a young teen-ager and the young person together considered each item in terms of parent-child relationships, decided the rating to be assigned it, discussed the existing situation, and agreed upon whatever changes seemed desirable. Some parents applied the questionnaire to themselves in order to evaluate their habitual attitudes in relation to their children; then, in terms of suggestions offered in the book, made whatever changes they believed to be needed. Although adolescents themselves are much concerned about their relationships with all adults, it appears that they are most keenly interested in parental attitudes as these are represented in the questionnaires for their parents.

The questions directed toward teachers, prospective teachers, and other school people are of special value to college students who are preparing to teach. Employers are exhibiting an increasing interest in the welfare of their employees. Hence many businessmen and industrialists are more than willing to evaluate their attitudes concerning employer-employee relations in order to gain a keener insight into their responsibility for ameliorating the possible problems experienced by young workers.

Adult concern over the apparent rise of youthful delinquent behavior and adolescent emotional disturbance has stimulated not only parent but also local and national leaders toward a greater awareness of young people's social needs and ways in which adults can help meet these needs. The questionnaire "My Relations as an Educator or Community Leader to Adolescent Social Problems" can serve as a thought-provoking challenge to adults who are willing to evaluate themselves.

Rate yourself on the self-evaluating questionnaire that follows. If your answer is found in the column numbered 1, give yourself a score of 1; if it is

found in the column numbered 2, give yourself a score of 2; and if it is found in the column numbered 3, give yourself a score of 3. In checking your reactions, be honest with yourself.

My Relation as a Parent to Adolescent Home Problems

Score yourself at the right on each item listed

	1	2	3	Score
I permit my son (daughter) to be late for meals.	Often	Sometimes	Never	----
I criticize my son (daughter) in the presence of visitors.	Often	Sometimes	Never	----
I set my son (daughter) an example of proper dress.	Never	Sometimes	Always	----
I set my son (daughter) examples of unnecessary worry about money.	Often	Sometimes	Never	----
I set my son (daughter) examples of bickering.	Often	Sometimes	Never	----
I set my son (daughter) examples of bad manners.	Often	Sometimes	Never	----
I keep our house neat and clean.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	----
I inform my son (daughter) about our financial problems.	Never	Sometimes	Often	----
I give my son (daughter) the social freedom necessary at his (her) age.	Never	Sometimes	Often	----
I give my son (daughter) guidance in the wise use of freedom.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	----
I give my son (daughter) definite work to do in the home.	Never	Sometimes	Often	----
I solve personal differences with my mate in my son's (daughter's) presence.	Often	Sometimes	Never	----
I expect my son (daughter) to accept my decisions.	Always	Never	Sometimes	----
I give less attention to my son (daughter) than to another child.	Often	Sometimes	Never	----
I treat my son (daughter) as an adult.	Never	Sometimes	Often	----
I advise my son (daughter) on his (her) personal problems.	Never	Sometimes	Often	----
I believe that I am misunderstood by my son (daughter).	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	----
I give reasons for denying my son's (daughter's) requests.	Never	Sometimes	Always	----
I plan with my son (daughter) in the expenditure of money.	Never	Sometimes	Often	----
I restrict my son's (daughter's) behavior.	Often	Never	Sometimes	----
I welcome my son's (daughter's) friends in the home.	Never	Sometimes	Often	----
I am confided in by my son (daughter).	Never	Sometimes	Often	----
I give in to my son's (daughter's) whims.	Often	Never	Sometimes	----

	1	2	3	Score
I give my son (daughter) examples of affection and comradeship.	Never	Sometimes	Always	—
I attempt to give my son (daughter) intelligent sex education.	Never	Sometimes	Often	—
I avoid gossiping about other people.	Rarely	Sometimes	Always	—
I advise my son (daughter) not to attend night clubs and roadhouses.	Never	Sometimes	Often	—
I interfere with my son's (daughter's) grooming.	Never	Often	Sometimes	—
I restrict my son (daughter) in his (her) choice of friends.	Never	Often	Sometimes	—
I permit my son (daughter) to make his (her) own decisions.	Never	Sometimes	Often	—

Those items on which you have rated yourself a score of 3 indicate an excellent adjustment between you and your son or daughter. A rating of 2 indicates a good adjustment. Note particularly those items on which you gave yourself a score of 1. Then ask yourself what you can do to improve your attitudes and practices in these relationships between you and your son or daughter.

As you consider the self-evaluating questionnaires that follow, reflect upon your responsibility for the school success of young people. A review of the items may help you to evaluate your own attitudes and behavior.

My Relation as a Parent to Adolescent School Problems

Score yourself at the right on each item listed

	1	2	3	Score
I encourage my child (teen age) to be enthusiastic about his school.	Never	Sometimes	Often	—
I try to provide a quiet place in the home in which my child can study.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	—
I help my child to arrange a time schedule for his homework.	Never	Sometimes	Often	—
I insist upon my child's getting to school on time.	Never	Sometimes	Always	—
I encourage my child to cooperate with his teachers and fellow pupils.	Never	Sometimes	Always	—
I encourage my child to take courses in which he is not interested.	Never	Often	Sometimes	—
I encourage my child to settle his own school problems.	Never	Sometimes	Often	—
I pamper my child at home, even though this gives him a bad attitude at school.	Often	Sometimes	Never	—
I worry about how well my child will do in examinations.	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	—
I encourage my child to be critical of his teachers.	Often	Sometimes	Never	—

	1	2	3	Score
I advise my child to attend the school of my choice.	Often	Never	Rarely	_____
I talk loudly while my child is studying.	Often	Sometimes	Never	_____
I permit my child to neglect his schoolwork.	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	_____
I expect my child to go to college, even though he does not wish to do so.	Often	Never	Sometimes	_____
I am willing that my daughter attend a college away from home.	Never	Often	Sometimes	_____
I help my child overcome his fear of examinations.	Never	Sometimes	Often	_____
I am at fault if my child argues with his teacher.	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	_____
I am partly at fault if my child does not choose the proper courses in high school.	Never	Sometimes	Often	_____
I urge my daughter to go to college, even though she expects to be married.	Never	Sometimes	Often	_____
I urge my child to go to college, even though his high school grades are below average.	Never	Often	Sometimes	_____
I urge my child to go to college, regardless of his mental ability.	Never	Often	Rarely	_____
I think that my child should not be required to take a subject which he does not like.	Never	Often	Sometimes	_____
I give my child a weekly allowance large enough to include his school-activity dues.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	_____
I attempt, within my financial means, to have my child dressed as well as his classmates.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I expect my child to help at home as well as to do homework.	Never	Sometimes	Often	_____
I think that my child should work part time while he is going to school.	Often	Never	Sometimes	_____

After you have finished this questionnaire, note particularly those items on which you gave yourself a score of 1. Then ask yourself what you can do to improve your attitudes and practices in these relationships.

My Relation as a Teacher to Adolescent School Problems

Score yourself at the right on each item listed

	1	2	3	Score
I help pupils who are new to the school to become acquainted with other pupils.	Never	Sometimes	Often	_____
I have a friendly attitude toward all my pupils.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I talk too much in class.	Often	Sometimes	Never	_____
I encourage my pupils to get up and speak in class.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I think that a pupil should take a subject which he does not like.	Never	Often	Sometimes	_____

	1	2	3	Score
I try to teach my pupils how to study.	Never	Sometimes	Always	—
I permit pupils to engage in as many school activities as they wish.	Always	Never	Sometimes	—
I attempt to create interest in the work of the class.	Never	Sometimes	Always	—
I encourage "crushes" on the part of pupils.	Often	Sometimes	Never	—
I attempt to have all study done at school.	Never	Often	Sometimes	—
I am careful to explain difficult points in my subject.	Never	Sometimes	Always	—
I encourage pupils to memorize what they do not understand.	Often	Sometimes	Never	—
I give a pupil a chance to defend himself if he has created a disturbance in class.	Never	Sometimes	Always	—
I use sarcasm in disciplining my class.	Often	Sometimes	Never	—
I insist upon punctuality.	Never	Sometimes	Always	—
I carefully check daily attendance in my classes.	Never	Sometimes	Always	—
I believe that a pupil who is a bad influence upon other pupils should be expelled.	Never	Often	Sometimes	—
I encourage an able pupil to enter an honor class.	Never	Sometimes	Often	—
I am partly to blame if any of my pupils lose interest in my subject.	Never	Sometimes	Often	—
I believe that school should take first place in the interests of high school pupils.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	—
I cause my pupils to fear examinations.	Often	Sometimes	Never	—
I am at fault if a pupil selects the wrong course.	Never	Often	Sometimes	—
I try to help my pupils learn to adjust to the realities of life.	Never	Sometimes	Always	—
I believe that high school should give postgraduate courses for pupils who want to do special work.	Never	Often	Sometimes	—
I believe that a pupil should attend a coeducational school.	Never	Sometimes	Often	—
I have the habit in class of talking about matters unrelated to my subject.	Often	Sometimes	Never	—
I nag certain pupils in my class.	Often	Sometimes	Never	—
I have "pets" in my class.	Often	Sometimes	Never	—
I believe that admission to college should be based upon individual ability rather than upon specified courses.	Never	Often	Sometimes	—
I encourage pupils to participate in school activities.	Never	Sometimes	Always	—
I believe that pupils should pay certain school dues.	Never	Sometimes	Often	—
I try to make school attractive to my pupils.	Never	Sometimes	Always	—
I help pupils to learn to live with others.	Never	Sometimes	Often	—

	1	2	3	Score
I believe that a pupil should be allowed to take the subjects that he wants to take.	Never	Often	Sometimes	_____
I treat my pupils as my inferiors.	Often	Sometimes	Never	_____
I give a pupil a second chance.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	_____
I encourage pupils to join at least one school club.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	_____
I try to explain the value of my subject to my pupils.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I try to give indirect training in character development.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I try to encourage independent thinking within the ability limitations of my pupils.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____

A review of the items may help you to evaluate your attitude toward student-teacher relationships. If you scored 1 on any items, you might ask yourself what you can do to develop a better understanding of adolescent interests and needs relative to them.

My Relation as a Parent to Adolescent Vocational Problems

Score yourself at the right on each item listed

	1	2	3	Score
I help my son (daughter) choose his (her) career.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	_____
I expect my son (daughter) to enter the vocation of my choice, even against his (her) wishes.	Always	Sometimes	Rarely	_____
I encourage my son (daughter) to enter a vocation even if he (she) is not suited to it.	Often	Sometimes	Never	_____
I help my son (daughter) get a job.	Never	Sometimes	Often	_____
I help my son (daughter) learn about vocational opportunities.	Never	Sometimes	Often	_____
I advise my son (daughter) that all work that needs to be done is dignified.	Never	Sometimes	Often	_____
I expect my son (daughter) of 16 to work at least part time.	Never	Often	Sometimes	_____
I advise my son (daughter) how to dress when applying for a job.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I advise my son (daughter) on the importance of correct dress in business.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I help my son (daughter) write a letter of application for a job.	Never	Often	Sometimes	_____
I help my son (daughter) overcome fear of an interview for a job.	Never	Sometimes	Often	_____
I help my son (daughter) adjust to his (her) job.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I advise my son (daughter) to consider the working conditions when he (she) applies for a job.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____

	1	2	3	Score
I advise my son (daughter) to give correct data in applying for a job.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I advise my son (daughter) how to behave with his (her) employer.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I advise my son (daughter) to be friendly with his (her) fellow employees.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I interfere with my son's (daughter's) getting a job if I dislike the employees of the firm.	Often	Never	Sometimes	_____
I advise my daughter to accept social invitations from her employer.	Always	Sometimes	Never	_____
I intercede for my son (daughter) when he (she) has difficulty on the job.	Always	Never	Rarely	_____
I accompany my son (daughter) when he (she) applies for a job.	Always	Never	Sometimes	_____
I encourage my son (daughter) to accept a job in terms of the length of vacation provided.	Often	Never	Sometimes	_____
I am consulted by my son (daughter) in his (her) selection of a vocation.	Never	Sometimes	Often	_____
I teach my son (daughter) to go to work every day that he (she) is well.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I encourage my son (daughter) to enter one of the professions.	Never	Often	Sometimes	_____
I help finance my son's (daughter's) college education.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	_____

As you review the items, try to determine whether or not you have a wholesome attitude toward the vocational problems of your children. It is as you become aware of your responsibility for their vocational adjustment that you will be able to strengthen any weak points that you may have.

My Relation as an Employer to Adolescent Vocational Problems

Score yourself at the right on each item listed

	1	2	3	Score
I expect courtesy from all applicants for a position.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I expect accurate personal data from all applicants for a position.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I plan to have a personal interview with all applicants.	Never	Sometimes	Often	_____
I give employees a chance to advance in my organization.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I try to employ the kind of person who is willing to work.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____

	1	2	3	Score
I try to make an applicant feel at ease during an interview.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I expect applicants neither to overstate nor to understate their story about themselves.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I maintain friendly but dignified relations with my employees.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I am equally friendly with male and female employees.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I employ teen-age boys and girls without the consent of their parents.	Often	Sometimes	Never	_____
I help my employees adjust to their job.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I encourage friendliness among my employees.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I expect my employees to be well groomed and appropriately dressed.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I want my employees to respect but not fear their supervisor.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I praise my employees for work well done.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I discourage buckering among my employees.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I expect my employees to be punctual.	Sometimes	Often	Always	_____
I recommend all worthy employees to other employers when requested to do so.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I help employees progress on the job.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I respect and make use of the opinions of my employees.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I allow adequate time for lunch.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I arrange for suitable rest periods during the working day.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I permit my employees to talk on the job.	Never	Often	Sometimes	_____
I provide rest and recreational facilities for my employees.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I conform with labor laws.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____

My Relation as a Parent to Adolescent Social Problems

Score yourself at the right on each item listed

	1	2	3	Score
I help my son (daughter) to gain social ease.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I help my son (daughter) to develop self-dence.	Never	Sometimes	Often	_____
I permit my daughter to invite her friends into the house after a party.	Always	Never	Sometimes	_____
I advise my daughter to be introduced before talking to a boy.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I permit my daughter of 15 to date boys.	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	_____

	1	2	3	Score
I permit my daughter of 14 to 16 to go out with boys and girls in a group.	Never	Sometimes	Often	— . .
I teach my son correct behavior with girls.	Never	Sometimes	Always	— . .
I encourage my son (daughter) to try to be liked by girls and boys.	Never	Sometimes	Always	—
I talk to my son (daughter) about the danger of petting.	Never	Sometimes	Often	— — —
I permit my daughter to invite boys to take her out.	Often	Never	Rarely	— — —
I approve of my son's (daughter's) going "Dutch" on dates.	Never	Often	Sometimes	— — —
I permit my son (daughter) to decide his (her) own party games.	Never	Often	Sometimes	— — —
I encourage my son (daughter) to go with a boy (girl) because he (she) has money.	Often	Sometimes	Never	— — —
I train my son (daughter) not to be jealous of his (her) friends.	Never	Sometimes	Always	— — —
I teach my son (daughter) to meet all appointments promptly.	Never	Sometimes	Always	— — —
I encourage my son (daughter) to select his (her) own clothes.	Never	Sometimes	Often	— . .
I encourage my son (daughter) to have many acquaintances of the opposite sex.	Never	Sometimes	Often	— . .
I encourage my son (daughter) to accept expensive gifts from friends of the other sex.	Often	Sometimes	Never	— . .
I am willing to have my son (daughter) discuss questions concerning sex with his (her) friends.	Often	Never	Sometimes	— — —
I chaperon my son (daughter) on a date.	Never	Often	Sometimes	— . .
I permit my son (daughter) to use the family car.	Never	Often	Sometimes	— . .
I allow relatives to interfere with my son's (daughter's) social life.	Often	Sometimes	Never	— . .
I permit my son (daughter) to attend night clubs or roadhouses unchaperoned.	Often	Sometimes	Never	— — —
I expect my son (daughter) to come home at a reasonable hour, even if the party has not ended.	Never	Often	Usually	— — —
I approve my son's (daughter's) having close associates who are much older than he (she) is.	Always	Sometimes	Rarely	— — —
I discourage my son (daughter) from smoking.	Never	Sometimes	Always	—
I train my son (daughter) to evaluate the sincerity of his (her) friends.	Never	Sometimes	Always	— — —
I give sex education to my son (daughter).	Never	Sometimes	Often	— — —
I encourage my son (daughter) to participate in community activities.	Never	Sometimes	Often	— — —
I permit my son (daughter) to make his (her) own decisions in social life.	Never	Often	Sometimes	— — —

My Relation as an Educator or Community Leader to Adolescent Social Problems

Score yourself at the right on each item listed

	1	2	3	Score
I try to help young people overcome self-consciousness.	Never	Sometimes	Always	— —
I try to help young people gain social ease.	Never	Sometimes	Often	— — —
I act as a snob in the presence of young people.	Always	Sometimes	Never	— — —
I treat teen-age boys and girls as children.	Often	Sometimes	Never	— — —
I call teen-age youth "children."	Often	Sometimes	Never	— — —
I encourage young people to see only good plays and motion pictures.	Never	Sometimes	Always	— — —
I encourage boys and girls to have friends of their own age.	Never	Sometimes	Always	— — —
I encourage boys and girls to refuse a drink or a smoke.	Never	sometimes	Usually	— — —
I encourage young people not to laugh at the mistakes of one another.	Never	Sometimes	Always	— — —
I avoid saying anything to young people that I may regret later.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	— — —
I help young people to recognize the important traits of a desirable companion.	Never	Sometimes	Often	— — —
I keep all confidences given to me by young people.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	— — —
I train young people in social etiquette.	Never	Sometimes	Often	— — —
I encourage young teen agers to "pair off."	Often	Sometimes	Never	— — —
I encourage young people not to marry until they are at least twenty years old.	Never	Sometimes	Often	— — —
I advise young people how to settle their petty quarrels.	Never	Sometimes	Often	— — —
I advise young people to be honest and frank in their opinions.	Never	Sometimes	Always	— — —
I encourage high-school pupils to have their dates during the week end.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	— — —
I advise girls to speak only to boys with whom they are acquainted.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	— — —
I expect young people to plan and carry out their own social activities.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	— — —
I am a desirable (from parents' viewpoint) chaperon.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	— — —
I advise young people concerning the principles basic to a happy marriage.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	— — —
I warn young people of the dangers of petting.	Never	Sometimes	Always	— — —
I advise young people how to carry on an interesting conversation.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	— — —

	1	2	3	Score
I advise young people concerning the harm of deceiving others.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	_____
I advise young people to avoid being conceited.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I encourage tolerance among young people.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I encourage young people to marry only for love.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	_____
I advise young people to deny themselves sex experiences before marriage.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I advise young people of the importance of keeping appointments and of being punctual.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I help to plan social activities for young people.	Never	Sometimes	Often	_____
I advise young people concerning the value of courtesy.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	_____
I warn girls not to go out with married men.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I help young people to become acquainted with members of the opposite sex.	Never	Sometimes	Often	_____
I encourage free discussion of sex among young people.	Sometimes	Never	Rarely	_____
I encourage young people to be loyal to one another.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I advise young people of their responsibilities to each other and to the group.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	_____
I teach young people how to appraise the sincerity of another.	Never	Sometimes	Often	_____
I encourage young people to join desirable groups in a community.	Never	Sometimes	Always	_____
I advise young people concerning the desirability of giving inexpensive gifts which are well chosen.	Never	Sometimes	Usually	_____

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